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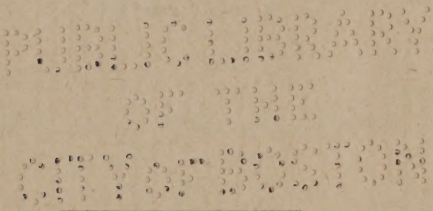

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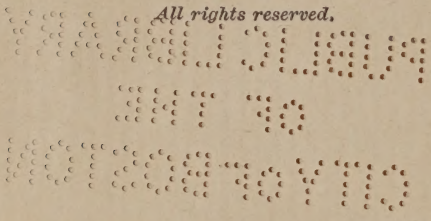

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THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE CONDITION OF MAN THEREIN.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE W. E. GLADSTONE.

I.—OF A FUTURE LIFE.

THE teaching of Bishop Butler with respect to a life beyond the grave divides itself under two heads. The first of these embraces the likelihoods which can be collected out of the "course of nature" with regard to the effect of death upon our existence. This is a physical or metaphysical, and in neither aspect a moral, discussion; it occupies the first chapter of the "Analogy." From its position on the threshold of the treatise, as well as from the nature of its topics, it has attracted much attention, and, it is fair to add, much criticism. There is, however, a larger strain of teaching, which pervades the work, but which for the most part is scattered piecemeal through it, as the opening up of the general argument into wider spaces gives occasion for its introduction. This relates not to the question whether we are barred by death from passing into another world, but to the prospects of man in that other world; and in one part of the treatise it gives rise to a discussion not metaphysical but moral: which is also one of

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extreme interest. With these two widely separated branches of the subject it will be appropriate to deal separately.

And now as regards the first.

At the outset certain remarks are to be made.

In the first place, the chapter "On a Future Life" contains a discussion, not upon immortality, but upon survival. The inquiry is simply whether we can pass the bourn into the undiscovered land, and has no relation to our condition, or the duration of our existence, after we have arrived there.

In the second place, as the chapter is a plea not for immortality, properly so called, but for persistence of life as against the special occasion of death, so it is a plea not for the survival of the whole man, but only of the spiritual or immaterial part of man. The body of man takes no benefit for the argument of this chapter. Butler was well aware that, from the only sources open to him at the first inception of his work, he could offer no effectual argument on its behalf: and it was enough for his purpose if he could obtain an admission of some reappearance of the rational and responsible human soul in a future world.

In the third place, the condition of our author in this first chapter is that of a man who has to fight with one of his hands tied up. His general discussion is upon analogies. Analogies, considered as resemblances of ratios, require four terms to complete them. Butler has before him facts of nature, admitted to stand in a certain relation to an Author of nature. He has a third term in certain facts of moral government or of revealed religion, and from these three he has to infer the fourth. But in his argument on a future life, the third term, on which he has to build the fourth, is entirely wanting: for, being precluded from referring to any divine authority, he has no experimental facts to adduce with respect to the condition of the soul after death.

There are those who say these two things, survival and immortality, are but one: and seem to suppose that the case of surmounting death is like that of obtaining a passport which will carry us over the frontier of some foreign country; where, this once done, we have no other impediment to apprehend. But on this assumption of the identity of survival with immortality, it is to be observed that it is a pure assumption and nothing more. We have no title to postulate *in limine* that powers, which may be so adjusted or equipped as to face the contingency of death,

must therefore be in all respects such as to be certain of facing with a like impunity every other contingency which, for aught we know, the dimness of the future may enfold in its ample bosom. Such questions may remain open and without prejudice for independent discussion.

There is a fourth observation to be borne in mind when we set about the consideration of Butler's chapter. It does not form a necessary part of his general argument. He might, without this chapter, put in array all the facts experimentally ascertained which prove the existence in this world of a government by rewards and punishments, and the righteous character of that government; and might, with this apparatus of moral considerations, now made ready for use, build upon them the usual and irresistible arguments for a future state. From the opening sentences of the chapter, he seems to enter upon it with reluctance, and only because he thinks it practicable and needful to clear the subject from certain metaphysical difficulties as to personal identity with which it has been darkened, and which, unless removed, might bar his access to the great moral argument he desires to introduce.

Addressing himself to his task under these circumstances, his argument is partly negative, and partly affirmative. The first goes to show the futility or insufficiency of the presumptions against survival which are drawn from the character of death. The second and more limited part goes to show substantive likelihoods, drawn from nature or experience, that the soul may survive death. In the first he is eminently successful. In the second we become sensible how scanty is the supply of material at his command. Much of the depreciation lavished on the chapter has arisen from the careless supposition that he is advancing as substantive arguments what in reality he only propounds as rebuttals of adverse presumptions.

Let us begin by taking note of his manner of supporting his first contention, namely, that death and the incidents of death afford no presumption that we are extinguished by it.

1. It is not proved by the immense change which death undoubtedly makes in us. For we know by experience that vast amounts of change in ourselves, and in inferior creatures, are compatible with continuity of identical existence. We have no absolute knowledge that the change effected by death is greater

than these changes; and until we do know it the presumption of our extinction by death does not arise. (True, none of these changes is marked by severance of essential parts: but we cannot say whether such severance constitutes a greater change than the change from the state of embryo to that of manhood, or from the egg, through the larva or caterpillar, to the moth or butterfly.)*

2. There is no ground, "from the reason of the thing," to suppose that death can destroy our "living powers"; that is to say, disable them from perception and action.† For of death in itself we know nothing, but only in certain effects of it. And as we know not on what our living powers depend for their exercise, they may depend on something wholly beyond the reach of death.‡ Death gives no evidence of destroying the living powers, but only the sensible proof of their exercise.§

3. Nor is any such ground furnished by the "analogy of nature." For in no case do we know what becomes of these living powers. They simply pass from our view.‖

4. The power of death to destroy living beings is conditioned by their being compounded, and therefore discerptible. For as consciousness is indivisible, so it should seem is the conscious being in which it resides.¶ And, if this be so, it follows that, the body being extraneous and foreign to the true self, no presumption can arise out of the dissolution of the body against the continued existence of the true self.

5. As we may lose limbs, organs of sense, large portions of the body, and yet the true self continues; and as animal bodies are always in a state of flux and succession of parts, with no corresponding loss or gain of the true self, we again infer the distinctness of that true self from the body, and its independence at the time of death.**

6. Even supposing the "living being" to be material, we know not its bulk, and unless it be bigger than one of the elementary particles which are indissoluble and represent the minimum, no presumption arises against its surviving death.††

7. Much less have we to fear extinction from anything happening from any system of matter other than our bodies, and not so near to us.‡‡

* Analogy I., i., 2., 3. † *Ibid.* 4. ‡ *Ibid.* 6. § *Ibid.* 7. ‖ *Ibid.* ¶ *Ibid.* 10, 11.
** *Ibid.* 12, 13, 15. †† *Ibid.* 14, 16. ‡‡ *Ibid.* 15, 20.

8. Inasmuch as our senses do not perceive but are carriers only to the perceiving organ, as is proved by cases of losing them, and by dreams, we again infer the distinctness of the living powers.*

9. Again we so infer, because our limbs are only servants and instruments to the "living person" within :† and have a relation to us like in kind to that of a staff.

10. If this argument comprehend brutes, and imply that they may become rational and moral, it holds. But it need not. The objection rests wholly on our ignorance.‡

11. If even, as to his state of sensation, the true self of man indicate independence of the body, much more is he independent as to his state of reflection and its accompanying pains and pleasures : on which we see no effect from death.§

12. Certain mortal diseases, up to death, do not affect our intellectual powers. Is it likely that *in* death they will kill these powers ? or that, in death, anything else will do it ? ‖

13. We cannot infer from anything we know about death even the suspension of our reflective condition and action. Nay, it may be the continuation thereof, with enlargement ; ¶ all this in a course which may then be found strictly natural. **

14. The case of vegetables is irrelevant to a question on the survival of faculties of perception and action ; since they have none.††

In sum ; there is sufficient proof of independence to bar any presumption of simultaneous or allied destruction. All such presumptions have now been rebutted : and a "credibility," sufficient for the purposes of religion, indeed "a very considerable degree of probability," has been shown.‡‡

Having thus summed up the negative arguments of Butler, let us proceed to the positive, which indeed are few.

1. The fact of existence carries with it a presumption of its continuance ; which presumption holds until rebutted by adverse presumption or proof. §§

2. From the fact of swoons, if not also from dreams, we know that our living powers exist when there is no capacity of exercising them.‖‖

3. From the fact that in certain mortal diseases the reflective

* Analogy, I., i., 18. † *Ibid.* 19. ‡ *Ibid.* 21, 22. § *Ibid.* 24. ‖ *Ibid.* 25. ¶ *Ibid.* 26-8. ** *Ibid.* 31. †† *Ibid* 29. ‡‡ *Ibid.* 32. §§ *Ibid.* 4, 8, 30. ‖‖ *Ibid*, 6.

powers remain wholly unaffected, he seems to infer such an independence as supplies a positive presumption of future existence.*

I shall presently refer to Butler's treatment of natural immortality; at this moment it is enough to say what is indubitable; that he does not make use of it as an argument.

When we put the question, What is the force, in the aggregate, of the arguments which have been adduced in this chapter, and what was the author's own estimate of that force? it will not be found altogether easy to reply: and perhaps we have here felt the consequences of his having dealt with a subject extraneous to his main argument, in its not being handled with the same extraordinary exactitude and continuity. I will refer to two points in particular.

With respect to the argument of indiscerptibility, much favored by preceding writers from a very ancient date, it ought not to escape remark that Butler does not appear to place reliance upon it, as, in his summing up, he makes no allusion to it, but puts forward other topics in its stead. And yet it is an argument which, if it were sound, would dispense with every other and at once prove the whole of his case, so far as the soul, apart from the body, is concerned. But is it sound? To me it appears wholly valueless.

For what is discerptibility? Can it be defined otherwise than as the severance in space of portions of some whole which were previously united in space? so that parts of a material substance, which necessarily exists in space, are said to be discerptible. But the soul is not, according to the ordinary acceptance of the term, material. It does not then exist in space, and is not subject to its conditions. So that the idea of discerptibility is wholly foreign to it, and can have no concern in proving either its mortality or its immortality.

Yet Clarke has advanced a very high doctrine of indiscerptibility. "As evidently as the known properties of matter prove it to be certainly a discerpible (*sic*) substance, whatever other unknown properties it may be endued with; so evidently the known and confessed properties of immaterial beings prove them to be indiscerpible, whatever other unknown properties they may be endued with."†

* Analogy, I., i., 25. † Clarke's Defence of an argument used in his letter to Dodwell, page 101.

Again, Butler is evidently led to his conditional argument on behalf of the immortality of brutes by the palpable fact that they give evidence of living powers, a living agent, a true self, within and above their corporeal organs. It has been feared by some that this may lead to an inversion of the argument, and a contention that if our "living being" be like theirs, little can be inferred from it as to a likelihood of independent survival. The absolute finality of death for brutes ought not, I suppose, to be taken for granted. But we must carefully eschew the recognition of any full parallelism in the application of the argument from living powers as between the two orders respectively. And this on more grounds than one. The living being in brutes may suffice to warrant our presuming it to be possibly independent of death: but it is contracted in scope and insignificant in function when they are compared with man; who has not only perception and action, but reflection; and not only reflection but conscience; and with conscience a sense of moral right and wrong, together with an array of moral powers, as to which it is to be observed that, unlike the powers merely intellectual, they as a general rule lose nothing with the lapse of years, but ripen down to the hour of death.

And again, that great argument for human survival which arises from the palpable incompleteness of the work of discipline for which men came into the world, not universally, but still in a great multitude of cases, has little or no application to the case of brutes, whose life and death do not suggest in the same way the idea of unfulfilled purpose. Much of this, however, is not within the scope of Butler's first chapter.

In the beginning of section thirty-two, he states that he has shown the credibility of a future life: and truly may it be said that that against which no adverse presumption has been, or presumably can be, made good, is credible. But at the close of the section he says that he has proved it up "to a very considerable degree of probability"; which is a different matter.

He seems to have been perfectly successful in the business of pure rebuttal. The instrument by which he has achieved it is giving proof of our possession of living powers, and of their high character, apart from, and above, the corporeal organs: and, on the whole, it seems to be his view that the nature of these powers, together with the likelihood of their continuance (which, in the

absence of any proved power of death to destroy us, he estimates highly) amounts to "a very considerable degree of probability."

Credibility, however, as he holds, is sufficient for all the purposes of religion, and this is reasonable; for in a matter which may profoundly concern us, such credibility binds us to move onwards, and to weigh all the elements of the case as the argument of the "Analogy," in the course of its development, may present them.

Thus the argument of continuance based upon existence is made to play a capital part. Is it strong enough to sustain the weight so laid upon it?

This question, as it seems to me, can hardly be answered without introducing other considerations. May it not be held that the likelihood of this or that entity's continuance cannot be measured until after first measuring the arguments for its present existence? We may presume (always proceeding upon the postulate that there is an Author of nature) upon the continuance of a rose bud in one way, but upon the continuance of a decaying rose only in a different and much more limited way. If things exist only for an end, the strength of the argument for their continuance will surely depend, in each case, upon their stage of advancement towards the attainment of that end. If they have upon them the mark of a design, together with marks that it is not yet fulfilled, the argument of likelihood for their continuance is strong. Such is the case with man. But then Butler's evolution of his subject has not reached a point at which he can make use of this argument. And it seems open to doubt whether simple continuance, apart from purpose, affords a solid standing-ground from which to project this or that existence into the future. Butler may be right in throwing the burden of proof upon those who refuse to admit as probable the continuance in the future of that which now exists; but this burden need not in every case be a very heavy burden.

The establishment of the apparent independence of the "living being" upon death is, however, of itself a great result; and its greatness grows upon us in proportion as that living being is richly equipped with faculty. Every attentive reader, in considering Butler's management of this subject, must remark how slightly, in presenting to us his "living agent," he puts forward the ethic and pathetic, or shall I say the moral and affectional, sides

of our nature. Here we have an army of faculties, which greatly enhance the force of his reasonings from the nature of the living agent. And Dr. Eagle, a recent commentator on Butler, has well observed that our moral feelings and emotions are not subject to deterioration or abatement with the lapse of years, down to the latest, in the same manner and degree as are the powers of memory, perception, and reflection. Once only, in discussing this subject, does Butler name, in connection with reason and memory, "the affections which they excite."*

Let us now turn to the argument from natural immortality, which includes *a fortiori* the question of survival, and with regard to which we may be naturally led to inquire how it is that Butler, having said so much, has not said still more.

His references to natural immortality are found in the twenty-first and thirty-first sections of his first chapter. In the first of these he speaks of a natural immortality of brutes, and observes that it does not imply their being endowed with any capacities of a rational or moral description. In the second, he propounds to us that there may, in the future or unseen world, be a state of existence for us new and yet natural; and he conceives in general that this cannot reasonably be denied. He then proceeds to designate persons or circumstances such as in a particular manner exclude the denial: speaking thus—"especially whilst the probability of a future life, or the natural immortality of the soul, is admitted upon the evidence of reason."

With regard to the first of these passages, touching the immortality of brutes, Butler does not admit it to be a consequence of his teaching with respect to the living powers, or living being, as existing in man. With regard to the second, it is to be observed that when he has occasion to refer to immortality as it stands under the Christian dispensation, he says that "life and immortality are eminently brought to light by the gospel," and that "the great doctrine of a future state" is confirmed by the gospel.† The whole argument of the first chapter is an argument for the survival of the soul, in which no distinction is drawn between simple survival and immortality; so that it may have been meant to serve as an argument for immortality. And yet, in the passage which I have quoted from the first chapter (in section 31), his language as it stands is ambiguous. It may

* Anal. I., i., 26. † Analogy II., i., 9.

mean the denial cannot take place compatibly with the dogma of natural immortality, and therefore not among such persons as happen to hold it. Or it may mean to take for granted a natural immortality, and to urge that, as this is an established principle, his proposition cannot possibly be contested. Which of the two is his meaning? I have arrived at the conclusion that it is the first. If this is so, he makes no assertion of natural immortality. I have arrived at the conclusion that he does not intend to make any positive assertion either for or against it, but to hold his judgment in reserve. He may have leant to it in his inner mind: he may have felt reluctant to oppose himself to an opinion which may be taken to have been universal in his time. But it is plain that he has stopped short of an absolute categorical assertion of it: and he could, as I conceive, have had no reason for stopping short of such an assertion, except an unwillingness to be committed to it, either from his general mistrust of propositions founded only on abstract reasoning, or from his believing this particular proposition to have been insufficiently established. Had he been prepared to propound it, he would surely have altered the whole argument of his first chapter; for, if the natural immortality of the soul be an established proof, it must at once take precedence of all those elaborate presumptions, which he has adopted for the basis of his reasoning in favor of a future life. He argues for a future life as hope, as credibility, as likelihood; but he does not venture to propound it as a thing of dogma or as a certainty. Had he felt himself in a condition so to propound it, his whole attitude in the first chapter would have been changed. That dogma would have been the head and front of the discussion; and all his rebuttals of adverse presumption, and his modest pleas for favorable inference, needed at most only to appear as an army of auxiliaries, preparing and making straight the way for the acceptance of that doctrine.

Now, if Butler has not bound himself hand and foot to the metaphysical principle of the soul's essential immortality, of an immortality for the soul inherent in its nature as soul, it was not because he lived in a world to which that doctrine was in any manner new or strange. On the contrary, it was, and it had been for many ages, a standing doctrine of popular, and, within limits it may even be said, also of authoritative, theology. Nor was recognized philosophy in disaccord with theology. I will

quote one instance which may serve to show how deeply the persuasion was rooted in the general sentiment at least of Western Christendom. At the Reformation, when so much of doctrine long unassailed was shaken down to its foundation, and Michael Servetus was prosecuted in Geneva, under the inspiration of Calvin, for heresy in respect to the Trinity, this question also was brought upon the carpet. Servetus was, or supposed himself to be, accused of denying the natural immortality of the soul. His reply was given thus :

"If ever I said that, and not only said it but published it, and infected the whole world, I would condemn myself to death."*

At a period when there was a disposition† in philosophy to exalt time and space almost to the dignity of the uncreated, it was little likely that the natural immortality of the soul, supported as to a wide extent it was by the authority of tradition, would be repellent to the general mind. It had indeed received in England, at the epoch of Butler's activity, new and weighty consecration. First, this had come from the Cambridge Platonists, who set the argument very high. Before proceeding to adduce proofs of the doctrine, John Smith writes as follows :

"The immortality of the soul doth not absolutely need any demonstration to clear it ; but might be assumed rather as a principle or *postulatum*, seeing the notion of it is apt naturally to insinuate itself into the being of the most vulgar sort of men. . . .

"All nations have consented in this belief, which hath almost been as vulgarly received as the belief of a Deity." ‡

It has been more questioned by "unskilful philosophers" than by the unsophisticated mind of man : and has such a *consensus gentium* as Cicero rightly holds "enough to conclude a law and maxim of nature by." This stress John Smith lays on the consent of the general mind, though he thinks it includes an idea of the soul's materiality, and, it may be, its traduction too, as wide as the belief itself. And he takes as his common basis or principle this hypothesis, "*that no substantial and indivisible thing ever perisheth.*" For a moment only, as it seems, he declares himself indeed content with that idea of Plato which, in the Timæus, introduces the Deity addressing the angels (or νέοι θεοί) in these words, "You shall hold your immortality by a patent

* Guizot, *Great Christians of France*, Chap. xix.
† See the volume of correspondence between Clarke and Leibnitz.
‡ Smith's Select Discourses. IV., Chap., ii.

of mere grace from myself"; yet he remembers that Plato also falls back upon the dictum of Plotinus, "that no substance shall ever perish." Even mathematical considerations are pressed into the argument for the soul's immortality, which is enforced* with great persistence, and in a fashion not much according to the mind of Butler.

The doctrine of indivisibility, as precluding death and entailing immortality, was commended to Butler for acceptance by an authority nearer to him alike in time and in association than Smith, namely Dr. Samuel Clarke. The acceptance is, however, qualified, not absolute. The claim for immortality from indivisibility, he says, has been argued, "and for anything appearing to the contrary, justly." His own ultimate judgment on the question seems to be held in reserve. For this reserve, as for all the notable inflections of his thought, he must, without doubt, have had grave reasons. If Butler really held himself back from the full adoption of the popular and established opinion, such an abstention presents to us an instance both of circumspection, and of a mental courage founded on solid originality, which may be said to form a landmark in the history of opinion. It may warrant an attempt to map out the position of the question, as it would present itself to Butler's eye.

It may perhaps be well to begin by reminding the reader that the idea involved in the term immortality is not single, but manifold. I have already referred to two of the distinctions which we have to keep before the mind.

(1.) A vitality surmounting the particular crisis of death is one thing: an existence without end is another.

(2.) We may speak of an immortality of the disembodied spirit, and may combine it with or disjoin it from a survival or resurrection of the body. In the second case it is of the entire man; in the first it is of part only of the man, although of the chief part.

(3.) The new life to which death is to introduce the human being, may be active, intelligent, moral, spiritual, and may be placed in an environment accordant with all these. Or it may be divested of any one of these characteristics, or of them all.

(4.) The life of the unseen world may be conceived as projected into the future only, as it is presented to us by Divine

* In chapters III.-VII.

Revelation : or it may be projected also into the past, and viewed there in association with a past eternity.

(5.) It was when Butler saw personal identity, as he thought, in danger that he undertook to deal with the question of our existence in the unseen world.* This identity is in truth the very core of the whole subject. An immortality without identity is of no concern to us ; and the transmigration of souls is a virtual denial of the doctrine.

(6.) We have to distinguish between a condition of deathlessness into which we grow by degrees, and an immortality which, ingrained (so to speak) from birth, is already our absolute possession. This distinction is a vital one for those who do not accept any dogma of immortality belonging to nature, but who look upon it as a gift resulting from union with Christ and with God.

With these diversities before us as to the nature of immortality, let us now consider the various ideas of the tenure on which it is to be held.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

(*To be continued.*)

* Analogy, I., i., 1.

HOW CONGRESS VOTES MONEY.—A REJOINDER.

BY THE HON. C. F. CRISP, EX-SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

In an essay headed "The House of Representatives and the House of Commons," published in the last number of the Review, Sir Reginald Palgrave compares the procedure on money bills in Congress with that in the House of Commons; and reaches the conclusion that the American method is bad, and the English plan is good.

In order that a comparison between methods should be instructive and valuable, it is essential that each should be distinctly and correctly stated. While I am not familiar with the rules of procedure in the House of Commons, I have no doubt that Sir Reginald is, and that he has fairly stated what those rules are. I have some knowledge of the rules and practice in the House of Representatives, and am perfectly clear that Sir Reginald misapprehends both.

"Owing to the national jealousy," says Sir Reginald, "of anything approaching a one-man power, and the consequent absence of any single authority, the House of Representatives have sought to acquire the motive force necessary to urge on and to regulate their energies by a subdivision of authority; by the delegation of their power to fifty-six standing committees."

This extract from the essay of Sir Reginald discloses that he has an entirely erroneous conception of the duties and powers of the standing committees of the House. Let me make this plain. The duration of a Congress is two years. At the first session of each a Speaker is elected; and among other duties he is charged with the appointment of the standing committees of the House. These committees are composed of representatives of the different political parties, and each has jurisdiction defined by the rules.

The House of Representatives is composed of three hundred and fifty-six members, and has pending before it during each Congress more than ten thousand bills. Each member has the right to introduce a bill or bills, and this right belongs to him as a Representative. He can exercise, or fail to exercise, it as he sees fit, and that, too, without first obtaining the consent or approval of a Cabinet Minister, or any one else. When a bill is introduced it ought to have consideration. It may be public, or it may be private; it may be a good bill, or it may be a bad bill. In any event, it must or should be considered, or disposed of in some way.

Again, as all bills introduced cannot have consideration, there must be some method of calling to the attention of the House those most important. In the absence of committees, each member, as opportunity affords, might call up his bill and precipitate a discussion upon it in the House when no one, save himself, was at all familiar with its purpose and object, and when all were in ignorance that it would come up for discussion. In this way there could be no painstaking and careful consideration, and there would necessarily be much loss of time. The rules of the House, partly to obviate this difficulty, provide for standing committees. Each committee has defined jurisdiction.

Let me illustrate. There is a committee on elections, to which is referred all questions as to the right of a member to his seat; a committee on ways and means, to which is referred all questions affecting the revenue, or the bonded debt; a committee on appropriations, to which is referred all questions affecting the appropriation of the revenue; a committee on the judiciary, to which is referred all questions relating to judicial proceedings, or criminal and civil law. Now then, all memorials or petitions relating to the right of a member to his seat are referred to the committee on elections. That committee, in the room provided for it, can thoroughly examine into the matter referred. If necessary, it can hear evidence. It hears arguments. It carefully goes through voluminous testimony, and then reports to the House its conclusion. If it is not an unanimous agreement, then the minority reports its views; and when the case comes before the House for determination the reports disclose fully the important points in the law and in the evidence, and the House is thereby enabled intelligently to determine the question. The

same rule obtains as to appropriations, and as to every other question that comes before the House.

In no sense is there a delegation of the authority of the House to these committees; but, on the contrary, they are designed and intended to aid the House in arriving at fair and just conclusions.

In the House of Commons I understand select committees are appointed for the same purpose. In the House of Representatives, rather than appoint a select committee in each case as it arises, standing committees are appointed, to which are referred all bills that are introduced in the House. It does not create even a *prima facie* case. The reasoning of the committee may or may not convince the House of the correctness of its conclusions; the question may be as thoroughly investigated by the members when it reaches the House as though there had been no standing committee, and the conclusion finally arrived at may be the opposite of that reached by the committee. The great advantage of the system is that the committee in its own way and time, without formality, considers the question and reports to the House its conclusions, and the law and facts on which they are based. The House is then in possession of all the information necessary to a correct judgment.

Again, Sir Reginald says: "The contention I venture to raise is not against party, but against procedure. It is to show that while Congress, as I presume, exists to remove grievances, the biggest grievance that afflicts the United States lies in Congress itself, in the method used by both Houses for the appropriation of public money." And he further says, "the finance system of Congress" is "spending made easy," and cites increasing appropriations to prove it.

If Sir Reginald were better acquainted with our methods, he would see at once that this idea is incorrect. Perhaps the simplest way to demonstrate this is to relate in detail the procedure in the House of Representatives on a money bill.

Each head of a Department, that is, the Cabinet officer, at the beginning of every session makes detailed estimates of the sum that will be required to conduct the business of his Department for the ensuing fiscal year. These estimates are sent to the Speaker of the House, and are by him referred to that committee which has jurisdiction of the subject-matter. Take for illustra-

tion the estimates for expenditure in the legislative, executive and judicial Departments of the Government. These estimates are referred to the Committee on Appropriations. That committee carefully considers them, sends for heads of Departments and makes inquiry as to the necessity of each or any item in the estimate; determines, after investigation, what is necessary for the support of those branches of the Government, and thus makes up a bill. The committee may report in favor of granting more or less than the estimates; but cases are rare indeed when the estimates are exceeded, and as a rule they are very greatly reduced. The bill thus prepared is presented in open House, either by the Chairman of the Committee, or the member of the Committee who has charge of it. The Speaker orders the bill printed and referred to the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, a committee, as its name implies, composed of the entire membership of the House. Each member is furnished with a printed copy of the bill. On a subsequent day, the Representative having the bill in charge moves that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the whole for the purpose of considering the bill. If this motion prevails, the Speaker vacates the chair, and names some member to act as Chairman of the Committee. The bill is considered in that committee under rules established by the House. One of these rules is that "no appropriation shall be reported for any expenditure not previously authorized by law, unless in continuation of appropriations for such public works and objects as are already in progress; nor shall any provision in the bill change existing law, except it operate to *retrench expenditures;*" nor can the bill be amended either in Committee of the Whole or in the House, so as to violate this rule. When the House resolves itself into a Committee of the Whole, the bill is read through, and general debate is then in order. "General debate" means that any member obtaining the floor may speak to the bill for one hour; and this kind of debate continues until every one of the three hundred and fifty-six members who desires to do so shall have spoken, unless the Committee shall rise, report to the House, and the House shall by a majority vote close or limit debate in the Committee.

When general debate is closed, the Committee of the Whole proceeds to consider the bill for amendment under what is known as the five-minute rule. Under that rule the bill is read by para-

graphs, and at the conclusion of the reading of each, amendments are in order thereto, and debate is in order thereon. While the rule limits a member to five minutes, in fact, by offering a *pro forma* amendment he obtains ten. Every member of the Committee may speak; and debate thus continues until the Committee or the House, by a vote of a majority of those present, closes the debate upon the pending paragraph. Such debate is permitted upon each section or paragraph of the bill. After the whole bill has been thus considered, on motion, the Committee rises, and its Chairman reports the bill to the House, with or without amendments, as the case may be.

Unless the previous question is then demanded, and seconded by a majority of the House, debate on the bill is resumed and continued indefinitely. If the previous question is ordered, a vote is first had upon the amendments, if any, and then upon the engrossment and third reading of the bill. If this motion shall prevail, then the bill, upon the demand of any member, is again read through, and the question recurs on its passage.

Not only is this the proceeding on what is known as a general appropriation bill, but it applies equally to all bills which in any sense may be termed money bills.

Another standing rule of the House provides that "all proceedings touching appropriations of money, or bills making appropriations of money or property, or requiring such appropriations to be made, or authorizing payments out of the appropriations already made, or releasing any liability to the United States for money or property, shall be first considered in a Committee of the Whole." Whether a money bill be general or special, public or private, great or small, it must be considered under this rule, and in the manner I have just described; unless by unanimous consent of the members present a different procedure is adopted.

The debates in Congress, both in the House and in the Committee of the Whole, are reported verbatim, and published each morning in what is known as the "Congressional Record," and, on all important questions, substantially in the public press.

I submit to any candid reader that this history or statement of the method of proceeding on a money bill in the House of Representatives, discloses that Sir Reginald is in error: first, in supposing that such a bill is framed without conference with the head of Department; second, in supposing that it is con-

sidered by the Committee in secret; third, in supposing that it is disposed of without full and free debate; and, fourth, in supposing that it is acted on without calling in what he correctly terms "that faithful servant of the community, publicity."

Neither is Sir Reginald well advised as to the practice when there is a question between the Senate and the House on money bills. "Time pressure" does sometimes "make itself felt," and the House or Senate may on occasions give a kind of forced consent; yet never is either House, against the will of its majority, obliged to accept the report of a conference committee without debate; and while it is true that a conference report is not generally printed, yet the rules require that it shall be read, and in the House shall be accompanied by a "detailed statement sufficiently explicit to inform the House what effect such amendments or propositions will have upon the measure to which they relate." So that the allegation that under any practice existing here Congress "blindly sanctions an expenditure the amount and destiny of which is known alone to the compromisers," is incorrect, and could have been made only by one entirely unfamiliar with our procedure.

Sir Reginald puts much stress upon what he terms the "self-denying ordinance of the Commons"; that is, they would receive no petition praying for public money, unless it was recommended to them by the Crown. After all, this is but a standing rule, made by a majority of the Commons, and by the same majority it may at any time be changed. Such a rule could not exist in the United States. Whatever money is here raised by taxation is the "people's money," and can, and should, only be expended by the people's representatives. The fact that the appropriations of any given Congress are large, or that appropriations from Congress to Congress are increasing, is in no wise traceable to method of procedure. In some departments of government there is a natural and necessary increase. In the Post-Office Department, by reason of extending better mail facilities, there is an annual increase. There is an increase in appropriation for our navy, because of the building of new and improved battleships. These and such like increases are necessary. Then the party in power may have a policy which involves an increase of expenditure. If appropriations are large in the American Congress it is because a majority of the representatives desire to make them so. Nor is there

under the rules and practice any method by which the House as a body, or the individual representative, may escape responsibility for its or his acts.

Through the *Record* and through the public press the people of each Congressional District are well informed as to the vote of their representative. Thus, in all cases, responsibility is fixed; and as the term of a representative is only two years, the people can speedily and effectually approve or disapprove of the votes of the sitting members.

Having been requested only to deal with the representations of Sir Reginald Palgrave as to the procedure in the House of Representatives on money bills, I shall not discuss the other matters referred to by him. Those who are familiar with our practice, and particularly those who have claims pending before Congress, will find it hard to believe that any one regards our system as "spending made easy." On the contrary, I aver that it is most difficult to secure the passage through the Congress of a bill appropriating money; and this is as it should be. The Representatives are but the trustees of the people, and fidelity to their trust requires that they should carefully scan every claim, and resolve doubts in favor of the Treasury.

CHARLES F. CRISP.

FOREIGN MISSIONS IN THE LIGHT OF FACT.

BY REV. DR. JUDSON SMITH, FOREIGN SECRETARY, A. B. C. F. M.

FOREIGN Missions are among the leading themes of the hour. They are discussed in the pulpit, in the newspaper press, in pamphlet and magazine, and are almost the talk of the streets. And criticism, sharper here, milder there, finds expression quite as freely as eulogy or defence. The remarkable events of the war in the East and their results on missionary operations in China and Japan; the thrilling and tragic events in Turkey, which succeed each other in quick succession, and deeply disturb all missionary plans and powerfully agitate the civilized world; these also have drawn a peculiar attention to foreign missions. It is a good time for dispassionate study and statement. If this movement is intrinsically weak and unworthy of support, the sooner it is known, the more clearly it is seen, the better for all. If it is both reasonable and worthy of generous support, it is well that the grounds of such an opinion be clearly stated and put before the minds of all.

The criticisms we hear may be reduced to four classes. They assert that the aim of foreign missions to Christianize all nations is absurd and incapable of execution; or that foreign missions are in the hands of unfit and incapable men, who can never carry them through to success; or that the methods employed are so unreasonable, so ill-adapted to the end, that they provoke opposition and hatred rather than confidence and love; or that, at any rate, they have accomplished nothing, and can never win any real success. These criticisms are fatal if they are valid, fatal not alone to foreign missions, but to the whole Christian scheme. Nothing is more deeply imbedded in the gospel than its universality; nothing is more central in Christ's work and claims than that he is the Redeemer and Lord of all the nations and generations of the earth, and that "of his kingdom there shall be no

end." If Christ was mistaken upon these fundamental points, so that the effort to carry out his purposes and build his kingdom in all the earth is absurd and fruitless, his authority as teacher, and his power as Redeemer, are at an end. A presumption, almost overwhelming, is thus raised against these objections at the very outset, and before they are considered in detail.

In the first place, we must obtain the right perspective, and clear away misapprehensions that have no real ground. The foreign missionary movement of the times is often spoken of as if it were something entirely new in Christian history, an experiment of this century alone. But this is a great mistake. Foreign missions are as old as Christianity, and have been in progress from the day of Pentecost to this hour. The Divine Author of this faith fixed upon it this character of universality, and announced that it was to go to all nations and prevail to the end of time. This is no fresh discovery of our age; it was known to Peter and John as fully as to Carey and Judson; and the sense of this worldwide and enduring career has never left the Christian society in any land or in any age. The gospel was at first confined to Palestine, and to a few souls gathered in Jerusalem. But it did not stay there; and it was not meant to stay there. It possessed itself first of the Roman world all around it. Then it met and won the rising nations of Mediæval Europe, and filled the continent with its light. Thence it passed to the New World, to found here one of its strongest fortresses. And to-day Christian America and Christian Europe join hands in the deliberate purpose to preach the gospel and build the church in every continent and nation and island of the earth. There is nothing in history more real or more majestic than this march of Christianity from the place of its origin across the nations and down the centuries to a world-wide dominion. And this whole process is the constant, varied, and effective foreign missionary activity of the Christian society. We know it in the divisions of Church History as "The Spread of Christianity"; but this is only another name for the history of foreign missions. The gospel has thus entered into the vast and imposing civilization of Rome, the heir of the ancient world, and into the nascent and rude society of the Northern tribes; has colonized the Western continent; and still reaches forth to the conquest of the world. By means of this agency the Roman world became Christian; Pagan Europe became

Christian; the wilds of America were peopled and possessed by men of Christian faith.

Here, then, is a long and glorious history, a solid array of unquestionable facts, always to be considered, when the meaning and effect of foreign missions are studied and judged. The expediency or the success of this movement is not to be judged merely by what has happened within the present generation or even within the present century, but by the recorded facts of eighteen hundred Christian centuries. The progress may appear to be slow in turning India and China to the Christian faith; but that is not the whole story. Foreign missions penetrated and filled and regenerated the Roman Empire, even though it required nearly three centuries to achieve the result; and no judgment of their success or fitness is valid that builds upon one of these facts and ignores the other. There was a time when it was as hard to find a Roman Christian as it ever has been to find a Chinese Christian; but that time quickly passed and passed forever, as it has already passed long since in China.

I am not now allowing that modern missions are a failure; I am simply calling attention to the fact that the judgment which pronounces them so is invalid and deals with only a part of the facts in question. Celsus, speaking for the Roman world of his day, alleged many of the things which the critics of to-day are repeating, and seemed to his times to have brought an unanswerable argument against the Christian Church. And Uhlhorn's remark is exactly in place: "Do the modern enemies of our faith know of no objections to bring forward except those which were advanced by our first antagonist seventeen hundred years ago? If so, then they are refuted before they write. For Celsus is refuted, I do not mean by Origen's answer, though that presses him very hard, but by the fact that the faith he scorned has triumphed." It is not claimed that foreign missions are faultlessly managed, or that every missionary is without defect, or that the methods have always been wise. "We have this treasure in earthen vessels," and human infirmity mars the record here and there. Even the work of the Apostles betrays the presence of human imperfection; the days of martyrdom are not without defect and excess; the missionary labors of Augustine and Boniface and Ansgar were by no means faultless. And yet the conversion of the Roman Empire was gloriously achieved;

the Northern nations were illuminated and Christianized, and all Europe won. It is one thing to show that imperfections of various kinds attach to a movement, and quite another to prove the movement itself a mistake. And we may fearlessly assert the wisdom and strength and certain triumph of foreign missions, while we acknowledge that they are not managed with perfect wisdom and are not administered by infallible men.

Perhaps the most satisfactory contribution to current discussion will be rendered by setting forth in positive form the aim of foreign missions, the agencies and methods employed in their prosecution, and the success they have already won. The criticisms of this age, as of the age of Celsus, rest so largely, not on facts and observations, but on misconceptions and unwarranted inferences, that nothing can relieve their force more surely than such a statement of facts as is now proposed.

In the first place, then, foreign missions are the effort of the church of our times to carry on and complete that spread of Christianity and Christian institutions which was enjoined by our Lord, and which has been an integral part of all Christian history. This effort is a primary and sacred duty of Christian discipleship in every age and in every land. The precept of our Lord, "Go, teach all nations," is clear and unrepealed; there can be no limit to the field. The mission of Jesus Christ is as certainly to the modern world as to the world of his day, as directly to Hindus as to Romans, to Chinese and Japanese as to Americans. It is no more presumptuous for the missionaries of our times to attempt the Christianization of the Oriental nations and the African tribes than it was for the Apostles and their successors to attempt the conversion of the old Roman world. For Christ is the Lord and Saviour of India and China and Japan, or he is not Lord and Saviour to any man. If we deny that he has any special gift for the people of the Orient, we must deny that he has any gift for man at all, and ignore the supreme facts of the eighteen Christian centuries that lie behind us.

The missionaries of our day, as in all past Christian centuries, assume this universal scope of the faith they teach, and unhesitatingly offer its celestial grace as the supreme gift to every human soul. They value education and social refinements, literature and all the gifts of civilization, and feel profoundly the need of these in every land. But they also understand that the Christ-

ian faith is the forerunner and cherishing atmosphere of all these blessings; that without that faith these other gifts will be fruitless; and so they touch the deeper need, in order that life may blossom with all these other gifts. Education, literature, civilization, spring up in the track of this work, as they followed the labors of the missionary bishops and monks who won the nations of Europe to the Christian faith.

Missionaries do not aim to Americanize or Europeanize the peoples of the Orient, or to bring them under the political control of the great powers of the West, or to impose our type of civilization upon them. Neither do they interfere with the politics of the country where they labor. They do their work in loyalty to the existing government, as did Christ and the apostles. Turkey sorely needs to be reformed; China suffers everywhere for want of honest government; the political changes desirable in Africa are countless in number and variety. But Christian missionaries do not attempt these reformations. They have a deeper aim and address a more vital need; they seek to Christianize these peoples, to penetrate their hearts and lives with the truth and spirit of the gospel, to enthrone Jesus Christ in their souls, and to make righteousness and truth a plastic power in all forms of their life. This is the greatest blessing that can come to any nation and to any man. There is no human soul, and there is no people, to whom Christ does not bring an infinite blessing; there is no faith which Christianity is not worthy to replace, which it is not destined to replace. It is not to share the world *with* Islam, or *with* Buddhism, or *with* any other religious system. It is the one true religion for man as man, in the Orient and in the Occident, in the first century and in the twentieth century and as long as time shall last. We hear no other voice in all the tide of time saying: "Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." But for eighteen centuries countless souls of every name and clime have brought their burdens and their sins to Jesus Christ, and have found rest to their souls. And to-day the weary and hopeless in India and China, in Japan and Africa, are coming to His feet and finding rest and peace.

The men and women who direct this work abroad deserve the love and confidence which in so generous measure are bestowed upon them. They are human, with obvious limitations, and

subject to mistakes, as those have been who have been engaged in every great enterprise since the world began. The gospel has never been preached by perfect men ; not when it supplanted the elegant mythology and ancient paganism of Rome ; not when it smote the gods of the North, of Egypt, and of the East.

But when this is said, all that is needful in the way of concession has been said. Compared with other Christian teachers and leaders of their times, foreign missionaries as a class are in no respect deficient or in need of apology. For strength and clearness of mind, for balanced judgment, for practical sense, for industry and efficiency, for power in leadership and organization, for success in dealing with men, for magnanimity and courage, for patience and heroic self denial, they are the peers of the best men of their generation. Carey, with whom our modern movement began, was one of the most remarkable linguists of any age, and has put the learning of this century under lasting obligations. Judson, the Apostle to Burmah, was one of the foremost men of his times in all respects; and his achievements are a standing witness to his power. Livingstone, whose contributions to geography and science and the discovery of a continent are in the mouth of every one, did all his great service as a missionary. And what shall I say more of Morrison and Bridgman, of Dwight and Riggs, of Williams and Parker, of Jessup and Van Dyke, of Patteson and Bingham, of Hannington and Pinkerton, and the hosts of men and women, who, in many lands, in many tongues, and through the generations, have witnessed the gospel, subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, and entered into rest ? The men and women whom we send come out of our purest homes ; many of them are trained in our best colleges and universities ; they are not mere devotees or enthusiasts, but practical, sensible, capable of the best service that is rendered at home and abroad. Mission Boards do not send any one and every one who desires to go ; careful inquiry is made in regard to every applicant, and those only are approved who promise efficient service, probably not more than a fourth of the whole number that apply. And this care is indispensable. No weakling can deal effectively with this work of persuading the will and moving the heart and transforming the life of a people. He is useless everywhere, as much so in the heart of Africa or in the islands of the Pacific, as in Turkey, or India, or China, as much

so in all these regions as in the cultured circles of America or England.

The men and women who represent the principal missionary boards in foreign fields to-day are the peers of the men and women in Christian lands from among whom they were selected; for character and power they deserve and command the respect of all who know them and their work. They are fit to stand by the side of those men whose deeds and achievements in sub-Apostolic days, and in the great missionary epochs of the Middle Ages have made their names immortal. Carey and Judson, Morrison and Livingstone, take rank with Irenæus and St. Patrick, with Augustine and Boniface. And those now on the field are doing the deeds and wielding the power of the fathers and pioneers. Their great life work is not a mistake; their labors are not in vain. Their contributions to the knowledge of their times, in geography, ethnology, philology, comparative religions, which have commanded wide admiration and have laid the learned world under a lasting obligation, a brief abstract of which fills a volume, although they are incidental and secondary to their main work, yet indicate the industry, the breadth of mind and scholarly attainments of these men, and entitle them to the highest respect. But their greatest deeds lie in another sphere. They are the leaders and inspiring life of a movement that outrivals the march of Roman conquests, the mighty growth of English power, and is slowly changing the face of the nations and the course of human history. And they are worthy of the sublime place and work to which they have been called.

Missionary methods vary according to the land and people where this work is prosecuted, and according to the stage of advancement in the work. In a sense everything was new and tentative at the opening of the century; but with the expansion of the field and the accumulation of experience, there has gradually been formed a general system of missionary operations in which all societies in America and Europe are substantially agreed. The first duty of the missionary, on arrival in the field, is to acquaint himself with the people, their language, their customs, their inherited faith, and their institutions. With this goes a careful study of the missionary work in progress, the stage which it has reached, the end it is to win. The leading duty of the mission-

ary, after having established personal relations with the people and won their confidence, is to instruct them in the knowledge and faith of Jesus Christ. This is pre-eminently a work of teaching and persuasion, whether done in the public congregation, or in the home, or in personal conversation. No sane missionary ever thinks of imposing a creed, or of forcibly overpowering the will of the individual or the community; and any instance of such methods would be condemned by the voice and practice of the whole body of missionaries in the foreign field. That is done which Paul and the other Apostles did when they preached in Jerusalem and Antioch, in Asia and in Macedonia; the gospel is held up and explained in its distinctive and glorious facts, till the mind is illumined, till the heart is moved, and the will is swayed to penitence and faith and love.

As soon as a company of believers is gathered, the Christian church is formed, and the new society is led forward as rapidly as possible in Christian knowledge and character, in self-direction and self-support, and in active co-operation with the missionary force in spreading the message and building the church. In order to aid and reinforce this evangelistic effort and also to train those natives who are to be leaders of their people in church and school and in all Christian activities, schools are opened under the personal instruction of the missionaries and picked youths gathered in them for the most careful training. The mission schools of all grades, from the kindergarten to the college and theological seminary, which flourish to-day in India and China, in Africa and Japan, as well as in Turkey, and in which nearly 700,000 pupils are gathered, are among the most striking and hopeful parts of the whole missionary enterprise. Graduates of these schools are already in the pastorate in every mission field, and are associated with the missionaries as teachers in the higher schools and in important literary work. They include men of noble gifts and attainments, and form the nucleus of that body of native Christians upon whom in due time the entire Christian work in their several lands will devolve. The literary work of the missionaries is no less striking. Text books for the schools, newspapers for the churches, lesson helps for Sunday schools, the beginnings of a Christian literature, are included in this department of missionary labor. But its greatest service lies in giving the Scriptures to the nations. The Bible has been

translated fully or in part into at least 270 different languages or dialects by the missionaries of this century, and is circulated by millions of copies in Turkey, India, Burmah, China, Japan and Africa, so that the vast majority of earth's inhabitants can read in their own tongue the wonderful works of God. This is a majestic achievement, contributing more toward the enlightenment and civilization of the world than any other single human agency that can be named. What the Bible has done and is still doing for England and all English-speaking peoples, it is beginning to do for the hundreds of millions in the Oriental world. Commerce can point to no achievement that compares with this. Legislation and diplomacy never attempted and never dreamed of conferring such benefits on mankind.

In a word the method of missionary labor in our day proceeds in a simple, direct course through personal instruction and influence to the establishment of Christian churches and their associated agencies, under native leadership, in sufficient numbers and strength in due time to effect the Christianization of the life and thought and institutions of every land.

The success of foreign missions in our times abundantly attests the reasonableness of their aim, the efficiency of the missionary force, and the wisdom of their methods.

We must bear in mind that the era of modern missions scarcely spans a single century, and that a large part of the time and force devoted to them has necessarily been given to exploration, to the mastery of languages and other pioneer work, and to the gathering of the mission plant. This work, though it will ordinarily need to be done but once, is absolutely necessary at first, and constitutes a fundamental part of the whole enterprise. Much of it cannot be put into statistics, and it does not seem to signify when we are counting up results. The Christian conquest of the Roman Empire required nearly three centuries; the Christianization of Europe, after the Roman Empire of the West broke up, went on for more than five centuries. The problem of modern missions is far vaster than both those problems combined; and the success of the efforts thus far made can be justly measured only by bearing all these facts in mind. An impressive proof of the success already gained is found in the fact that within a single century from Carey's day missions have been planted in every great nation and island in all the unevan-

gelized world, and that true converts have been won in every place where the work is begun. There are native Christians in many provinces of China to-day as true and faithful, as self-denying and devoted, as the men and women of Philippi, whom Paul addresses as "my brethren, dearly beloved and longed for, my joy and my crown." African Christians at Uganda have sealed their faith with their blood; Hindus, Burmese, Japanese, South Sea Islanders, Moslems, Buddhists, Confucianists, Idolaters—there is scarcely a land or people where the message of the missionary has not taken effect. It has already been demonstrated that the gospel *finds* these peoples as certainly as it found the Greeks and Romans, the English and the Saxons. And this fact is prophetic of the final and universal success of this movement. If 50,000 true converts to Christ have already been won in China, the whole multitude of China's millions *can* be won. The lever that has lifted 1,000,000 souls out of the darkness of paganism into Christian life and civilization is strong enough to lift the whole world into the light of God. We may justly change our Saviour's words of prophecy to the sober terms of history, and say: "They *are coming* from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, and are sitting down in the kingdom of God."

The statistics of missions, though they can never express more than a part of the results that have been gained, still give ample evidence of an expanding and successful work. The number of Christian communicants in all heathen lands to-day exceeds one million souls, counting only the results of Protestant missions. This implies about four million adherents, men, women, and children already separated from the prevailing religious customs and habitually attending Christian worship and receiving Christian instruction. At the present rate of increase this number is doubling in less than ten years. It will require the continuation of the present course of things for only a few decades before the Christian communities will outnumber all others in these lands. But that is not all. No other faith is gaining in numbers like this; Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism are barely holding their own. The course of history and Providence favors this missionary enterprise, and makes against all other faiths with which it comes into contact; and the balance of power in many an unevangelized land is slowly shifting to the side of the gospel and its messengers.

Certain conspicuous examples of missionary success give clearness and point to this forecast. Seventy-five years since, the Sandwich Islands were the abode of pagans and barbarians, without a written language, places of dread or scorn to all the civilized world. To-day these islands have their recognized place among the Christian powers of the times, and are the abode of thrift and prosperity, with schools and churches, and the industries of a civilized land. And the transformation, little short of a miracle, is due to the labors and influence of the American missionaries, who, at the peril of their lives, went thither in 1819 and wrought with God for the regeneration of the kingdom. Defects are easily found in the present state of the islands, as they are in great Christian centers like London and New York; but the Christianization of those islands by missionary effort is as real and glorious a fact as the Christianization of Rome or England in the ancient days.

Fifty years ago the Fiji Islands were full of cannibals and pagans, places of war and dread. To-day cannibalism and paganism are gone, and the Christian churches are thronged with devout worshippers. It was not commerce or colonization or natural development that wrought the change; it was the Christian missionary and the power of his message and life.

Madagascar is a glorious witness to the power of Christian missions, and to the vital power of the Christian faith. The Christian victory in Burmah, the swift growth of the Christian host among the Telugus in India and among the Japanese—these all speak one word, and smite to silence every tongue that attributes failure to missions or that would deem their support a needless and a fruitless waste. It is most significant to note that 280 missionary societies, substantially representing Protestant Christendom, more than two-thirds of which have been formed within the last three decades, are now at work in the foreign field. More than 3,000 of the most promising young men and women in the colleges and seminaries of America alone are to-day personally pledged to this work. The educated youth of a land are not wont to espouse a weak or failing cause. More than $5,000,000 are yearly devoted to this cause by American Christians alone, and the amount increases year by year. Intelligent and clear-headed men and women, like these, including among them some of the ablest business men of the day, are not wont to waste their resources

on an idle and fruitless scheme. This sum is a trifle, indeed, compared with what is annually wasted in tobacco, or in intoxicants, or carelessly spent on the merest luxuries; and yet it is enough to prove that the good sense and sober reason of the leading Christian denominations of the country are convinced of the wisdom and success of the enterprise.

It would be interesting, also, if there were time, to mention the striking events which during this century have conspired to aid and quicken this work of foreign missions; to note how the pagan world has been opened, hermit nations drawn out of their seclusion, the Dark Continent unveiled; to observe how the English speaking people, to whom the principal part of this missionary work has been committed, are steadily gaining the supreme influence in the world, how the English language is coming to be the means of common intercourse around the globe, making accessible the wealth of its literature and history and institutions; to point out how foreign missions have served to develop and give practical power to the conception of the solidarity of the race, the universal validity of international law, the authority of the public opinion of Christendom. Though these are secondary and subordinate results, they are of the greatest consequence, and they compel the conclusion that Christianity is the religion of the ages and of mankind, as valid and as full of blessing to the Orient as to the Occident, to the modern as to the ancient world, so related to human nature itself that the attempt to spread it to every land and every age is the part of wisdom as it is the dictate of Christian love and loyalty.

JUDSON SMITH.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTIONS.

BY M. ROMERO, MEXICAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

It is always very difficult for the outside world to understand well and fully appreciate the real condition of things in a country, and more specially so when that country is in an abnormal state, that is, passing through a period of serious disturbances. This is still more difficult regarding Mexico, whose peculiar conditions make it so different from all other countries, that sometimes even educated Mexicans cannot properly understand the real situation of their country, unless they have made a special study of such matters. In this way I account for the general impression prevailing in the outside world, that because Mexico has been troubled by a long series of civil wars, which lasted for over half a century, we were constitutionally disposed to fight and did so without any plausible cause or reason; but such a view is a great mistake, and a few remarks will, I hope, explain the philosophy of our civil wars.

During the Spanish rule in Mexico, which lasted for three centuries, there were three controlling privileged classes, the people counting for nothing at all. The first was the clergy, who, by obtaining bequests from persons who were dying, and in several other ways, had accumulated a very large fortune, owning directly or through mortgages almost two-thirds of the whole real estate of the country, and so absorbed the principal money business. Their power depended not only upon thier immense wealth, but on their religious influence, and on their being the only educated class, for though they knew but little, it was a great deal more than the other classes did, as they were kept in the most profound ignorance. Their thorough discipline assisted the clergy very materially in wielding great influence. The clergy were so powerful during the Spanish rule, that a Viceroy tried once to enforce his authority on a recalcitrant Archbishop of the City of Mexico, by ar-

resting him and sending him to Spain. He succeeded in making the arrest; but the moment it was known that the Archbishop was on his way to Vera Cruz, the people rebelled in such serious manner that he was soon brought back to the City of Mexico, and the Viceroy had to leave the country.

The second privileged class were the Spaniards by birth, who formed a kind of aristocracy, some of them having titles, and being the only ones holding office of trust, responsibility or profit in the country, and who monopolized the principal commercial business, and were also a rich class. They were so jealous of the native Mexicans that even the children of a Spaniard by a Mexican mother, born in Mexico, were not considered on the same footing as the Spaniard; they were called creoles, had no rights at all, and could not fill any public office of any importance, nor have any position. But few Spanish women ever came to Mexico. The men generally came whilst they were young, grew up in the country, and married Mexican women, very seldom pure-blooded Indians, and generally the daughters of Spaniards by Mexican mothers, born in Mexico. Of these unions came the creole.

The third class was the army, which was comparatively small, but was a very important element in the country, and native Mexicans were usually in very subordinate positions, though in a few cases only admitted among the commissioned officers.

These three classes, were, of course, decidedly attached to the Spanish rule, because under it they prospered and had all the wealth and power they could possibly wish for, while any change might endanger their position and welfare. The higher clergy were, of course, heartily loyal to Spain, while a few members of the lower clergy, Mexicans by birth—the church being the only career open to the natives—who, having on the other hand some patriotic feelings, were the only ones who could appreciate the condition of things, longed for a change.

The opposition of the clergy to independence and the alarm with which they viewed that movement were so great that their leaders were excommunicated by all the bishops of the country the moment the insurrection broke out. The Inquisition commenced proceedings against them, and several members of the higher clergy took up arms against the independent cause. The Bishop of Oaxaca, forgetting the teachings of the founder of his religion, organized his clergy, when he heard that Morelos was

going to attack the city, into a regiment to fight against the insurgents; but the martial prelate had no occasion to come into conflict with the insurgents, as he fled from the city as the enemy approached it.

The Spaniards disregarded so much the interest of their colonies, that they would not allow the Mexicans to raise the same fruits they had at home, like grapes and olives, etc., and that is the reason why we do not produce yet as much wine and olives as we otherwise could. It was only after our independence was accomplished that we began to cultivate those fruits.

The example of the United States, and even that of Spain,—where the people rebelled against the government established by Napoleon in 1808, under his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, notwithstanding that it had the sanction of King Ferdinand VII. who had abdicated in favor of the French Emperor—could not but affect the Spanish colonies in America, and most of them proclaimed their independence in 1810.

Independence was proclaimed in Mexico on September 15, 1810, in Dolores, an Indian village in the State of Guanajuato, by Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, the aged curate of the town, assisted by Allende Aldama and Abasalo, three inferior officers of the Mexican militia. His undertaking had all the leading classes of Mexico arrayed against it. He collected a very large number of Indians and peasants, and a few of the militia regiments followed his lead. To raise the public enthusiasm on his side, he had to put his cause under the protection of the Virgin of Guadalupe, who is supposed to have preternaturally appeared two hundred years before to a humble Indian, near the City of Mexico, and was highly reverenced in the country. His men were unorganized, without arms, ammunition or discipline, and although he captured some very important towns, made some headway, and under a good military leadership he might have accomplished a great deal more, availing himself of the popular enthusiasm for independence and of the surprise and discomfiture of the Spaniards, the organization and discipline of the Spanish army soon prevailed and he was defeated, captured, degraded by the higher clergy, and shot on July 31, 1811.

Hidalgo was succeeded by another priest, a full-blooded Indian, José Maria Morelos, who had in him the elements of a

great warrior, who organized a government, convened a congress which issued a constitution, defeated the Spaniards in several drawn battles and sustained for several months, against great odds, the famous siege in Cuautla, near the City of Mexico. Morelos fought the Spaniards with various successes from 1810 to 1815, when he was defeated, captured, degraded and shot.

The tendency of the Mexican revolution and its leaders will be shown by stating that Hidalgo issued on December 6, 1810, not quite three months after he had proclaimed independence from Spain, a decree abolishing slavery in Mexico, and that our first Congress, which met in Chilpancingo, in 1813, issued at Apatzingan on October 22, 1814, a constitution, and decreed at the same time the abolition of slavery. The abolition, of course, could only be enforced in the few places which were occupied by the insurgents; but when independence was achieved, one of the first acts of the first Mexican Congress, convened at the City of Mexico to adopt a constitution, was to issue a decree on July 13, 1824, which abolished slavery, and it was then actually abolished. In fact, every Mexican is born a strong anti-slavery man, so much so that we could not understand why this country should have accepted slavery and should have tried to sustain and extend it even at the cost of a tremendous civil war, which imperilled the very existence of the United States, and the great influence that they have to exert upon the destinies of mankind; especially when the very Declaration of American Independence contains the principle that all men are born free and equal, and slavery is a contradiction of that great principle. But, fortunately, slavery has been abolished here as it was in Mexico over seventy years ago, and the stain, which for some time tarnished the fair name of this country, has in that way been entirely obliterated.

When Morelos disappeared from the field, the war of independence was almost over. A few leaders remained, conspicuously among them Vicente Guerrero, Nicolas Bravo and others, patriotic and generous men, who kept up the war to the end, favored by the topographical conditions and the climate of the southern section of Mexico, which, being quite mountainous and sickly, did not allow the Spanish troops to make much headway. Early in 1817 General Mina, a Spanish patriot of broad-minded liberal views, brought to Mexico a small expedition, very much like the one brought here by General Lafayette to

fight for independence, was joined by many Mexicans, and had for some time a brilliant triumphal march; but he was soon defeated, captured, and shot, as the Spaniards did not give any quarter.

Such was the condition of things when, in 1820, the Spaniards at Madrid restored the liberal constitution adopted by the Cortes in 1812, when King Ferdinand VII. had fled from Spain and the country was in possession of the French, and that fact alarmed very much the conservative Spanish element in Mexico, who, fearing that liberal principles might find a foothold in the mother country, thought that it was better for them to proclaim independence from Spain and establish a Catholic monarchy under a Spanish king, so that they would not be subject to the obnoxious changes which liberal ideas, that had begun to permeate Spain, might bring about. They went, therefore, to Iturbide, who, although a native Mexican, had been one of the leaders of the Spanish army against the insurrection, was a good soldier and an ambitious man. Iturbide accepted their plan, and, when appointed by the Viceroy to command the army sent to subdue the southern revolutionary leaders, he took all the available forces and money of the Viceroy and joined Guerrero and the other revolutionary leaders, proclaiming on February 24, 1821, a platform called *Plan de Jquala*, which was a compromise between the revolution and its opponents, as it accomplished independence, but under a thoroughly Catholic monarchy with a Spanish prince on the throne, and forbidding the exercise of any other religion. All the other commanding officers of the Spanish army in other sections of the country accepted that platform, and, after that, independence was of course accomplished almost without a blow. An incoming Viceroy accepted the plan of Jquala and signed at Cordova on August 24 of that year, but the Spanish Government repudiated that treaty and Iturbide was then crowned Emperor of Mexico in May, 1822.

So the movement for independence, which, in the other Spanish colonies, came from the higher classes, in Mexico sprang up originally from the lower classes, with the higher classes opposing it, and so the first movement was an apparent failure, because it did not have the support of the higher classes. But as soon as it became for the interest of the higher classes themselves that Mexico should be independent of Spanish rule, their influence turned the scale, and independence was at once achieved.

But the Mexican patriots, who had been fighting for ten years in favor of independence, material progress, and liberal principles, could not be satisfied with the success of their former enemies and the establishment of an empire. They thought that this was depriving the country and themselves of the fruits of their victory, and so they rebelled against Iturbide and inaugurated a revolution which finally overthrew the empire and made Iturbide fly from the country after a reign of about ten months. After that, was renewed the old hostility between the two parties—the Liberal party, which had been the promoter of independence and desired progress, and the Conservative or Church party, which intended to maintain the *status quo*, and was decidedly averse to any changes. It is not strange that the conflict between these two parties, representing such antagonistic ideas, should have lasted so long.

After Iturbide's downfall, the Liberals summoned a national congress, which issued, on January 31, 1824, the preliminary basis of a Federal Constitution, and on October 4, of the same year, the Constitution itself was finally adopted and promulgated. It was patterned after the Constitution of the United States and was almost a copy of it, and I do not know whether, in imitating so closely the institutions of this country, we did not make a mistake. The constitution of a nation should be adapted to the conditions of that country. Here, in the northern section of the continent, there were at the end of last century thirteen colonies independent from each other, which made war against England, achieved their independence, and then found themselves little more than a confederacy of infantile nations, with all the weaknesses which ever have attended a simple confederation. They, therefore, decided to consolidate themselves into a strong nation, under the name of "The United States of America." The federal system of government was the only solution of the problems which confronted then the people of this country. It was the natural and inevitable outgrowth of the condition of things existing before the adoption of the Constitution. In Mexico, there was a united country, subject to the same authorities and laws, and with only one head. In adopting a republican federal system there, the nation had to be artificially divided up into separate sections, to be called states, which had no separate existence before, and no individual history or experience in self-government. It is not to be wondered at, therefore,

that when this constitution went into operation, it caused great disturbance. It is easy to find in this fact one of the causes of our prolonged civil wars. We were not alone in suffering such misfortunes, for almost every other nation on this continent following in our footsteps, tried to adapt the republican-federal system to a condition of things to which it was not suited. Brazil alone escaped this period of turmoil and experiment by establishing an empire, with a scion of the reigning house of Portugal on the throne, and by not adopting a federal-republican form of government until nearly a century later, after the people had acquired some ideas of self-government, and some capacity for carrying it out; and it is probably for these reasons that she has suffered less by civil commotions than any other country of similar origin in this hemisphere.

Our Constitution of 1824 was a decided victory for the Liberal party, but very far from being a final one. The Church party, though then defeated, was really the stronger of the two during the early years of independent Mexico. The Liberal victory did not last long, and the Conservative or Church party prevailed upon some of Mexico's numerous military leaders to rebel against the government and inaugurate a series of revolutions, which ended in 1835 in the overthrow of the Constitution of 1824. The military leaders began to play a very important part in public affairs. One of the worst effects of a successful revolution is that it sanctions the principle that brutal force shall prevail, and gives rise to personal ambition of unscrupulous and successful soldiers. One instance of this result is the case of General Santa Anna, of Mexico. He was an ambitious, unprincipled, selfish man, who sided with all the parties and deceived them all. He was a successful military leader in an irregular guerilla warfare, but had no ability as a soldier. He fought with the Spanish army against the independent cause up to 1821, when he went over to Iturbide when he joined the independent leaders; in 1822 he rebelled against Iturbide and proclaimed a Federal Republic, and in 1834 he abolished the Federal Constitution of 1824, and established a military dictatorship. From 1822 to 1855 he actually had the fate of Mexico in his hands, having been President five different times, but never did any good to the country, excepting his readiness to take part in our foreign war. He began his political career as a Radical Lib-

eral, and ended it as the most reactionary leader of the Church party. He often was very easily discouraged and more than once fled from the country, forsaking a power which he might have wielded longer, showing that he lacked tenacity of purpose. But such an instance as this does not show, as a superficial observer might be disposed to believe, that the struggle was only on account of personal ambition of unscrupulous military leaders, as what really happened was that the political parties used these leaders for their convenience, and had, of course, to share the power with them.

When the Church party had the ascendency, they repealed the Federal Constitution of 1824, and on October 23, 1835, they issued some bases for a new constitution, which was finally proclaimed on December 29, 1836, under the title of Constitutional Laws, which abolished the federal system of government, and several of the liberal features of the Federal Constitution of 1824. The Constitutional Laws of 1836 did not seem to be conservative enough for the Church party, and they issued, on June 13, 1843, what was called the "Organic Bases"—a more conservative constitution.

As the Church party was so rich and so strong, and had so much influence in the country, it could very easily have brought about a civil war of such seriousness as would have been very difficult for the Liberal side to overcome; but, as time elapsed, the Liberal party, which really represented the patriotic element of the country, grew stronger with education and contact with foreign nations, and was materially assisted in its task by the demoralization of the clergy and their unpatriotic conduct during our foreign wars—as, besides our civil wars, we had, in 1828, a war against Spain, who sent an expedition to reconquer Mexico; in 1838, a war with France; in 1846 and 1847 a war with the United States, and from 1861 to 1867, the war of the French intervention. It was not difficult, therefore, for the Liberal party to inaugurate in their turn a counter-revolution, which was at last successful, and which finally restored them to power. It was in that way that the period of our civil wars continued for so long, and that we came to have so many different constitutions.

Finally, on May 18, 1847, the Federal Constitution of 1824 was restored, with some amendments, and the Liberal party

regained power, which they kept until 1853, when Santa Anna returned to Mexico, called back by a successful revolution of the Church party, and established a dictatorship of the most reactionary kind. But the Liberals rebelled against him in 1854, proclaiming the plan of Ayutla, and in 1855 Santa Anna fled from the country, because the Church in whose interest he was administering the government would not give him the money he required to carry out the war. A federal government was then established under General Alvarez first, and General Comonfort afterwards. General Alvarez appointed Benito Juarez Secretary of Justice, and on November 23, 1855, Juarez issued the first law against the clergy which deprived them of the civil privileges they were enjoying. Under the Spanish rule, and also after the independence of Mexico, up to that date, the clergy had special courts made up of clergymen, to try them for any offence that they might commit. This was a privilege which insured them almost perfect immunity and exempted them from the control of the laws of the country. The Liberals thought that that was a great outrage, but they could not change that condition of things until the Juarez law of 1855. The army enjoyed similar privileges, of which the Juarez law deprived them by restricting the jurisdiction of military courts to only military offences.

Juarez was a most remarkable man. He was a full-blooded Indian, born in a small town inhabited only by Indians, and where there was but one man—the parish priest—who spoke Spanish and could read and write. Juarez was so anxious to learn Spanish and to acquire an education, that he offered his services as a domestic to the priest, under condition that he should be taught. The priest found him so intelligent that he sent him to the adjoining city of Oaxaca to be educated. From such humble beginnings he rose to be a prominent lawyer and a foremost statesman. He was, at different times, Secretary of State of his own state, Member of the State Legislature, State Senator, Governor of his state for several terms, Representative to the Federal Congress, Secretary of Justice and of the Interior, Chief Justice, Vice-President, and finally President of the Republic. His principal characteristics were his profound conviction of liberal principles, his very clear mind, his remarkably good common sense, his great moral courage, his unimpeached integrity and

honesty, his great patriotism, his tenacity of purpose and devotion to civil government. In time of war, when the destinies of the country were in his hands and often depended on the result of a battle, and when many others in his place would have led an army, he purposely abstained from exercising any military duties. These he left entirely to those of his associates who had shown talent for war, and he himself set the example of a purely civil government. He had as much personal courage as any man in the world. I saw him more than once facing death as near and sure as any man ever did, with perfect calmness and almost indifference, but without bravado. I am sure he felt that it is best for a patriot to die in the service of his country, because in that case he wins for himself immortality, and on this theory I account for the fact that he was never afraid to die if he died while in the performance of a patriotic duty.*

The Juarez law was succeeded by the Lerdo law, which provided that no corporation—meaning the clergy, as the church was the only corporation existing in Mexico—could hold real estate, and that such as was held then by any corporation should be sold to the actual tenants at a price which was to be arrived at by capitalizing the rent on the basis of six per cent. rate of interest. Thereafter, the tenant was to be the owner of the property, the corporation retaining a mortgage equal to the price fixed in this way. These two laws were the cause of two other insurrections promoted by the church and subdued by President Comonfort.

Our present Federal Constitution of February 5th, 1857, had been issued during the administration of Comonfort, and he had just taken the oath to support it, and under it he had been elected Constitutional President for a term of four years, beginning on December 1, 1857, and on the 17th of that month he rebelled against the constitution he had just sworn to support.

* Mr. Seward's estimate of the character of Juarez, shows how the Anglo-Saxon was impressed by the little Indian. When Mr. Seward visited Mexico on his trip around the world, he was heartily welcomed by my country, and in a remarkable speech that he made in the City of Puebla, he said that Juarez was the greatest man that he had ever met in his life. His speech was taken down in shorthand, and Mr. Thomas H. Nelson, of Terre Haute, Ind , then United States Minister to Mexico, noticing this phrase and thinking that in the excitement of the moment Mr. Seward had gone further than he intended and further than he would like to have repeated after a sober second thought, took it to Mr. Seward and said to him, "Governor, will you be willing to stand by what you said in your speech, about Juarez being the greatest man you ever knew? Remember that you have been the peer and contemporary of Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and many other distinguished men of our country, and that you place Juarez above them all.' Mr. Seward answered, "What I said about Juarez was after mature consideration, and I am willing to stand by my opinion." This statement has been submitted to General Nelson and found correct by him.—M. R.

Notwithstanding this and the fact that he had successfully subdued two insurrections of the church against his government, he finally allowed himself to be used as the tool of the clergy, and headed a revolution against the very constitution which he had proclaimed, and to which he owed his position.

Juarez, after the enactment of the law which bore his name, had for a time been Governor of the state of Oaxaca, and while holding that office he had been elected Chief-Justice of the Republic and *ex-officio* Vice-President, and was at the time of the Comonfort rebellion also acting as Secretary of the Interior.

Juarez became Comonfort's successor and undertook to stem the tide of rebellion and reaction. In the City of Mexico most of the old regular army of the country were in favor of the Conservative or Church party. The city, therefore, fell into the hands of Juarez's enemies and he had to fly from it. He went to the interior, where he established his government, first at Queretaro, afterwards at Guanajuato and Guadalajara. Finally he sailed from Manzanillo, a Mexican port on the Pacific, to Panama, New Orleans, and back to Vera Cruz, on the Gulf of Mexico, where he remained for about two years. Vera Cruz was the stronghold of the Liberal party as it was naturally a strong place and well fortified. It was protected also by its bad climate and the prevalence of yellow fever there, and was the best place he could have selected to establish his government. He remained at Vera Cruz from March, 1858, to January, 1861, during which time the principal cities of the country were in the hands of the Church party. The Liberal army, though often defeated, was never destroyed, for the people were with them and recruits came in abundance. After a defeat, the liberal leaders reorganized their armies and were soon ready to meet the enemy again. Their courage and persistence were finally rewarded and they were victorious in the decisive battle of Calpulalpan on December 23, 1860.

During the terrible struggle which we call the War of Reform, Juarez issued, from Vera Cruz, on July 12 and 23, 1859, our Reform Laws, which had for their object to destroy the political power that the clergy had exercised before. The church property was declared national property, and was sold by the government to the occupants of it at a nominal price, payable partially in national bonds, then selling at a very low price, about five per cent. of their face value. The clergy were then deprived of

all political rights. Their convents, both of monks and nuns, were suppressed. The number of churches existing in the country was considerably reduced. Complete independence between the church and the state was proclaimed. A civil registry of births, marriages and deaths was established, taking from the clergy all interference with such subjects, which had been up to then under their sole supervision. Processions and all other religious demonstrations outside of the church, as well as the ringing of bells, were prohibited. The number of feast days, which then amounted to nearly one-fourth of all the days of the year, and tended to keep the people in idleness, was reduced to not more than two or three for the whole year. The wearing outside of the church of the priest's peculiar habit was prohibited, and many other stringent measures against the clergy were adopted, with a view to destroy their political power and to deprive it of the means to bring about another insurrection against the government.

It is a remarkable fact that most of the Liberal leaders were lawyers, who, influenced solely by patriotism and a desire for the success of the Liberal cause and without any military education, had to lead our armies during the long civil wars. Some of them became very distinguished soldiers in our war, as happened here in the United States. So I can properly say that the final success of the Liberal cause in Mexico was due in a great measure to the jurists of the nation, and it was so much so that they incurred the special hatred of the Church party, and the name of "lawyer" was wont to be used by them as a contemptuous designation for the Liberal leaders.

After the battle of Calpulalpan, where General Miramon, the last Church party President, was defeated, Juarez left Vera Cruz and established his government at the City of Mexico. He then convened Congress, ordered an election, and in 1861 he was elected President for his first constitutional term. The Reform laws did not become operative until after Juarez occupied the City of Mexico and his rule was extended over the whole country.

The Church party did not give up the struggle, but began again with renewed vigor to start a new insurrection in 1861, directed especially against the execution of the Reform laws. Although this insurrection was not of a serious character, because the insurgents could not capture any important places or defeat

the government troops, it did succeed in keeping up an unsettled condition of things throughout the country, involving great insecurity to life and property.

When the Church party became satisfied that the Liberal party had grown so much that they did not have strength enough at home to overcome it, they went to Europe and continued their intrigues with European courts to secure a European intervention in Mexico. Unfortunately, about that time, the Civil War broke out in the United States, and insured the success of the Mexican Church leaders in obtaining the European intervention, as the French Emperor seemed quite certain of the success of the Confederacy, and was very well disposed to avail himself of the opportunity offered by the Mexican Church party of gaining a foothold in Mexico and effectually aiding in the permanent division of the United States. He had, besides, his dream of establishing a French Empire in America bordering on the Pacific. Under his influence an alliance was made between France, England, and Spain, and Maximilian was persuaded to come to Mexico. England and Spain withdrew before the war actually began, and Napoleon's first army was defeated at Puebla on May 5, 1862; but, after being considerably reinforced, he succeeded in occupying both Puebla and the City of Mexico in 1863, and so began the French intervention. The details of that intervention are quite familiar in this country, and I will not say anything more about it.

When peace was restored in the United States after the collapse of the Confederacy, Louis Napoleon, of course, understood that he could not continue for an indefinite period his occupation of Mexico, and that he had to give up his Mexican plans, and withdraw his army from the country. Maximilian well knew that he could not remain in Mexico after the withdrawal of the French, and he decided to leave the country as soon as he heard that the French army was to be withdrawn and he was satisfied that his wife's mission to Europe to obtain a revocation of the order of withdrawal was fruitless; but unfortunately he was a dreamer without force of character and he was not a man equal to the occasion. He was not steady in his resolutions, and he was persuaded by the leaders of the Church party to return to the City of Mexico after he had already started on his homeward journey and gone in October, 1866, so far as Orizaba, two-thirds of the way

between the City of Mexico and Vera Cruz, where the "Novara," the same Austrian man-of-war which had brought him to Mexico in 1864, lay ready to take him back to his native country, having been sent over at his request by the Emperor of Austria, after having generously reinstated him in his rights as Archduke of Austria and eventual heir to the throne, which he had resigned when leaving for Mexico. Early in February, 1867, Maximilian left the City of Mexico and went to Queretaro, where he was finally captured, tried and shot on June 19 following.

In July of that year the Juarez government was again restored to the City of Mexico, and another popular election took place, in which Juarez was almost unanimously elected by the people for another term from 1867 to 1871.

The patriotism and firmness of Juarez were remarkable. There was a time, during the French intervention, in which many seemed to despair of the fate of Mexico, and that feeling was not entirely unreasonable, considering that the country was invaded by a very large French army—some sixty or eighty thousand men, I think. Besides, Napoleon and Maximilian had contrived to have an Austrian auxiliary corps, a corps from Hungary, and another from Belgium—Princess Charlotte, Maximilian's wife, was a daughter of the former King of Belgium and a sister of the present King—and he had also one contingent from the French colony of Algiers, and the command of the troops of the Church party, which were on his side, and embraced most of our old regular army, and finally, he had all the aristocratic elements of Mexico in his favor. Altogether, the array was so great that it was no wonder that many of our public men had, sometimes, little hope of success. But Juarez never despaired for a second. He was perfectly certain of final success, and was ready to sacrifice his life for his country's cause.

In a country where civil war had lasted for such a long time, everything was demoralized, and so, even after our complete success against the French intervention, and the so-called empire of Maximilian, some uprisings took place, which were now headed by dissatisfied Liberal leaders, and although they were of no serious nature and were easily subdued by President Juarez, they kept the country in an unsettled condition, and contributed to support the view that we were unable to maintain peace. President Juarez died on July 18, 1872, and President Lerdo de Tejada, who

succeeded him, first as Vice-President and afterwards as constitutional President elected by the people, held the office until November, 1876, when General Diaz became President. Among the many distinguished services that General Diaz has rendered to Mexico, perhaps the principal one is to have restored complete peace to the country. During the several terms in which he has filled the executive office, he has earnestly encouraged the material development of the country, and firmly established peace and order. Material development always furnishes the best security that public peace will be maintained. It would take more space than I can conveniently occupy if I intended to give a correct idea of the great services that General Diaz has done to Mexico.

It will be readily seen by this very brief synopsis that the causes which brought about the civil wars in Mexico are now over. Ours was a contest for supremacy between the vital forces of the nation, between the old and the new ideas, which in other countries it has taken longer years, and even centuries, to settle; but now our political problem is solved, the Church party is completely broken down as a political organization and cannot cause again any serious disturbance, and the elements of civil war are now lacking. Mexico, for nearly twenty years, has been at peace and enjoying all the advantages of a permanent peace. Such persons as took part in former revolutions have either died, disappeared, or are now interested in the maintenance of peace, because they are thriving under the development of the country. Even in case President Diaz's guidance should fail Mexico, I am sure that peace would be preserved, because the interests in its favor are very strong. Railways and telegraphs are great preservers of peace. In case of an insurrection, it was not long ago that it took months before the government could reach the insurgents, and in the meantime they could organize and fortify themselves and make considerable headway before they were confronted by an enemy. Now the government can send troops at once to quell it.

Peace in Mexico is as secure as it is in any other country, and life and property are as safe there as anywhere else. Public opinion seems to share this view, and capital, especially foreign capital, which is so conservative and timid, is now being freely invested in Mexican enterprises.

M. Romero.

SPEED IN AMERICAN WAR-SHIPS.

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THE late remarkable performance of the American built cruisers, "Columbia" and "Minneapolis," is clearly not to be attributed to any novel features of form or unprecedented fineness of line, nor new ratios of length to breadth nor to any phenomenally low skin-friction and wave-making resistance. In these fields the naval architect has undoubtedly done his best to bring about the unexpected results. Yet any one or all of these elements of refined design are not alone sufficient to account for the increased speeds of our new war vessels.

It would appear that we must look to the motive power machinery for no small share in the record-breaking runs made on their trial trips. It will also be necessary to weigh carefully the merits of triple screws for war vessels as compared with twin screws. It must be borne in mind that comparisons are here made between United States naval cruisers alone; more particularly so in the case of the "New York" and the "Minneapolis." Their lines were laid down by the same skilful designers for the utmost possible speed, under the most economical conditions of working, and as adapted to the method of propulsion imposed. They were built by the same firm. Instruments were used for indicating the horse-power of the engines which had been standardized by the same expert naval engineer.

We shall take a look backward, however, and note the remarkable runs of some earlier American-built cruisers. The development of the so-called "New Navy" along the line of cruisers will also be pointed out. This will assist the reader to form an opinion as to the most desirable course for the present and future naval programmes of shipbuilding. Especially important also,

as bearing directly on this issue, is the new naval policy of establishing a naval reserve in such American built cruisers as the "St. Louis" and the "St. Paul," and the admission to American registry of the "New York" and the "Paris."

The inherent desire of the American people for the maintenence of our peace establishment no doubt had much to do with the significant fact that the first war vessels authorized by Congress, in 1883, for the rehabilitation of our navy, consisted of three protected cruisers and a dispatch boat. The 3,200-ton sister ships, "Atlanta" and "Boston," were rated at 15.6 knots on 4,030 horse-power. To get the machinery below the then newly-planned protective decks the engines were built of the horizontal compound type. The other, "Chicago," was to develop 15.3 knots, on 5,084 horse-power, and was the first in which twin screws were adopted, but with an antiquated type of compound overhead beam engine.

In examining the work projected by the Naval Advisory Board of scarcely a decade since, we must not lose sight of the fact that compound engines were then the order of the day. No marine boilers had yet been built to carry the, at least, 50 pounds higher pressure demanded by triple expansion working. Such were not adopted in the transatlantic liners till 1885, in the "Aller." Naval designers usually wait for merchantmen to lead the way and bear the expense of the experiment, if it proves to be such.

The above first three American cruisers were built in the once famous Roach shipyards. The latest cruiser, the "Minneapolis," had her trial trip, three years and four months after the passage of the act authorizing her construction. Her builders, the Cramps, have earned an international reputation by their workmanship and skill. These advances have been made possible, also, by the characteristic American method of meeting the new demands for structural steel and armor plates by the development and successful establishment of entirely new industries during the past ten years. These new industries now compete against the armor plate makers of the world, for material delivered anywhere against the odds of transportation charges, and secure contracts for foreign as well as home naval vessels.

Unarmored cruisers of the protective deck type were still believed to be most needed, for the present war cry for battleships

had not yet gathered sufficient strength to influence Congress. So that, in 1885, two more protected cruisers, the "Newark" and "Charleston," were authorized. The speed requirements were greatly increased for these 4,000-ton cruisers: the "Newark" developing 19.0 knots on 8,869 total horse-power, and the "Charleston," 18.2 knots on 6,666 horse-power. The latter vessel was the last to be built of the old twin-screw horizontal compound type; while the "Newark" led the way in the introduction of triple expansion engines, but still of the horizontal type for her twin screws. The "Newark" was the first cruiser of the new navy built by the Cramps, and both were accepted on fulfillment of the new four-hour contract-trial at sea.

The first sea-going twin-screw battleship was ordered in 1886, the "Texas," of 6,300 tons displacement, and to develop 17.0 knots with 8,000 horse-power. In this vessel the vertical type of triple expansion engine was adopted for the first time in the United States navy. But there was another protected cruiser authorized, the same year, the 4,600-ton twin-screw "Baltimore," with engines similar to the "Newark," but advancing still in speed attainments to 19.84 knots, with 10,064 total horse-power.

Of the old type of protected cruisers, with twin screws and horizontal triple expansion engines, there were only two more authorized, in 1887, the "Philadelphia" and "San Francisco." The former, with displacement of 4,324 tons, developed 19.68 knots on 8,815 horse-power; and the latter, on the four-hour trial off Santa Barbara, attained speed of 20.17 knots for the last half hour, with mean for the trial of 20.6 knots on 9,913 horse-power and displacement of 4,088 tons.

In the same year, 1887, the first steel-armored twin-screw cruiser "Maine" was authorized to be built in the New York Navy Yard. She was the first cruiser to have vertical triple expansion engines of the type of the battleship "Texas." On her trial trip she developed 17.45 knots on 9,282 horse-power and displacement of 5,500 tons.

Government seemed well satisfied with its naval programme up to date, for in 1888 it authorized six more protected cruisers and one more armored cruiser, the "New York." All were to be fitted out with the newly adopted type of twin screw vertical triple expansion engines. Of the three 2,000 ton, 5,000 horse-

power cruisers—"Detroit," "Montgomery" and "Marblehead"—the first led the way in developing speed of 18.7 knots, on 5,227 total horse-power. The two 3,200-ton cruisers, "Raleigh" and "Cincinnati," were built at Government Navy Yards, and rated at 19.0 knots on 10,000 horse-power.

The "Olympia," the remaining protected cruiser, of the 1888 programme, again broke the record on her trial trip by developing speed of 21.686 knots for four consecutive hours, on 17,363 total horse-power, and displacement of 5,586 tons. She thus became the fastest twin-screw protected cruiser of the new navy. Combined with her fighting qualities, coal endurance and manœuvering features, her speed and steaming capacity make her one of the most valuable acquisitions.

It is in the "New York," however, that we possess the fastest steel-armored cruiser. She was the first of the new cruisers to be tried at sea, off the coast of New England, between Cape Ann and Cape Porpoise, under the new standard contract-trial conditions. She developed speed of 21 knots on 17,401 total horse-power and displacement of 8,480 tons.

The plans for battleships had apparently been laid on the shelf, through some oversight not yet explained, and cruisers were masters of the situation. But, on a June day, in 1890, Uncle Sam looked around for some fighting vessels and authorized three 10,200-ton, coast-line battleships, the "Indiana," "Massachusetts," and "Oregon," to develop 15 knots on 9,000 horse-power.

At least one more protected cruiser was finally authorized by Congress, just six months before the three battleships above noted. This 7,350-ton cruiser was to be a commerce destroyer. From its inception there were grave apprehensions that the United States navy was going to pay dearly for the experiment of trying to use triple screws with triple expansion engines. But the conditions had been imposed. She was to attain at least twenty-one knots on 21,000 horse-power; more if she could. The Cramps were to build her and run all the risks of the untried triple screws. They were to receive $2,725,000 for the vessel, with a heavy forfeit of $50,000 for every quarter of a knot the speed fell short of twenty-one knots. Continuous adverse criticism was made against the management of the Bureau of Steam Engineering. But it was unavailing; for in a little over a year,

before it could possibly be known how the first triple screw cruiser would turn out, her sister ship was authorized by Congress. We shall speak of the performance of these two—the "Columbia" and "Minneapolis"—somewhat in detail, later.

The following year, 1892, another armored cruiser, the 9,200-ton "Brooklyn," was authorized, to belong to the 20-knot class with the "New York." Congress judiciously offset this with a fighting vessel, however, the 11,300-ton, 16-knot, sea-going battleship, "Iowa." She is to have two sister ships in the new battleships, Nos. 5 and 6, authorized in 1895.

The rise, progress and decline of American-built cruisers have been briefly traced, from the 3,200-ton "Atlanta," with 15.6 knots on 4,030 horse-power, with its antiquated single-screw horizontal compound engines, and costing $617,000, to the 7,350-ton cruiser "Minneapolis," developing mean speed of 23.073 knots on her standard contract-trial trip, for four consecutive hours, with triple screws, each operated by vertical triple expansion engines, developing 20,862 total horse-power, and costing $2,690,000.

All of these American-built cruisers have been said to have served their most useful purpose before they were launched. It is thought that their value has been chiefly of an educational nature, in drawing out the talent of our young science of naval architecture and marine engineering, at the expense of government. It is undoubtedly true that they have stimulated somewhat the development of new industries, brought about, by the virtue of necessity, improved methods of iron and steel working, and contributed no small amount towards building up American shipbuilding and marine engineering industries. We have now the very latest thing, no doubt, also—triple expansion engines operating triple screws, and cruising speeds of war vessels with an unprecedented economy, in which we lead the world.

We should now rest on our oars awhile, at least. For, is it not only too true that our fighting policy has been sadly neglected? While it is paying policy for the merchant marine to have the very latest thing, it is believed not to be so in the navy, but the very contrary. Naval tacticians demand uniformity in models of war vessels, uniformity of speed, interchangeable parts of all vessels of a fleet, standardized fittings throughout; for is not "the speed of a squadron that of its slowest ship," and the strength of a fleet that of its weakest vessel?

Our naval programme from this time forward should contain $4,000,000 battleships and plenty of them. For if we wish any more fast flyers we had better count on private enterprise. This, under the shadow of government subsidy, has given to our naval reserve such magnificent transatlantic liners as the "New York" and "Paris," the "St. Louis" and "St. Paul." Why not encourage this? But should this alone be done and the other left undone?

The naval programme of 1883, which gave us the three so-called Roach cruisers, "Atlanta," "Boston" and "Chicago," could not possibly have anticipated the development, during the next decade, which has culminated in the "Minneapolis." But, what and if the several arguments we have just noted had been applied then and there? The sixteen subsequent cruisers would have been built, if at all, with single or twin screw horizontal compound engines, trudging along together at 15-knot speed, at the most. It would have been of no avail to have prophesied that, in 1885, triple expansion marine engines would come to stay, with an acknowledged saving of 20 per cent. in coal bill over the old compound engines.

It would not have done to advocate triple screws, because the converging screw shafts, required by the fineness of lines for high speeds, would be argued to destroy the turning advantages of twin screws in time of battle. The accompanying economy of triple screw propulsion would not have been believed, if prophesied. The subdivision of so large a power into three triple expansion engine units would be seen to give increased facility in handling. The reluctant admission might be made that there really would be an increased chance of getting into port in case of breakdown with three engines rather than two. But, the phenomenal inefficiency of triple expansion engines when working at light loads, if it could have been proven, would have shown the economy of the greatly increased range of speeds for triple-screw war vessels when cruising in times of peace. With one, two or three screws in operation, the triple engine of each one may be worked at its most economical load, resulting in most economical rate of coal consumption, and therefore highest efficiency.

Whether we are witnessing the passing of American-built cruisers, or are going to see the "broom" remain at the mast-head of a war vessel carrying the stars and stripes, in either case

it will be profitable to examine into the conditions under which they have attained their maximum speed, and questions relating to their economical performance. Regarding the use of triple screws there have been acrimonious discussions between line and staff, not at all creditable to the *personnel* of our navy. But the Yankee does not always count on the happening of the unexpected. Sometimes he projects great and expensive works on small precedent, of which the adoption of triple screws is a modern instance.

The French Government experiments in 1884–5, on the specially-fitted triple-screw steam launch "Carpe," were sufficiently conclusive as to warrant its fitting out with triple screws, in 1890, the 6,300-ton armored cruiser "Dupuy de Lôme." Her performance up to the time of an accident to the boilers was very satisfactory. The Italian Government, in 1887, built the first two, the "Confienza" and "Tripoli," of seven authorized 800-ton triple-screw torpedo cruisers. The German Government was building the 5,000-ton triple-screw protected cruiser "Kaiserin Augusta." On September 29, 1892, she attained a speed of 20.86 knots, and was the first war vessel fitted with triple screws to be tried before the "Columbia."

The unexpected began to happen in the "Kaiserin Augusta." All three screws had the same diameter, but the pitch of the centre screw was made one foot less than the side screws, because it was expected that this centre screw, being in the wake of the vessel, would revolve more rapidly. The trial showed that the centre screw revolved slower than the side screws by about five revolutions per minute. This was taken advantage of in the trial of the "Columbia" by giving all three screws the same pitch, but the centre screw ran some five revolutions per minute slower than the side screws. This performance of our new triple-screw cruisers has upset some preconceived notions.

The so-called frictional wake of twin-screw vessels appears to exert a great forward pressure, contrary to the usual belief that the water between the side screws has a decided tendency to move sternward. Into this strong forward moving current of the frictional wake the centre one of the triple screws works to great advantage. This was especially noticeable in the trial of the "Minneapolis," in which, with only one more revolution, the center screw required of its engine 700 additional horse-power.

Moreover, this action appears not to interfere in any way with the stream line motion sufficiently to increase the vessel's resistance.

It was not anticipated that there would be found any increased economy of propulsion due to using triple screws. On the contrary, an expected decrease of economy was met by characteristic engineering foresight. They were designed to develop more horse-power than it was thought would be actually required to provide for attaining the contract speed if ordinary twin screws had been adopted. The performance of the "Minneapolis" has been reduced, with that of the twin-screw cruisers "New York" and "Olympia," from the observed speeds and displacements to the horse-power required for a 22-knot speed at a reduced common displacement of 5,586 tons (that of the "Olympia" on trial trip). There has thus been found a decided gain in the economy of propulsion of the triple cruiser "Minneapolis" over the twin cruiser "New York" of 11.9 per cent., and over the twin cruiser "Olympia" of 21 per cent.

The above reductions were made in order to compare the performance of these American-built cruisers by what is known as Froude's law.

As this was objected to in many naval circles, the actual performance of these cruisers was reduced to another standard of comparison, considering the differences in length, as well as its relation to displacement. Designating the efficiency of propulsion as the ratio of the actual useful work done in propulsion to the indicated horse-power of the engines, it was found that the triple screws of the "Minneapolis" still showed a remarkable gain in efficiency of propulsion, being 11.8 per cent. over the twin screws of the "New York" and 19.38 per cent. over those of the "Olympia."

The characteristic quality of cruisers is that of their ability to steam at great differences of speed. Whether running from or chasing an enemy, or carrying out diplomatic relations with dispatch in time of peace, the most difficult problem has been to provide for an economical performance of their machinery at the several ranges of speed required. It was formerly accomplished, after a manner, by applying the disconnective principle to the design and construction of their high-powered twin-screw machinery. In this way, one or more cylinders of a multiple cylinder engine is disconnected or thrown out of gear, when

cruising at moderate or low speeds, to insure a more economical working of the remainder. Unshackling two or more connecting rods and eccentric straps of twin-screw engines, as provided for in the "New York" and "Brooklyn," is certainly inconvenient, liable to cause delay, and usually at a most critical time.

The only alternative is to adopt the distributive system found so successful in operating our largest electric power plants under their varied conditions of load. In this manner the subdivision of great powered engines into units is based on the principle that every type of engine has a certain load under which it will work with the least rate of coal consumption. So in the case of our new cruisers it was deemed best to obtain the varied powers required by the usual range of cruising speeds by throwing out of or into use one or two complete engine units, instead of one or two cylinders of each engine of a twin-screw vessel. That is to say, the "Columbia" and "Minneapolis" are enabled to cruise at all of the usual ranges of speeds, with one, two or three screws, as may be required, but in all cases at the most economical rate of coal consumption. It is more economical to get 5,000 horse-power required for a moderate speed by using the 7,000 horse-power centre-screw engine than it would be to try to obtain the same power by working the two 10,000 horse-power engines of a twin-screw vessel at one-quarter load each.

As long as government has to buy coal it will remain a business policy to so design and install the engines of war vessels that they may be operated under the most economical conditions of fuel consumption under the varied requirements of the naval service. If this can be done without in any way lowering the speed or destroying manœuvering qualities, it will remain a serious question whether it is advisable to longer adhere to twin screws for war vessels, instead of adopting the triple-screw types of the "Minneapolis" and "Columbia." In the case of these, also, it is yet to be shown that the drag of one or two idle screws, though on uncoupled shafts, demands so much power that it will more than offset the great gain in economy due to the use of each engine at most economical load. The performance of the "Columbia" in a six-hour test, with one, two and three screws, has proven that for the power developed and the speed produced she is quite as economical as any single or twin-screw vessel under like conditions.

Foreign navies have already recognized in the triple-screw the solution of the problem of the economical distribution of power. The French Government have the 11,700-ton ironclad "Masséna," and two new 8,500-ton 23-knot cruisers are projected, all with triple screws. After alterations and modifications to the "Kaiserin Augusta," with greatly improved performance, the German Government has ordered further exhaustive trials with a view of fitting out several ships with triple screws.

The standard four-hour contract speed trial was required of all the new cruisers which were built in private shipyards, after the three Roach cruisers, "Atlanta," "Boston" and "Chicago." It is to this requirement, no doubt, more than to any other, coupled with the speed premiums, which have so rapidly developed our new navy. The trial really consists of two-hour runs, one each way, over a measured course. The latest course used for the "Columbia" and "Minneapolis" is from Cape Porpoise to Cape Ann, 43.968 knots. Eight ships anchored at known intervals along the course note the time of passing of the trial ship and the tidal current. Tidal corrections being added to or subtracted from the known length of the course, the true distance made good by the ship is ascertained; this, divided by the observed time on course, gives the speed attained.

The contractor is allowed to make one or more preliminary "builder's trials." A force of trained engineers and observers, oilers and stokers, picked coal and a clean hull, with favorable conditions of time and tide, of wind and weather, if possible to command them, co-operate with detailed naval engineers. Forced draft is of course used. All engineering instruments in use are carefully standardized by most approved methods. Prearranged signals announce the time when observations are to be taken. The ship is allowed to get up to her speed at least half a mile before coming on her course.

The maximum speeds attained were as follows: For the "Columbia," 24.77 knots, on passing the second stake boat, on run south, and 25.30 knots on passing last stake boat on run north, with an average corrected speed of 22.8 knots, on 18,509 total indicated horse-power; for the "Minneapolis," 24.01 knots on passing fourth stake boat, on run south, and 23.8 knots, on passing sixth stake boat on run north, with an average speed, corrected, of 23.073 knots, with 20,862 total indicated horse-power.

The now historical run of the "Columbia," from Southampton to New York, entirely under natural draft, shows conclusively that the contract speed conditions are capable of being almost reproduced in actual service, if required. The maximum speed for any one hour of her transatlantic run was 20.6 knots; and the official time of the run was 6 days, 23 hours and 49 minutes, representing unprecedented performance for a man-of-war over long distances at sea.

The naval reserve cruisers, the "St. Louis" and "St. Paul," have been specially designed to be easily converted into armored cruisers. They represent the beginning of the new policy of the government to favor home shipbuilding by government subsidy of merchantmen. The 11,629-ton "St. Louis" won the ten-year mail carrying contract by developing a speed of 22.5 knots on a four-hour trial in British waters, using ordinary coal, under practically natural draft, and developing 20,000 horse-power. These two vessels are the first transatlantic liners and naval reserve vessels to be fitted with quadruple expansion engines. It remains to be seen whether this policy will ultimately defeat the projects for any more war vessels of the cruiser type. Not that the United States navy has reached its ultimate goal in such magnificent triple screw cruisers as the "Columbia" and the "Minneapolis," but that merchantmen will now be likely to step in, develop their high-powered marine machinery along these lines, if so demanded by government subsidy, and provide for equipping their steamers at any time with armor and guns for war purposes. While these $3,000,000 cruisers are expensive articles at any time, but, especially so in time of peace, the merchantman is paying dividends by regular freight and passenger traffic and government mail subsidy, and holds himself equally available in time of war for government service.

W. S. ALDRICH.

TEST AND VALUE OF SPEED IN WAR-SHIPS.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, R. N.

SPEED in war-ships is like all comparative things to which a great deal of attention is given, and which begin to approach the limits of possibility. There is a constantly growing desire for accuracy of statement with regard to it; a constantly diminishing area within which variations are allowed to pass without notice, and a constant increase in the number of elements which we are compelled to take account of in calculating the area. The comparison grows ever closer and finer as elements are struck out of it which are not common to both the things compared.

But perhaps the present rage for nice excesses of speed over something which has been done before, necessarily calling in question the methods of measuring those niceties, is spurred on by special considerations. There is a distinct element of sport in it; and without question there is money in it. Quite apart from the money element we have national rivalries; naval architects' rivalries; engineers' rivalries, and the rivalries of simple sportsmen who are backing particular horses without having bets on them and without any special knowledge of their stables or trainers. Apart from the sport of it, there is pure business, and a living to the naval architect and the engineer.

It would be strange indeed if all these elements did not continually tend to narrow the issues and refine upon them; and if the narrowing and refining did not tend to make the ultimate fact still more difficult to determine. In yacht sailing, which is the faster of two yachts is determined directly by a race. We should know distinctly which was the faster of any two steamers under given conditions, and under common rules for tonnage, could we match them as yachts are matched. But could we

even do so, we should find difficulties arising which do not arise in sailing matches. If two steamers of nearly the same reputed speed were to be matched for a race, one against the other, it would by no means follow that the one that beat in the first match would again beat in a second or a third. Too many elements which are variable enter into the production of speed, to make a certainty of a place in the comparison even after several matches have been run. There is the kind of coal, the skill of the stokers, hot bearings, tendency to prime, and a hundred and one things, which are not common to both ships as wind and sea are, that may on any occasion spoil the comparison. But, if it were not so, running races to ascertain the comparative speeds of steam war-ships is not practicable, and is never carried out as it constantly was in the days of sailing ships. We are therefore thrown back on ascertaining the absolute speed of steam war-ships, and making comparison of the results in order to ascertain the relative speeds of any two of them. We say such a yacht beat such another, with very little reference indeed as to whether the average speed over the course was two knots, or ten knots; but we say such a steamship went 19,235 knots, and such another went 19,740 knots, and we assume the second ship to be faster.

Whether she is faster is another question altogether, and nothing, I suppose, strikes the naval officer in conference with the naval architect and the engineer more than their extreme indifference, as it appears, to the question of speed. Naval officers, amongst themselves, worry their souls out over the question of relative speed as deduced from comparisons of absolute speed, without always considering that speed, when they speak of it, is a relative matter which the statement that A went twenty-two knots, while B only went twenty-one, does not determine. If yacht A beats yacht B, it is not meant that yacht A took only nine minutes to pass over a certain distance while yacht B took ten minutes. Yacht A might take eleven minutes to pass over the distance that yacht B took only ten minutes to pass over, and yet yacht A might win the cup. Yacht A enjoys an allowance of time for tonnage which makes all the difference, and she might be accounted the faster, though as a matter of fact she is the slower, ship.

Hence, when we come to compare the absolute speed of

steamer A with the absolute speed of steamer B, we may possibly say that in a race steamer A would pass over a given space in a shorter time than steamer B would, but we have no right to say that she would always do it; we must not even say that she would generally do it. Still less must we pronounce that B is by so much, a failure.

Before we can say that steamer A would pass over a certain space in a shorter time than B, we must know what were the conditions of measurement which resulted in showing that A went 22 knots and B went only 21. If we find the conditions were identical for both ships, we can still only say that A would go faster than B under those conditions. The power which drives a sailing yacht, being the wind pressing on a certain area of sail, is fixed by the force of the wind, so long as the area of sail is maintained. But the power which drives a steamship, being dependent on the heat manufactured on board her and applied to the evaporation of water, must vary from the moment the manufacture is begun. At the beginning of the steaming, more heat may be manufactured and it may be better applied to the water, than it can possibly be later on. Stokers may become exhausted; the difficulty of supplying coal from the bunkers may increase; the fires may get foul; boiler tubes may choke; a hundred circumstances arise to make the results of a lengthy trial different from the results of a shorter one. Unless A and B are identical in all these variable speed-producing elements, it does not follow that A would beat B over a different course from that over which the speed of both was measured. A may have been found capable of steaming at the rate of 22 knots, and B at the rate of 21 knots, for half an hour; but would either of them maintain that speed for four days? Would either of them maintain it for twenty-four hours? No one can tell until the experiments have been tried. Such experiments as have been tried make it generally understood that the extreme speed at which a steamship can be driven for a very short period can never be maintained over a much longer one. Of any two steamers capable of realizing a certain speed for half an hour, the better is the one which shows least falling off during a longer trial. But the moment we begin to speak of longer and shorter trials, we are met by the point that it will certainly be easier to ensure common conditions of measurement over the shorter than

over the longer one. We can wait for a calm day, and we may use perfectly sheltered water, without swell, for the trial during a short period; but we must go to the open ocean, and face all conditions of varying wind and sea, for a longer trial. When a steam trial is carried out for half an hour in the United States, in Russia, France or England, in sheltered, and, therefore, smooth water, and in calm weather, the reported results are fairly comparable. If it was understood that all possible means were used to attain the maximum speed for this half hour only, without reference to continuing it, the comparative test would be the better. It can only be made worse, if some of the ships are tried in this way, and others are tried under conditions of steaming that could be maintained for more than half an hour. But if the ships are tried for long periods at sea, there is no guarantee that the conditions of wind and weather during the periods are alike. Indeed, it is almost certain that no two sets of conditions can be alike, or that similar wind and sea will attend any one trial from first to last. Hence, although for any individual ship long sea trial may show her doing better or worse, the long sea trial may not turn out so good a comparative trial for different ships, unless, indeed, there are so many of them that the mean results can be taken as eliminating differences of condition. A steamer which over and over again crosses the Atlantic in a shorter time than another one, may certainly be pronounced the faster ship. But if it be reported that war-ship A steamed 15 knots for four days at sea, and that war-ship B only steamed 14 knots for the same period, there is a presumption in favor of A's being the faster ship; but many repetitions of the same trial must be made before the presumption passes into the domain of certainty.

Here we have points of contest and controversy which have been opposed to one another ever since we began to measure speed with a view to comparison, and will possibly be always opposed. The best means of measuring for comparing speed with speed in different war-ships, when we are thinking only of the first performance of the naval architect and the engineer, is seldom the best means of comparing the actual steaming powers of the two ships in sea voyages. In a general way it will no doubt follow that if one ship is found to run at the rate of 20 knots for half an hour, while another can only be forced up to a

speed of 15 knots for the same time, then the 20-knot ship will beat the 15-knot ship in any longer or shorter run at sea, provided the water is smooth. But if the 20-knot ship is of a character to be much affected by sea, while the 15-knot ship is little affected by sea, then in a sea-trial against strong head wind, the 15-knot ship might beat the 20-knot ship. But it is impossible that the naval architect and engineer should cease to regard as paramount the results of short trials, where comparisons can be more strictly drawn; it is equally impossible that the naval officer should cease to make light of the accurate comparison, and to lay the highest stress on what he understands to be the sea-performance of the ships under comparison.

And yet it seems equally certain that, while in this frame of mind, naval officers, and perhaps the general public, must suspend their judgment. If it were practicable to make a very large series of steam trials by running warships many times across the Atlantic, as the liners are run, each at the highest attainable speed, we might be able to take firm ground in the matter of sea performance. But such a course being utterly out of the question, we must accept the results of sea trials of war-ships as more or less tentative, and not capable of being applied as exact comparative elements.

But even supposing it were otherwise; supposing it were possible to get sea-trials of speed which extended over long periods, and were actually comparable one with another, we should have done little or nothing towards a comparison even of speeds. For just as the time allowance must be counted before any yacht can be judged a winner, so there must be a time allowance for the smaller steamships, before the larger one of greater trial speed can be accounted a better performer than the smaller one. And this, if we disregard the general question for the moment, follows directly because experiment has shown that if two similar steamships are driven at the same speed, but are of different sizes, then the larger ship will require less proportionate power to drive her than the smaller one.

But in fact, the general question of the war ships swallows up utterly the particular question of her speed, and forces the discussion of comparative speeds on to a platform which is entirely academical, and more or less useless and misleading. The growth of speed is one of the most remarkable naval growths at

present under our notice; it absorbs so much of our attention that we are unable to value it, or even to contemplate it, with duly balanced minds. The position to which we have elevated mere speed is indeed a preposterous one, except in the cases adverted to by me in the April number of this REVIEW. We do talk about it as if it were the be-all and end-all of the naval position of any country, and even English naval writers pronounce the doom of their country because—as alleged—we had not a ship which could cross the Atlantic at the same speed as the "Columbia" did. As a matter of fact we pay very little attention to it in the designs of our ships, as the following table will exhibit at a glance.

Ship's Name.	Displacement.	Speed.	Proportion to 1,000 tons.
Majestic	14,900 tons	17.5 kts.	1.17 kts.
Theseus	7,350 "	20.0 "	2.66 "
Scylla	3,400 "	20.6 "	6.00 "
Phoebe	2,575 "	19.0 "	7.37 "
Speedy	810 "	20.2 "	24.92 "
Havock	250 "	26.7 "	106.80 "

Here we have the time allowance which we find in yacht racing put all the other way. The larger yacht must be handicapped because she is expected to have the greater speed as a consequence of her greater size. Here the handicapping should be all the other way. The larger the warships, the less the speed. The reason is simple enough and the result is anticipated and intended. If engine power proportioned to the displacement had been put into each of these ships we should have expected to see perhaps a continual fall in speed as the displacement grew smaller; because a better result in speed is got out of proportionate horse-power when it is applied to the larger ship than when it is applied to the smaller, all things being similar. But the fact is that for reasons apart from speed, the larger the ship, the less is the proportionate horse-power applied to her; or, the smaller the ship, the greater is the proportionate horse-power applied to her. This is shown in the list below.

Ships' Name.	Displacement.	H. P. Per 1,000 Tons.
Majestic	14,900	800
Theseus	7,350	1,632
Scylla	3,400	2,729
Phoebe	2,575	2,912
Speedy	810	5,806
Havock	250	14,000

We have here, not only the general law that seems to prevail amongst modern war-ships, that speed increases in the inverse

ratio of the displacement, but that designers consider speed a less and less important "element of force in a war-ship" as she grows larger. In other words, it is distinctly absurd to lay any stress on the bare fact that one war-ship has a greater sea-speed than another. There is nothing whatever in the comparison. It may—and in fact generally does—only mean that one designer lays more stress on speed, and less stress on some other element, or elements of force than another does. It is of no value to say that A can keep up a speed of 15 knots at sea for four days, while B can only keep up a speed of 14 knots for the same time. The statement means nothing whatever that is useful, that can guide anyone, or afford praise or blame to anyone. To make the statement mean anything, it must be added that both ships had the same displacement, the same armor, the same guns, the same ammunition, the same supply of stores, provisions, coal and water, the same torpedo armament, the same manœuvering power, the same crew; and the same cost. Then, indeed, if A steams a knot faster than B for four days, there is a failure on the part of the designer or the engineer of B. There is something in the form or design of the hull, or in the design or manufacture of the engines or boilers, which is absorbing weight that should have gone into speed. But if A has fewer, or smaller guns, less armor, less ammunition, less coal, water, provisions or stores; fewer torpedoes, or a smaller crew; who is to say that the loss on any one of these things is balanced by the knot of higher speed? We get at once into the region of simple opinion over such a discussion and can neither stop short of it, nor advance beyond it. The proportions that the different elements of force in a war-ship ought to bear to one another, are governed principally by conjecture; or, as I put it in a former article in this REVIEW, by fashion.

But this kind of discussion over comparative speeds seems to suppose that there is a great deal more chance in the speed of a war-ship than really exists. As a simple and well-known fact, if the designed horse-power is realized in any war-ship, the designed speed is almost sure to be realized within a decimal. Long continued record of the performances of different ships, and most especially the systematic experiment with models designed by the late Mr. Froude, and now carried on by his son, almost preclude the possibility of error. There is seldom any great departure from

former designs in new ships of the same class, and if there is, the change is thoroughly tested in model before it is put into force. It follows that if the indicated horse-power of any engines produce the expected proportions of effective horse-power, and if the indicated horse-power designed is realized on the trial, the speed is sure to be realized. The fact accounts for the indifference to speed which is manifested by the naval architect and the engineer, and which, as already mentioned, surprises the naval officer. All the tests that are or can be applied to ascertain speed are, therefore, tests to ascertain whether a certain indicated horse-power can be reached and maintained. The measured mile trial being the ascertainment of the time the ship takes to run a mile, and the indicated horse-power during the run, is a test of reaching, but not of maintaining, the designed indicated horse-power; but it is the most accurate method of comparing speed and horse-power, and without it we never could have reached the condition now arrived at, that speed is embraced in the horse-power developed.

The measured mile trial ought to show the very best that is within the capacity of the ship tried, if it is fairly carried out. The general complaint of it, that it does not usually represent the sea-speed over a long run, is simply a mistaken one, made in forgetfulness of the fact that comparative measured mile trials properly conducted approach an accuracy of measurement which is not attainable in a sea-trial over a long period. Time will come when it may be possible to apply a co-efficient to the measured mile trial for ascertaining the sea speed which will be generally accepted. For the present we can but apply both systems of measurement—the measured mile trial to gauge the capacity of the ship to reach a definite horse-power, and therefore a definite speed, and a sea-trial extending over a longer period in order to ascertain the ship's capacity to maintain any definite horse-power and therefore speed for given periods.

But in both cases, all accuracy of measurement depends on similarity, or if the word is appropriate, fairness, of the trials. It is commonly accounted more easy to "jockey" on the short measured mile-trial than on the long sea-trial. Perhaps it is; but on the other hand care is required that the ship be not unfairly treated. My own experience in conducting these trials showed me that, sometimes at least, the measured

mile-trial underestimated the actual capacity of the ship. There are instances where it has been found that after the ship got to sea she developed greater indicated horse-power, and therefore greater speed, than she had shown on the measured miles-trial.

Comparisons between the capacities of any two ships are liable to be marred both in measured mile and in sea trials, if the conditions as to weights on board are not uniform. The calculations for indicated horse-power and speed are made for a given displacement which is that settled by the presence of the "legend" weights on board. These embrace all that the completed ship would go to sea with, including a certain defined proportion of coal. In the larger classes of ships in the English navy, and probably now in most others, it is not usual to make speed trials with the full amount of coal which the ship can carry on board. There are usually "reserve bunkers" which are not filled up. The justification of the practice has been well put by the late Italian naval *attaché* to the embassy in England. It would not be fair to place the ship's steaming capacity at its worst, when it is certain that it would improve as the coal was burnt. And when the "legend" weight of the coal is on board and the amount of it can be compared with the "legend" displacement, the comparison between the steaming capacities of any two ships is not marred. But of course if one ship is tried at less than her legend displacement, another at her legend displacement, and a third with her reserve bunkers full, the last two, but especially the third, are unduly handicapped against the first, which gets a credit on trial that she does not deserve.

In the English navy, the "contractor's trial," which must be made before the engines are received, does not necessarily include a measured mile trial, or generally specify displacement. It is a trial carried out over periods settled in the specification, and is to determine the reaching and maintaining of the horse-power contracted for. This power is often, if not generally, exceeded when the trial is made; but of course it is easier to reach it when the ship is light than when she is at her load draught.

The real trial in the English navy is called the "commissioning trial" and is carried out with all ships which are newly commissioned, before they go finally to sea. The legend weights are all on board. It is carried on for three hours under "natural

draughts," which, with closed stoke holds and fans, is a pressure of air not exceeding half an inch to an inch of water according to the nature of the boilers. The speed so certainly follows the indicated horse-power, that on this trial the ship may not be put on the measured mile at all. In fact she would not be unless there was any question about the speed. But the length of the three hours run would be measured by the best mechanical means, such as by the use of the electric log. The trial is considered satisfactory if the designed indicated horse-power is reached and maintained. But it will be found that the speed now ascertained either on the run, or on the mile, will not be thenceforth quoted against the ship. It is much more likely that the designed speed will be associated with the name of the ship in all the lists, doubtless because if the horse-power is realized, the speed will also have been realized.

The introduction of forced draught has introduced one of those new elements to be taken note of before comparisons are made. If one ship uses half an inch pressure and another an inch and a half, the comparison is vitiated; and unless we know that both ships use the same pressure we cannot make more than a rough comparison, for it is admitted that high pressure of air cannot be maintained without permanent injury to the boilers.

But when speed over a long period, such as three hours, is neglected in the report, and when only selected indicator diagrams are taken to represent the power developed, it becomes evident that "jockeying" is possible even on a period trial. The whole matter rests on proper orders being given as to the conditions of trial and strict adherence to them. Any nation which accepts comparisons apparently in favor of its ships which are only arrived at by allowing the conditions to be varied, lives in a fool's paradise as far as the speed of its war-ships is concerned. It is not likely that any nation permits such things on any scale at least. In the English navy the precautions against "jockeying" appear to be full; and my own experience was that they were sufficient. It was, and I suppose is, impossible to unite the whole staff engaged on the trials in a desire to represent things as being better than they were. Although it is not easy to say always, in the case of every foreign ship, that her reported speed trials may accurately compare with those of our own ships, yet as the designed horse-power and speed are generally quoted against the ships, divergencies are probably narrowed.

In the British navy, the trials that the public hear least of, or at any rate take least note of, are the best to go by. Every ship in commission in the navy is run for twenty-four hours once a quarter with developed horse-power equal to three-fifths of the authorized full power with natural draught. In these trials displacement is taken as it may be, and, in spite of care, weather may interfere to mar comparison. But in a three years' commission the mean of twelve trials must be a very good measure of the steaming capacity of the ship, especially as during four hours out of the twenty-four she is run at the full speed of her natural draught. Probably, for comparative purposes, the mean of twelve of these runs would be the best of all available comparative tests.

The tendency of these remarks is to show that it may be fallacious to devote as much attention as we now do, exclusively to the consideration of measured speed. We should, if we were wise, never consider the element of speed alone; never lose sight of the difficulties lying in the way of accurate comparison, and never forget that excess of speed invariably means the reduction of some other element of naval force among ships of the same class. The materials for drawing comparison between methods of measuring speed employed in different countries are not yet available, but, as the designed speed is that usually quoted, the point is of less importance.

P. H. Colomb.

NAVAL WARFARE UNDER MODERN CONDITIONS.

BY ADMIRAL S. B. LUCE, U. S. N.

THE battle of the Yalu and the battle of Lissa furnish two very striking illustrations of naval warfare under modern conditions. Both are replete with lessons applicable to naval operations of the future. The one shows how naval successes may be insured by a careful training of the *personnel* during peace; by a study of the operations of war as conducted by the great masters of the art, and by applying the immutable principles of naval strategy to the solution of war problems as they present themselves; the other, how a want of discipline, inattention to drills in naval tactics and gunnery, and a disregard for the most elementary principles of the science of war, must inevitably lead to disaster: while each, in its own way, demonstrates the truth that in every naval government there should reside some wise directive power whose special and exclusive duty would be to deal with the mobilization of the fleet and the direction of its military movements.

An indispensable condition in the creation of an efficient navy is the creation of the power to use it intelligently. The principal incidents in the recent naval campaign of the Japanese are still fresh in the public mind. Not so with the battle of Lissa. It may not be out of place, therefore, to recall the first collision between iron-clads and rams since the "Monitor" revolutionized the naval construction of the world. With the grand scheme for the unification of Italy, there was associated in the minds of Italian statesmen the idea of a powerful navy to guard their coast and menace Austria. "Italy," it was declared, "must be queen of the Adriatic." The entire nautical world was then feeling the full impulse of the changes in naval science wrought by the

novel creation of Ericsson, the chain armor of the "Kearsarge," the speedy sinking of the "Alabama," and the achievements of Farragut and Porter. Young Italy falling into line with the great naval powers determined to have a navy built up on the most advanced ideas, which included, of course, an iron-clad fleet. Lavish expenditures were made to that end. The sister ships "Rè d' Italia" and the "Rè di Portogallo," of 5,700 tons burden, carrying 36 guns each, and a crew of 600 men, were built by the eminent shipbuilder, Mr. Webb, of New York. The "Affondatore," monitor and ram combined, was the production of an English shipyard. In her turret she carried two 300 pounder Armstrong guns, and had a spar thirty feet long. She was over 4,000 tons burden.

These, and the "Formidabile" and "Terribile," 2,700 tons and twenty guns each, would compare favorably with iron-clads of like ratings of other navies of that day. Altogether, the Italians had, at the time to which we refer, a fleet of twelve iron-clads, six fifty-gun frigates (wooden), two sloops of war of thirty-two and twenty guns, together with gunboats and smaller craft, amounting altogether to some thirty vessels. But money could not buy organization, nor discipline, nor sea training, and these the Italian fleet lacked. Admiral Count Carlo di Persano, the commander-in-chief, was an officer of good reputation, but he does not seem to have given much attention to the higher branches of his profession, such as naval tactics and naval strategy, and was entirely wanting in the traits which inspire confidence in those under his command. The crews were raw and unskilled in gunnery, and the officers were inexperienced. Such was the fleet on which Italy rested her hopes.

In the process of the unification of Italy there remained in 1866, it will be remembered, but two principal points to be gained: the occupation of Rome and the acquisition of Venetia at that time under the dominion of Austria. On the 20th of June, Italy declared war against Austria and Bavaria; her ally, Prussia, having opened her brilliant campaign against those countries on the 18th. This was the beginning of the "Seven Weeks' War," which ended practically at Sadowa (Königgrätz), and resulted in the consolidation of the German Empire.

The Italian plan of operation, contemplated the immediate invasion of Venetia by the army; the fleet under Admiral Persano, to co-operate. But such co-operation was manifestly

impossible until there had been eliminated from the problem the Austrian naval force known to be fitting out under Admiral Tegetthoff, at Pola. This plan, however, did not meet with the approval of the king, Victor Emmanuel, and Persano was left to his own devices. General La Marmora led his army north and the King himself repaired to the seat of war. Here, on the ill-fated field of Custozza, after a long and bloody battle, on the 24th of June, the Italians were defeated by the Austrians under the Archduke Albert.

Whether the navy was to co-operate with the army or not, there can be no doubt that the true, in fact the only, objective of the Italian fleet was that of the Austrians. The destruction of that force, which alone disputed with the Italians the control of the Adriatic, was obviously the first step in a naval campaign. The attainment of this end was all the easier at the opening of hostilities, inasmuch as the mobilization of the Austrian fleet was greatly retarded by the financial embarrassments of the Imperial government and the meagre resources of the Pola Navy Yard. Instead of seeking out and destroying that force, Persano contented himself with an aimless cruise of five days, at the end of which time he returned to the Navy Yard at Ancona. Here he received a severe reprimand from the King for his want of enterprise, the latter stating that if he could not make better use of a force that had cost so many sacrifices and raised such high hopes he would be superseded. "Go and do something," said the government. "What!" exclaimed, in effect, the Minister of Marine, Depretis, who reached Ancona a few days later; "with a fleet that has added three hundred millions to our public debt, to say we cannot whip the Austrians at sea! the Austrians, whose navy we despise! Why, the people will mob us! If Tegetthoff declines battle, go and ravage the enemy's coasts. Lissa is only a short run from Ancona; capture that by a *coup de main*, and it will give you the control of the Adriatic. Do something; Custozza must be avenged!"

The plan of attacking the island of Lissa, the Gibraltar of the Adriatic, by a combined force of the fleet and a brigade of the army, was approved and immediately carried into execution. The movement commenced on the 18th of July, and after two days' bombardment, during which some damage had been done to the forts at San Giorgio, it was thought time to land the troops.

Early in the morning of the 20th the iron-clads were ordered in to engage the forts, and preparations were made for throwing a force on shore, when, all of a sudden, the lookout vessel "Esploratore" was seen approaching from the northwest with the signal aboard that the enemy's fleet was in sight. To say the Italians were taken by surprise would not be strictly true. When the island was first invested, Captain Sandri with a division of four gun-boats had been sent to Lesina to destroy the telegraphic cable connecting Lissa with Pola. In the execution of this duty there was intercepted a dispatch from Admiral Tegetthoff to the commanding officer at Lissa which ran very much like that General Sherman is said to have sent to Gen. John M. Corse: "Hold the fort for I am coming." It was clear from this that the Austrians on the main land had been notified by telegraph of the bombardment, and that the Austrian fleet was on its way to assist the forts and prevent a landing. The intercepted message was conveyed to the admiral who treated it as a ruse on the part of the enemy, and continued the work of investment. When, therefore, the signal was thrown out from the flagship "Rè d'Italia," "*Enemy in sight, prepare for action,*" the great majority of the fleet was thrown into a state of consternation. Few had even so much as dreamed of such a possibility. The "Terribile" and the "Varese" had been sent to occupy the attention of the forts at Porto-Camisa, in another part of the island. The "Formidabile" which had sustained a heavy fire from the forts at San-Giorgio was transferring her wounded to the hospital ship "Washington," and was herself so badly shaken up as to oblige her to go to Ancona for repairs. The "Rè di Portogallo" and the "Castelfiardo" reported by signal injuries to their machinery; and the wooden vessels were quite unprepared for battle. In the whole fleet sixteen men had been killed and ninety-five wounded, and coal and ammunition had been liberally expended. The "Rè d'Italia," alone, had fired 1,300 shot.

Vice-Admiral Albini, in command of the wooden or reserve squadron, was ordered to re-embark the landing party, and the iron-clads were hastily formed in line abreast, each ship heading for the enemy or to the northwest. Standing on this course for a short time, signal was made to form column of ships heading northeast. This was effected by the simultaneous swinging of each ship ninety degrees to the right, thus bringing her broad-

side to the enemy. In this formation we find Rear-Admiral Vacca in command of the van division of three iron-clads; Persano in the "Rè d'Italia" in the centre, and Captain Ribotty in the "Rè di Portogallo," in command of the rear. Beyond this crude order of battle there was no plan, and none of the captains knew the intentions of the commander-in-chief. Persano *supposed* that Vice-Admiral Albini and his eight frigates would form a second line as a reserve; but the Vice-Admiral, thinking wooden vessels were not intended to cope with iron-clads, busied himself with getting together the materials that had been intended for landing. His division might as well have been at the navy yard in Ancona.

Meanwhile, the Austrian fleet was bearing down in column of divisions, each formed in double echelon, or wedge shaped, the point towards the enemy. The van was composed of seven iron-clads, the "Ferdinand Maximilian" (commonly known as the "Max") bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Tegetthoff, leading. Astern of this at a distance of about 1,000 yards came the centre division of seven wooden ships in double echelon, the "Kaiser," an old ninety-gun ship leading. About 1,000 yards astern of the latter came the rear division of wooden gunboats in double echelon. They advanced in fine order, for Tegetthoff's plans had been carefully matured, were well known to his entire command and his drills and exercises had been incessant. The spirit which he succeeded in infusing into the *personnel* of his fleet more than made up for numerical inferiority. He had "put the iron," as Farragut said, "into the hearts of his men."

On sighting the Italians, the "Max" threw out the signals "Clear ship for action"; "Close up;" "Full speed": finally, at half past ten, "Iron-clads ram the enemy." Both sides now closed their signal books; Tegetthoff's, because his plan of battle was thoroughly understood and would be carried out; Persano's, because he had no plan.

As the shock of the collision was about to take place, the Italian Admiral shifted his flag to the "Affondatore." This necessitated stopping the "Rè d'Italia" and the centre division, leaving a gap between it and the van. Through this opening the Austrian van dashed, thus severing the Italian line. Covered by the smoke of its own fire it received no damage. Vacca, with his division, now swung around to the westward to cut off the

Austrian rear. About the same time Commodore Petz in the "Kaiser" and the division of wooden ships, stood to the southward to cut off Albini's division of wooden ships. Seeing this, Ribotty interposed with his three iron-clads. Nothing daunted, the Austrian wooden ships grappled with the Italian iron-clads and the "Kaiser" ran the "Rè di Portogallo" aboard. The shock carried away her own stern and bowsprit, bringing down the foremast and smokestack; the decks were filled with fire and smoke and, grinding alongside the iron clad, received her fire at the very muzzles of the guns. That she was not blown to pieces lends an air of probability to the story that the Italian gunners, in their excitement, fired blank cartridges! The "Kaiser," however, still firing, passed on and was met by the monitor ram "Affondatore." One touch of her spur would have proved fatal. On she came at right angles. Nothing, it seemed, could avert the old line-of-battleship's doom, when, to the surprise of all, the monitor sheered off and passed harmlessly by, receiving at close range the "Kaiser's" entire broadside. It was Persano himself who had ordered the helm put over!

The Italian van and rear being thus engaged left the centre to stand the brunt of the seven Austrian ironclads. The order had been given to "ram everything gray"—the Italian ships being lead-color, while the Austrians were black. On a sudden, by a lifting of the smoke, Tegetthoff saw right ahead a gray immovable mass. It was the "Rè d'Italia" hopelessly disabled. The order was at once telegraphed to the engine-room, "Full speed ahead," and "Prepare to back," and the 4,500 tons of the "Max," driven at a speed of eleven and a half knots, struck the Italian fair and square in the side. She listed heavily over, and then, as the "Max" backed away, righted, and in less than two minutes went down in 200 fathoms of water. Four hundred of her crew perished. The "Palestro," also of the Italian centre, was set on fire by an Austrian shell and blew up. This practically ended the fight, the Austrians being now inshore and covering Lissa, the Italians to seaward. Tegetthoff, after waiting two hours and finding the Italians indisposed to renew the battle, took his fleet into the harbor of San Giorgio. The Italian fleet returned to Ancona. Persano, being a Senator, was tried before the Italian Senate sitting as a High Court of Justice. He was acquitted of the charge of cowardice,

but found guilty of negligence and incompetency, and dismissed the service.

The object of military strategy, says Hamley, is so to direct the movements of an army that when the decisive collisions occur it shall encounter the enemy with increased relative advantage. The same may be predicated of a fleet.

The triumph of military strategy is said to be complete when the commander of one of two originally equal forces succeeds, by the combinations of the campaign, in bringing his adversary's army into a position where the chances of victory are greatly against it, and where defeat will entail disasters beyond the loss of battle. By a reversal of this principle the Italians courted defeat. Naval strategy is more comprehensive than military strategy. The latter is confined to the theatre of the war, the former may embrace all the navigable waters of a continent. Military strategy is called into play only during war. Naval strategy adopts some of its most important measures during peace, in anticipation of war. Naval strategy, in brief, has for its end "to found, support, and increase, as well in peace as in war, the sea power of a country."

In this broad acceptation of the term, the Japanese have shown themselves to be naval strategists of a high order. They had a definite naval policy, so essential to a right beginning in the building up of a navy; they created a navy in accordance with that policy; they mobilized their fleet in anticipation of hostilities, and in the waters of Korea gave a most practical demonstration that they knew how to use it.

Jomini divides the Science of War into six branches, beginning with "Diplomacy, or Statesmanship in its Relation to War." It is here where the naval strategist and the statesman at the head of a navy meet on common ground. In military governments the two are often combined in one person. But even where this obtains, the varied and exacting demands upon the time and attention of a Minister of Marine, in the transaction of the ordinary business routine of his office, are incompatible with the military duties of the naval strategist. It has been justly observed, in this connection, by one of our own Secretaries of the Navy, that "the inevitable result of throwing large executive duties upon any man is to disqualify him for council."

Therefore, to assist in the discharge of the most important

functions, those pertaining to the military branch of the department, there is generally assigned to the aid of the Minister of Marine a naval general staff, having at its head as chief an officer of rank and recognized ability. It is due to their early perception of the wisdom of such a division of labor, that the Japanese owe, to a very large extent, their recent successes. The victories of the Yalu and Wei-hai-wei were the natural fruits of a long course of preparation, which could not have been originated, and so faithfully carried on, as all accounts show them to have been, by a Minister of Marine alone, nor by a naval strategist alone, but only by the united efforts of both. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the force of naval organization suggested by theory, and carried into practice by the great naval powers, is the one adopted in the main by Japan. It is there that will be found, most distinctly marked, the line separating the civil from the military duties of the navy department.

Although the Minister of Marine may be an admiral—as at present Admiral Marquis Saigo—yet he confines himself to the civil branch of his department, while the military duties are performed by a naval general staff having for its chief an officer of high rank and experience. Such is Count Kabayama. Under the latter comes the mobilization of the fleet, the direction of its military movements, and all that pertains to the military branch of the naval establishment. Hence their success.

Naval tactics have made little progress, as an art, since the days of Lissa. No one has yet risen to state authoritatively how the line of battle should be formed. It is still left to the Commander-in-Chief of a fleet to make his own dispositions for battle.

The habit of trusting to "the inspiration of the moment," and of leaving everything to the "accidental ascendency of an individual will, in an accidental grouping of officials," is fraught with danger. It may produce a Tegetthoff or perchance a Persano; it may create a fleet like that of Ito, ready for the war that must sooner or later overtake the most peaceful nation, or one ill formed and ill found like that of the brave but unfortunate Ting.

S. B. Luce.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE AIR-SHIP ON WAR.

BY LIEUT. JOHN K. CREE, U. S. A.

THE art of war keeps constant pace with the sciences, taking advantage of all discoveries and inventions which may be found of use. Money without limit is spent to obtain the most efficient results in steam and electrical engineering, in chemistry, optics and metallurgy. The demands which modern war makes upon science are usually more imperative than those made for civil and commercial purposes. It may be readily understood, then, that, should a successful air-ship be constructed, it would find immediate occupation in the armies of the different nations who are rivalling each other in warlike preparations.

But is the success of the air-ship probable? Eminent engineers and scientists have for some time conceded that many of the important obstacles in the way of artificial flight have been removed, and it now seems probable that within a few years all problems connected with it will be solved, and a machine capable of sustained flight and entirely under control will be an actual fact.

The many failures of attempts at flight have made people sceptical in regard to success, and the ridicule commonly accorded experimenters has doubtless deterred many scientific investigators and withheld the capital necessary to make experiments, but within the last decade exhaustive experiments in regard to the sustaining and resisting power of the air have been made by several scientists, notably by Mr. Hiram Maxim and Mr. S. P. Langley. It is now known what weight the air will sustain, what power is necessary to support a definite weight, and other facts which before were only guessed at. Experiments have

also been made to determine the best material and the best form for the sustaining planes and the propellers.

To secure a satisfactory motor has long been regarded as the most difficult problem to be solved in obtaining flight, and until within a few years no motor had been constructed capable of sustaining, in addition to its own weight, that of the aëroplane or other means of support, the supply of fuel and the engineer, etc., but within that time, improvements in the quality of metals, and especially the advances made in steam engineering, have made such an achievement possible.

The power necessary to sustain a man in the air has been variously estimated by several experimenters. Mr. S. P. Langley, in his experiments with planes on a whirling table, found that one horse-power, rightly applied, would support over 200 pounds in the air at velocities over forty-five miles per hour. Mr. Maxim found, in a similar series of experiments, that with a plane moved at an angle of one on fourteen, one horse-power would support 133 pounds. Mr. O. Chanute, in "The Progress of Flying Machines," states that as a general conclusion it may be said that, including the resistance of the machinery and framing, 100 pounds per horse-power is about the maximum that can be lifted, and he estimates that, in small aëroplanes capable of lifting one man, fifty pounds per horse-power is the greatest amount that can be allowed for the weight of the motor.

Motors have been constructed which will more than fulfil these demands. Mr. Langley has made a steam engine which, without the boiler, weighed only six pounds per horse-power. Mr. Hargrave, of Australia, has constructed a small engine which weighs only 10.7 pounds per horse-power. Mr. Maxim's engines of 300 horse-power weigh, with boiler and condensers complete, only eight pounds per horse-power, while the engines alone weigh only two pounds per horse-power. He considers it practicable to build an engine, boiler, condenser, etc., complete, which will weigh only five pounds per horse-power. Mr. Mosher, who built the steam yacht "Norwood," has stated that he can supply engines for experimental flying machines of less than ten pounds per horse-power.

The question of a suitable motor being disposed of, the most important difficulties remaining are successful alighting after flight and a satisfactory method of retaining equilibrium during

flight. It is not probable that these will long remain obstacles in the path of the many investigators now interested in the work.

During the last twenty-five years the French have been interested in the dirigible balloon, and have had partial success with it. The "La France," which attained the greatest success, was cigar-shaped, 165 feet long, and, with a nine-horse-power electric motor, attained a speed of fourteen miles per hour. A larger one is now projected that will make twenty-five miles per hour. While the dirigible balloon would be very useful, in the absence of anything better, the most experienced investigators claim that the aëroplane presents greater prospects of complete success. Many inventors are now experimenting with different forms of supporting and propelling machines. One of the most interesting is that of Mr. Otto Lilienthal, of Berlin, who, with a pair of bat-like wings twenty-six feet from tip to tip, has succeeded in flying 400 yards down the slope of a hill. In a recent model he uses a small motor, driven by compressed carbonic acid gas, to assist him in moving his wings.

Mr. Phillips, of England, has constructed a flying machine weighing 330 pounds, which has a record of having flown 2,000 feet at the rate of forty miles per hour. While this machine was not absolutely free from the ground, it demonstrated its ability to raise more than its weight. The peculiar feature of it is the aëroplane, which resembles a Venetian blind eight feet high and twenty-two feet wide.

Mr. Maxim's aëroplane, which is one of the few air-ships that have ever succeeded in getting beyond the model stage, and the only one of its size that has shown itself capable of rising from the ground, offers great promise. It has 5,400 square feet of aëroplane. Its extreme length is 125 feet; width, 104 feet; weight, 8,000 pounds, and its lifting power at a velocity of about fifty miles per hour is 10,000 pounds. Its record of actual free flight is over 500 feet. Mr. Maxim says that after having been so successful in constructing this machine, "it only remains to continue the experiments with a view of learning the art of manœuvring it."

Since the perfecting of the air-ship in the near future seems so probable, it is certainly not out of place to speculate as to what would be its effect on warfare, since it would probably first be used for that purpose. The advantages to be gained by their

use in war are so evident and so important that when once perfected they will form just as necessary a part of the defences of a nation as is now furnished by a navy.

Air-ships may be used in war for observation of the enemy, for reconnoissance, for carrying dispatches, and for offensive attack.

Balloons, usually captive, have often been used for observation of the enemy, and they now form part of the equipment of almost all nations. An air-ship, completely under control, would be an ideal means of observation and reconnoissance. It could penetrate far into the enemy's country, and return promptly with intelligence. The most minute information of an enemy's numbers, disposition and movements could be obtained, which from its accuracy would be of incalculable importance to the commander of an army.

The general in command of an army could, from a position on an air-ship, make better disposition of his forces and, having better knowledge of how a battle was going, could meet emergencies more promptly.

For topographical work an air-ship would be a valuable auxiliary. By instantaneous photography of the underlying country, accurate maps could be made and multiplied for circulation.

For carrying messages the air-ship might be useful in the absence or interruption of electrical communication.

The most important field, however, for the operation of the air-ship would be its use in offensive operations. For this purpose it is eminently adapted, and will far surpass any weapon or means of offence that man has heretofore invented. An air-ship could, by rising beyond the range of the enemy's guns, or by moving rapidly in irregular or zig-zag directions, prevent guns being trained and fired upon it, while its own guns would still be effective. The high angle of elevation required to fire at an air-ship would make the artillery of the present day useless, with the exception of mortars. The concentration of mortar fire might be attempted, but only a chance shot, while the air-ship was at a low altitude, could have any effect.

Air-ships will probably be armed with light rapid-fire guns for attack upon other air-ships, and with guns of low power, possibly pneumatic, for firing at objects beneath. In many

cases guns could be dispensed with and projectiles of all kinds could simply be dropped. By coming up against the wind and making certain adjustments of the rudders and aëroplanes, the velocity could be diminished, possibly almost to a full stop, without the air-ship falling, and thus give the gunners an opportunity to do more accurate firing. A handful of bullets thrown from the height of a half-mile or so would be very destructive upon reaching the earth. Shell or shrapnel could be used with good effect. The greatest use of the air-ship, however, would be to drop torpedoes containing a high explosive. One torpedo exploded in the vicinity of a man-of-war would annihilate it. The ship would be entirely powerless to protect herself. No matter what her speed, she could not run away or conceal herself in any way, so that the destruction of an entire fleet would be a comparatively short matter. The bombardment of a city or a fort would be much more easily accomplished since the target would be larger and stationary.

An air-ship, then, hovering over the capital of a country would, unless a more powerful similar antagonist were brought against it, soon bring the government to favorable terms.

Land fortifications would be tenable only if provided with proper overhead protection for guns and men, and would be powerless against an air-ship. An army, when a hostile air-ship appeared, would be forced to adopt the most open kind of extended formation, since a closed mass would offer a good target for the aërial gunners.

The ability of an air-ship to hover over and threaten the headquarters of the commander of an army might have a vital effect upon the result of a battle.

The only method of attacking an air-ship that would offer a reasonable hope of success would be by other air-ships. The battle between them would be in some respects similar to one between naval vessels, with the additional features of much higher speed and of its not being confined to one plane. Each would endeavor to cripple the other. Their light construction would allow them to be easily damaged. The sustaining aëroplane destroyed, gravity would do the rest. Ramming would probably be impracticable. In a conflict between an aëroplane and a dirigible balloon, the latter would be at a decided disadvantage.

The possession of an air-ship, or the successful termination of

a battle between air-ships, will thus quickly decide a war. We may look forward, then, to shorter wars in the future, and since the conflict of the air-ships will be the decisive factor of a battle, the relative importance of large armies and navies will be diminished. It would be absolutely necessary, therefore, that a nation engaging in war with another nation owning air-ships, should herself possess a sufficient number of them. To be without would be certain defeat, even though her antagonist were a small nation with an insignificant army and navy.

We may say, then, that the invention of a successful air-ship will cause an entire revolution in the art of war more stupendous than that caused by any invention since that of gunpowder, and even surpassing that, since it only increased the distance between the lines of the combatants, while the principles of attack and defence, strategy and supply, remained unchanged, or were only slowly modified. A flying machine, however, will nullify strategy, make vital changes in the principles of attack and defence, diminish the importance of navies and sea-coast fortifications, and by bringing the theatre of operations to the doors of palaces and legislatures, render speedy settlement of national grievances imperative.

JOHN K. CREE.

THE CRISIS IN THE EAST.

BY KARL BLIND.

In the midst of the tremendous complication which has so suddenly arisen in the East, the more far-seeing Liberal politicians of Europe anxiously ask themselves: Will the Young Turkish party be able, by a sudden stroke at Constantinople, to work out a reform in the sense of representative government, ere the Empire falls into utter decay?

It is difficult for the best-informed, at this moment, to gauge the strength of that once active progressist party. In France and in Egypt, journals connected with it are published. At Paris, a paper called "The Raiser of the Veil" appears in the Arab language. It is edited by the Emir Ermin Arslan, formerly a high official in the administration of the Lebanon. At Geneva, *Le Croissant* ("The Crescent") is printed under the editorship of Halil Ganem, who in 1876 was a member, for Syria, of the then short-lived Ottoman Parliament.

In London, too, it has been asserted, a Young Turkish organ is published and clandestinely sent to Constantinople. But the most careful inquiry has not enabled me to lay my hands on a copy of it. It needs scarcely be added that the strict supervision of the press in the Ottoman capital, and the severe police regulations existing there, do not render it possible, just now, to bring out opposition journals either in the European or in the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan.

I well remember the Young Turkish paper which was published in London in 1876. Zia Bey and a friend of his were then busily engaged, from the sheltering shores of England, in a literary campaign for the convocation of a parliament. Among the Softas, or theological students of Islam, ideas of reform were rife in those days. The present monarch, Abdul Hamid, had just

come to the throne, and his realm was threatened with war by Russia. As the danger of foreign invasion grew more manifest, the new ruler, a man of thirty-four, felt compelled, under insurrectionary pressure from the more enlightened Mohammedan population, to convoke a representative Assembly to his capital, for the first time in the history of the empire.

So Turks and Armenians, Bulgars, Greeks, Albanese, and various other races of different blood and creed, met to frame fundamental institutions for the common country on the lines of popular self-government. The spirit which animated them—though in that first instance a great number were of necessity mere nominees of the Porte—proved to be an excellent and truly progressive one. I have heard this fact borne witness to by trustworthy and impartial men who were present at the debates, full minutes of which I read at the time. The English Ambassador, Sir Henry Layard, a Liberal, recorded his own appreciative testimony not less clearly.

That first Ottoman Parliament, which met after several popular risings at Constantinople, through the exertions of Midhat Pasha, showed remarkable spirit and courage. It passed a number of liberal laws, claimed full control over the exchequer, made a searching investigation into the corrupt administration of court expenses, resisted all proposals tending to curtail the freedom of the press—in short, acted more independently than many a European legislature. Ignorance only, or wilful untruth, can deny these facts. Aye, even the "unspeakable Turk" proved capable of mending his ways.

It is Midhat Pasha's constitution that the Young Turkish party wishes now to be re-introduced. Rumors have reached England that when Kiamil Pasha was recently raised to the vizierate, even some of the more sensible "Old Turks" were open to suggestions for the establishment of parliamentary institutions. Kiamil, it is alleged, had already prepared a communication to the Turkish papers concerning the intention of doing something in that direction; but at the last moment, he had to withdraw this semi-official note. A representation, said to have been made by him to the Sultan, that "henceforth the dominant influence ought to be with the ministers at the Porte rather than at the Palace," was ungraciously received. Immediately afterwards he was deposed and practically exiled.

All this shows that there are strange possibilities, if not probabilities, under present circumstances—provided there is not a sudden catastrophe of another kind. A secret body of men, calling themselves the "Ottoman Committee of Union and Progress," and kindred groups, are issuing manifestoes for the convocation of a parliament. The 119 articles of the Constitution, published with the Sultan's sign manual on December 23, 1876, in a Turkish and French text, thus acquire a potential importance, although just now nobody can say anything with certainty on a subject presenting so many difficulties. At all events, let us look at the main points of that ground-law of nineteen years ago.

In the place of the despotic sultanate, a constitutional monarchy was to be established. All the populations of the empire, without discrimination of origin or creed, were henceforth regarded as Osmanli, or full citizens. While remaining Protector of the State Religion, the Sultan was to be surrounded by responsible ministers. He only retained the usual privileges of a constitutional ruler in our part of the world. There was to be a Senate and a House of Deputies, with payment of members. The vote at parliamentary elections was to be secret. Every 50,000 male citizens were to elect one member of the House. Every Deputy was held to represent not merely his constituency, but the nation at large. No member could be arrested or prosecuted without the consent of the Chamber.

Freedom of the press, equality before the law, admission of all citizens to State employments, liberty in matters of public instruction for all denominations, obligatory popular instruction, an equal imposition of taxes in accordance with the amount of property, free exercise of every religious cult, abolition of torture and of confiscation of property—such were a few of the general principles of the Constitution.

In Parliament, the initiative in bringing in bills belonged both to ministers and to private members. The budget was to be fixed every year by the House of Commons. In case of an adverse vote, the monarch had to change his Cabinet, or to dissolve Parliament and to order new elections. The House of Commons had the right of bringing ministers to trial before the High Court of Justice. A minister thus charged was in the meantime suspended. Judges were irremovable. The procedures of all tri-

bunals were public, even as the sittings of the representatives of the people. In the administration of the provinces there was to be decentralization. In the provinces, the districts and the cantons, special councils had to be formed on the elective principle.

Not so bad, after all, for Turkey. There are worse constitutions in more highly cultured countries. What if the Autocrat of all the Russias had been asked to follow such an example? Instead of that, he was urged on by a Liberal Premier of England to march in and attack Turkey, whilst this promising germ of freedom was rising from the ground among what had been called, with a deplorable want of philanthropic sentiment, the "one anti-human specimen of humanity." Strange to say, the signal was given, among English Liberals, for crying down the most laudable aspirations of the Young Turks, and for continuing to invoke the blessings of the Cossack lance upon the wretched Mohammedan. The end was easy to foresee. On the outbreak of that deadly contest, in which the victors committed nameless barbarities—as was afterwards fully described in the chief organ of London Liberalism itself—the first Ottoman Parliament was dissolved, much to the relief of the diplomatists of St. Petersburg.

Those who know the history of the wars waged by Russia against Turkey are well aware that, whenever the latter began some home reform, the Czars, after having denounced her misgovernment, hastened to fall upon her, sword in hand. This policy became a confirmed maxim. It was cynically avowed in a famous dispatch by one of the most eminent diplomatists in the time of Alexander I. and Nicholas—namely, Count Pozzo di Borgo. Speaking of the war of 1828–29, he says that "at first there might have existed some doubts as to the urgency of taking up arms against the Porte," but "when it was seen that the reforms then introduced would have the effect of consolidating the Ottoman Empire," the Russian government could not hesitate any longer in attacking it. Pozzo di Borgo literally goes on:

"The Emperor (Nicholas) has put the Turkish system to the proof, and his Majesty has found it to *possess a commencement of physical and moral organization* which it hitherto had not. If the Sultan has been enabled to offer us a more determined and regular resistance whilst he had scarcely assembled together the elements of his new plan of reform and ameliorations, how

formidable should we have found him *had he had time to give it more solidity*, and to render that barrier impenetrable which we find so much difficulty in surmounting, although art has hitherto done so little to assist nature. Things being in this state we must congratulate ourselves upon having attacked them before they became dangerous for us; for delay would only have rendered our relative situation worse, and prepared us greater obstacles than those with which we meet."

This speaks for itself. Perhaps it gives a clue also to the present attitude of the Russian government, as evidenced in the curious letter addressed by its ambassador at Constantinople, Mr. Nelidoff, to the Armenian Patriarch.

The diplomatists of St. Petersburg fear, in fact, nothing more than that the Porte should find itself driven to effect large reforms and be allowed time to accomplish them. They do not recognize the right of Europe to solve the Eastern question by a concert of Powers. They tacitly maintain the traditional claim of Russia to the possession of Constantinople. And they mean always to choose their own time for striking a decisive blow—not in the interest of Europe, but of Russia. Therefore they often follow a zig-zag policy, tacking to and fro; not minding even for a while to abandon the Armenians, although aiming at the conquest of further territory in Asia Minor, where Armenians mostly dwell among Turks, Kurds and other races of the polyglot Ottoman Empire.

Years ago, after the war of France against Germany, and before that of Russia against Turkey, I had occasion to fully discuss these vexed Eastern affairs and Russian policy in Central Asia, with Lord Beaconsfield, then still Mr. Disraeli, for about an hour. He himself had sought the interview on hearing that I was dining in the House of Commons with a friend of his, a Liberal Scottish member, the representative of a great aristocratic family in the North.

Perhaps, before going into details, I may be allowed to state that, for a long time previous—even in the days preceding the Crimean War—I had taken an active part in making larger numbers of men in England acquainted with the designs of Russian Autocracy in the East. At that epoch, the English mind was far more isolated from the currents of Continental thought, far more of the secluded islander's cast, than it is

at present. The history of European countries was to most Englishmen a book sealed with seven seals. Muscovite policy, in its more complicated and crafty aspects, was well nigh exclusively dealt with by David Urquhart, who had once filled a post in the English embassy at Constantinople, and by his small but resolute school of adherents. But the eccentricities in which he, despite his undoubted knowledge and merits, too often indulged by way of exaggeration, were only too apt to alienate the somewhat Philistine common sense of the great mass and of practical statesmen.

Having for years made Russian history a special study from the sources, I strongly felt in the early fifties that a new war against Turkey was coming on. Most European nations were lying under the yoke of an absolutistic reaction which had followed the overthrow of the promising Democratic movements of 1848–49. This was the psychological moment selected by Czardom for making a new spring at Constantinople. Under the impression that such an attempt was certain, I wrote in the same Liberal London journal —then very influential among the English masses—in which Urquhart often expounded his views, a long series of historical sketches, entitled, "The Universal Empire of the Cossacks." It gave an account of all the attempts made by Russia upon Constantinople since the foundation of the Empire under Rurik. Incidentally it described the tortuous ways and manners of Muscovite policy. Later on, in the same journal, throughout the Crimean war, and for many years afterwards, there appeared regularly leading articles from my pen on Eastern affairs.

No sooner had some of the historical sketches entitled "The Universal Empire of the Cossacks" appeared, than a former English Ambassador, Lord Ponsonby, wrote a flattering letter to the Editor, inquiring after the author's name. David Urquhart did the same through his confidant, Major Roland, asking for a personal interview with the writer. Having, however, been but a short time in London as an exile, and thinking that, if the authorship were boasted about, some native prejudice against "foreign influence" might be raised by those who, like Cobden and Bright, were averse to England's participation in any Continental war, I resolved upon preserving anonymity.

I only mention those details to show that the questions now again at issue had occupied me for a good while past before meet-

ing Mr. Disraeli. I will add that when the Crimean war came, the chief proscribed leaders of Democracy, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Kossuth, and others, gave forth no uncertain sound in favor of armed European opposition to the dangerous designs of Russia.

Now, in the ample conversation I had years afterwards in presence of Sir Tollemache Sinclair, the Liberal Scottish member, with the famed Tory leader, I confess I was astonished to find that even then the latter, did not at all seem to be properly aware of the connection of the various Panslavistic movements in Austria-Hungary and Turkey with Russian agencies. As I endeavored to explain the ramifications of those movements, some of which were carried on under pseudo-democratic disguise, he listened with manifestly eager attention. I showed how real race-yearnings were mixed up with the crafty scheming of men who simply worked for Russian universal dominion. Mr. Disraeli, whom everything passing in the democratic camp naturally interested, as he had himself begun as a Radical, was quite astounded when he heard what Alexander Herzen, whom I have intimately known, and who is generally regarded as a firm representative of the cause of freedom, had written on the subject of Panslavism or rather Pan-Russianism.

Herzen did not scruple to indulge in mocking phrases about what he called the "corrupt blood of the Germano-Romanic world," which, he said, "must be reinvigorated by the young barbarian world of Russia!" All Europe, not Turkey alone, was to him a "sick man" whom it would be best to "take by the throat and finish off." Russia was to be the heir of that sick man. Putting forward a Russian peasant of his own invention, Herzen made that poor, benighted personage, who certainly is not strong in political geography, revolve the question in his mind whether Vienna (!), St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Kieff, or Moscow should be the Russian capital of the future. Finally, he made him decide for "Constantinople as the capital of the United Slavo-Greeks."

Though Mr. Disraeli spoke very cautiously on Turkish and Hungarian affairs, a considerable agreement of views appeared to come out in the course of our conversation. "Certainly," he said, "it would be a great misfortune if the Panslavist movement were to shake Austria deeply. She is our old ally!"

I replied: "A strong Germany, in alliance with Austria-Hungary, could only be welcome to England. Intelligent Liberals,

Democrats and Conservatives should seek to prevent a premature collapse of Turkey, as long as the overgrown Empire of the Czar stands there in threatening form, and the dividing wall of Poland is not restored." This was said about six years or so before the formation of the alliance between the German Empire and Austria-Hungary, which, by the later accession of Italy, became the Triple Alliance.

When we approached the Central Asian question a divergence of opinion at once came out. "The Russians," observed the Tory leader, "have now enough on their hands in Central Asia. And, after all, I do not think there is any cause for complaint or alarm in that direction."

"You will pardon me," I answered, "when I say that I have never been able to understand how quietly England, upon the whole, nay, with what surprising assent not a few men here have regarded this pushing forward of Russia through Independent Tartary. After all, her final aim is India!"

Mr. Disraeli quickly felt the sting of these words. Contrary to his custom of sitting with a curious immobility of body and face, he moved about a little with apparent uneasiness. Then he said: "It is, however, still a very long way from the Russian to the Indian frontier!"

I will not go into further details beyond mentioning that I sought to show what perils were created for English rule in Southern Asia by this constantly nearer approach of Russian power to Afghanistan, and how England, in proportion to this closer approach, became more and more incapacitated for an effective defence against a fresh Russian assault in the direction of Constantinople. Such a renewed war I thought was not far off. It came, indeed, a few years after this conversation.

Mr. Disraeli, who had received us in the most graceful manner, accompanied us to the door with kind words and thanks to me.

In public, as is well known, his attitude was generally a sarcastic one, with a strong touch of cynicism. In Parliament, he usually sat with the aspect almost of an Egyptian idol, not moving a muscle, whilst attacks came down upon him like a hailstorm. But all that he said on this occasion was uttered in so agreeable and obliging a manner that the impression created was an entirely different one. His utterances were quiet, measured, dignified,

yet withal warm. No ambiguous remark came from his lips. He also confirmed, with evident frankness, what Sir Tollemache Sinclair had reminded me of, before we saw him—namely, that in 1870 he "had looked upon the attack of France against Germany as a great and grievous wrong." On this point we were all agreed.

Tories are generally, though rather erroneously, regarded as having always been identified with the idea of resistance against Russia. Yet, from the days of the Duke of Wellington, not a few eminent English Conservatives might be quoted as proofs of a want of foresight, especially in regard to the ulterior aims of Russia. I was, therefore, doubly curious to see how the Tory leader with whom I had discussed these matters, would act in 1876–77.

He certainly opposed Russian designs when Constantinople was finally imperilled. I believe he would have acted still more strongly had he not been hampered in his own Cabinet by Lord Derby, the Foreign Secretary, who, after having done his best to shield Russia against threatened hostilities, at last left the Ministry. Here it should be brought to recollection that Disraeli had, in his earlier parliamentary life, been efficiently patronized by the father of Lord Derby. It was at a time when narrow prejudices of the squirearchy against the "Jewish adventurer" seemed to be an insurmountable bar to his political career. Owing to this circumstance, Disraeli, as Premier, was unwilling to rid himself of his Foreign Secretary. And thus the action of England was hampered.

But even in 1876 Disraeli still labored under the delusion that he could draw off Russia from her intended prey in Europe by showing her the way to further Asiatic conquests. Whilst exerting himself to stop the Czar from seizing Constantinople, the Conservative Premier exclaimed in the House of Commons: "I am not one of that school which views the advances of Russia in Asia with deep misgivings. I think that Asia is large enough for the destinies of both Russia and England." And again: "Far from looking forward with alarm to the development of Russia in Central Asia, I see no reason why they should not conquer Tartary any more than why England should not have conquered India."

These are the words which Lord Salisbury recently, at the Lord

Mayor's banquet, called "the great words of Lord Beaconsfield," making them his own parole. But it was Lord Salisbury also who once had said that those who are alarmed at the advance of Russia in Central Asia, had best buy maps on a very large scale, in order to see how far the distance is still to India. Since that remarkable observation, Russia has pushed her frontier up to, nay, even into, the outlying bulwark of India—that is, Afghanistan—and, moreover, has crept upon the Roof of the World, coming at the English even from the other side. Here I may record what an Afghan prince, Iskander Khan, who has served in the Russian army, once said to me. "Our rocky country," he declared, "serves as a protecting bastion to English dominion in India. We are well placed by nature in our stronghold, and we are warlike in a high degree. But we are much divided amongst ourselves as tribes and by feuds. If once the Russians should succeed in lodging themselves there, it will be utterly impossible to dislodge them again."

Let me add that all the historical invasions of India—barring the gradual formation of English rule there—have passed by way of Afghanistan!

I believe if Lord Beaconsfield were alive to-day, he, too, would look with dismay upon the rapid advance of Russia right through Central Asia into the very bulwark which lies before India. Nor would he have enjoyed the spectacle of an English general, arriving as a plenipotentiary for the regulation of the Afghan frontier in concert with Russian delegates, being ignominiously put to flight by a Cossack troop—an insult and a breach of international law which a Liberal Premier quietly allowed to pass unavenged.

Yet the government of St. Petersburg had successively given the most definite promises to the English government that neither Khiva, nor Merv, nor Sarakhs would be annexed, and that "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor looks upon Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere within which Russia may be called upon to exercise her influence"; also, "that no intervention or interference whatever, opposed to the independence of that state, enters into His Majesty's calculations." Once such a promise was given through Count Schouvaloff to Queen Victoria in person, "on the word of honor of a gentleman," by Alexander II. The result we all know.

Extraordinary as it may sound, the real objects of Muscovite policy have been far better understood, for a long time past, by the leaders of public opinion, nay, by large masses of ordinarily intelligent men, abroad, than by not a few of the foremost statesmen in the country most nearly concerned in that matter. On this subject Count Cavour and Mazzini, otherwise politically estranged, were of the same view. Both held that if Russia were allowed free egress for its naval and military power into the Mediterranean, and Constantinople were to fall into her hands, the danger to Italy and to Europe at large would be enormous. They thought it would be the first step to the world-dominion of Czardom. After all, this was the idea also of Napoleon I., who may be considered an expert on such a subject.

Since the present crisis began, there have been all kinds of extraordinary proposals—some of them of old date, but newly furbished up; others, quite new and eccentric, such as the plan of a "Partition of Turkey" between Russia, France, Austria-Hungary, England, Italy, Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece. The author of that last scheme is a member of the English House of Commons, who is at the head of the Anglo-American Committee, and who has introduced an Armenian deputation at Hawarden.

The opening of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the men-of-war of all nations is one of the old projects recently broached again. On that subject Sir M. Grant Duff, once a Liberal Under-Secretary of State of India, and ex-Governor of Madras, and one of the few who understand foreign affairs thoroughly, wrote some years back:

"The provisions of the Treaty of Paris in that behalf apply not to Russia only, but to all the world. Supposing Piccadilly (the well-known London street) were a strait of the sea, miles and miles in length, from either side of which London rose on a gradual slope, so that a fleet steaming leisurely through it could blow the whole city to pieces, would it be endurable that all the fleets of the world should sail up and down it at their own sweet will? And if not all the fleets of the world, why particularly the one fleet which is far the most dangerous? Supposing Constantinople ever became Russian, does the newest school of Russophiles really believe that Russia would allow armed vessels to pass between Stamboul and Scutari? . . . Surely, under no circumstances, as long as a great city and its suburbs extend from the Sea of

Marmora almost to the Symplegades, could you allow the Bosphorus to be treated as if it were the Straits of Dover."

Not less forcibly did Sir Algernon Borthwick, a Conservative, once speak on that subject at a great public meeting. He pointed out that the passage through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles is free to the commerce of the world. But if Russia, he said, had unhindered ingress and egress for her warships, "she could to-morrow send her Baltic fleet into the Black Sea. Her object in asking for this free passage is to obtain the mastery of those waters and the control of the Turkish capital. . . . The power of Russia would be so great that we should have to maintain large fleets to counterbalance it. We should have to maintain a Black Sea fleet as well as a Mediterranean squadron; and this measure, which is falsely represented to be one of peace, would add immensely to the burdens of the English taxpayer and the political dangers of Europe."

In the present disturbed and most grave conditions of affairs, the various great powers have asked for an additional gunboat of each of them being allowed to enter the Straits. Their demand, after some delay, has been granted. The principle enunciated by the Treaty of Paris, and so ably explained by Sir Grant Duff and Sir Algernon Borthwick (now Lord Glenesk), remains unaffected thereby. It is a rule necessitated by the natural configuration of Constantinople and of the Straits.

As to the plan of a partition of Turkey, all I can say is, that its unwisdom is too patent to require special discussion. If it were carried out, it would simply form the preface to a future general war between the powers concerned. Under these circumstances, one would fain hope against hope that an internal reform of the Ottoman Empire—such as was begun, but unfortunately too quickly crushed, or placed into abeyance—in the days of the Parliament of 1876, were once more attempted at the eleventh hour. If this is not done, the prospects are dark indeed, and Europe may expect a continued era of an ever increasing militarism and a future universal war more terrible than any recorded in the darkest pages of history.

KARL BLIND.

CENTRAL AMERICA AND ITS RESOURCES.

BY AUDLEY GOSLING, BRITISH MINISTER TO CENTRAL AMERICA.

VERY little is known of the pre-historic conditions of the "Land of the Quetzal," beyond the fact that its primitive dwellers were nomad Indians, probably, but not certainly, of Asiatic origin; and it is perhaps mainly due to recent archæological researches, conducted with so much patience and ability by Mr. Alfred Mandeslay in Yucatan and Northeastern Guatemala, that a discovery of much interest has been made, pointing to the conclusion that the aborigines boasted of a civilization superior and anterior to that of the Aztecs of Montezuma's day. The country, discovered by Columbus in 1502, was fifteen years later made a captaincy-general by Charles I., and up to the year 1821, when the Spanish dominion was overthrown, proved one of the richest appanages of the crown of Spain. Between 1821 and 1839, the five states formed a confederation, which was dissolved in the latter year.

To the general reader few countries are so completely *terra incognita* as Central America, comprising the Republics of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and El Salvador, whose total area is about 175,000 English square miles: the largest, and most sparsely populated, Nicaragua, containing 49,500 and El Salvador, the smallest, 7,225. The several populations, of which forty per cent. are Indians, are as follows: Costa Rica 250,000, Guatemala 1,500,000, Honduras 420,000, Nicaragua 310,000 and El Salvador 670,000, making a total of 3,150,000. El Salvador is the most populous, counting 89 inhabitants to the square mile. These countries, situate between 8° and 21° 30′ N. and 77° and 94° W., include Yucatan and the Mosquito Reserve. Geographically, both British Honduras to the north and the State of P[illegible]

ama, south of Costa Rica, extending southwards to the Isthmus of Panama, form part of Central America; and should the union of the five Republics be consummated, efforts would probably be made to acquire from Colombia the State of Panama, or a portion of it. Central American Union is to-day occupying the attention of certain of the states, especially Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, and were the opposition to the scheme which has always been offered by Costa Rica withdrawn, its realization might be hastened.

When completed the Inter-Oceanic Railway, "*Ferro-Carril al Norte,*" in course of construction across Guatemala, of which upwards of seventy miles are now open to traffic, to connect San José, the Pacific port of that Republic and Puerto Barrios on the Atlantic (which will bring Guatemala City within five days of New York), and should the Nicaragua Canal and various other contemplated means of internal communication be carried out, a great influx of foreigners, chiefly Americans and Germans, will probably follow, whose influence and example will hardly fail to promote the development and material advancement of these countries so lavishly endowed by nature. Guatemala City, situated amidst grand surroundings at an altitude of over 5,000 feet above sea level, will certainly become a favorite winter residence for Americans who now seek sunshine in the islands of the Greater and Lesser Antilles. Its climate may be described as that of perennial spring and during the warmest months, March, April and May, the shade temperature seldom reaches 75° Fahrenheit, and the nights are always cool, necessitating the same bed covering as would be used in spring in either London or New York. There is, perhaps, no more beautiful site in the New World for a capital than Guatemala City, but before it can lay claim to become a health-resort—which it could assuredly do—an improved system of drainage and a supply of pure water must be introduced; still even in its present state it is far from unhealthy. The population may be put down at 70,000, and there is ample space and facilities for one ten times its size. The mail and telegraph services throughout the Republic are admirably administered: postal matter, although carried by mule trains from the capital to Port Livingston on the Atlantic, a journey of six days, reaches New York in eleven days; commercial and general news from Europe and the United States is regularly re-

ceived and published the same day by the Central and South American Telegraph Company, via Galveston and Salina Cruz in Mexico. The city boasts of excellent markets, better furnished than many of those in the principal towns of Spain; the stores, too, are well supplied, and hotel accommodation, though hardly adequate for existing requirements, is fairly good. As is the case in the other Central-American capitals, Guatemala is an expensive place of residence, more so on the whole than New York or Paris, nor can it be said that one gets one's money's worth.

The Constitutions of these Republics are nearly analogous, and are modelled much after that of the United States. The President, elected for six years, represents the executive power, while the Legislature is vested in a National Assembly, whose members, elected by universal suffrage, sit for four years. The form of government is "Constitutional and Democratic." The Ministers hold the portfolios of Foreign Affairs, War, Finance and Public Credit, Justice, Public Works and Public Instruction. Under General Ruffino Barrios, the uncle of the present President, popular education made considerable strides, and there are now no less than 14,000 educational establishments, public and private, in Guatemala, counting an aggregate of 150,000 pupils of both sexes. Throughout Central America instruction is free and compulsory.

During the past fifteen years a large foreign population has settled in these countries, principally Americans, Germans, Italians and Swiss, drawn thither by the high prices commanded, by what is commonly called "Costa Rica," under which denomination all the varieties of coffee grown in Central America are known to the consumer. Fortunes in this branch of agriculture have been rapidly made, owing to the extraordinary rise in prices, which have steadily advanced from $8 to $28 and upwards per quintal ($1 currency equal to about 50 cents gold); and until internal peace is restored in the Brazils there does not appear any likelihood of a fall in coffee prices. To give some idea of the national wealth of Central America, it may be said that the value of the exports and imports of the five States amounted last year approximately to £6,000,000, the lion's share, about £2,500,000, falling to Guatemala, whose export and import duties alone for the month of January of the current year amounted in round

numbers to £100,000. Coffee culture, which was introduced into Central America by the Jesuit Fathers in the year 1770, and was entirely unknown there prior to that date, has now assumed extraordinary proportions, especially in Guatemala, Costa Rica and El Salvador, where the population is denser and means of communication better and more general than in the sister Republics. It is estimated that this year's coffee crop in Guatemala, which forms nine-tenths of its total exports, will reach fully 57,000,000 pounds, valued approximately at £3,000,000. The finest brands are shipped to Hamburg, London, Havre and Cherbourg, the inferior qualities finding a ready market in the United States. The three model "*Fincas*"—coffee plantations—in Central America, are said to be "La Libertad" and "Mercedes," in Guatemala, belonging respectively to General Barrillas, late President of that Republic, and Messrs. Hockmeyer, Germans, and that belonging to the Messrs. Vaughan, Englishmen, near the City of Granada, Nicaragua. With regard to the latter State, should the contemplated canal and the Inter-Oceanic Railway, connecting its Pacific and Atlantic coasts, be carried out, Nicaragua will offer a wide field to foreign enterprise, not only on account of its agricultural resources, which are but little developed, but in view of its great mineral wealth. It was recently said by an English mining expert of long practical experience, "that the day was not distant when Nicaragua would astonish the mining world as a great gold-producing country." In this, as in the other Republics, Costa Rica and El Salvador excepted, the great drawback to agriculture and to industries in general is the lack of sufficient labor; but this difficulty is in no wise insurmountable, as has been proved quite recently in Guatemala, where Japanese labor has been successfully introduced. A few years ago some hundreds of Gilbert Islanders with their families were imported with only partial success, as neither the local conditions nor climate appeared to agree with them, and the death rate among them was very heavy. In Costa Rica, West Indian negroes have for many years past shown themselves to be admirably adapted for field labor, but they are mostly confined to that Republic.

The soil throughout Central America is wonderfully rich, and produces to perfection nearly all the cereals and plants of commercial value known to the New and Old Worlds. Wheat, barley,

oats, maize and European vegetables of every variety grow luxuriantly in the temperate and colder zones ; whilst from three thousand feet altitude down to the coast line, indigo, cotton, sugar, cocoa, rice, cochineal, coffee, tobacco, mastic, balsams, tamarinds, peppers, ginger, vanilla, pine-apples, dragons blood, cassia, sarsaparilla and india rubber thrive abundantly. The orange and lemon, exotics introduced by the Spaniards, especially the former, attain to extraordinary excellence, and were care bestowed upon their cultivation, considerable and very lucrative business could be done in this branch of agriculture. The *Palma Christi* (castor-oil tree), indigenous to Central America, grows wild throughout the country, and in such extraordinary quantity that its oil might be successfully extracted at a cost which would admit of its use for ordinary lubricating purposes. The forests, many of which are primeval, abound in woods of great hardness and exquisite beauty, and include mahogany, cedar, logwood and various other dye-woods.

Of minerals, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, zinc and other ores are plentiful, and if mining ventures in certain of the Central American States have not as a rule proved remunerative, failure is to be attributed to mismanagement, and, in many cases, to a lack of honesty on the part of the promoters.

The chief exports include coffee, cocoa, indigo, cochineal, sarsaparilla, balsams, mahogany, cedar, dye-woods, hides, tortoise shell, cattle and bullion. The principal imports are cotton, linen, dry goods of all classes, silk fabrics, hardware, cutlery, glass, china, stoneware, jewellery, wine, spirits, beer, mineral and vegetable oils and canned provisions.

The writer of these fragmentary jottings who has travelled much in Central America, strongly recommends to his readers a visit to the beautiful and interesting countries comprised under that name. From New York the journey can be made by way of San Francisco and thence by Pacific Mail steamer to the several ports of call, whence by railway or on mule-back, amid glorious scenery, the capitals can be reached without much difficulty : or another route is from New York by steamer to Colon, and from Panama up the coast by steamer. From Europe the best and most expeditious route is from Southampton by Royal Mail steamer to Colon. In either case the voyage to San José de Guatemala occupies about twenty-four days. The

grand physical beauties of Central America, the richness and variety of its flora and fauna will well repay the traveller for the monotony of the sea voyage, which in nine cases out of ten is attended with smooth seas and the cloudless skies of the tropics. Nowhere on this planet, the island of Java, perhaps, excepted, are volcanoes so numerous and of such varied and eccentric conformation as in Guatemala. The most notable are "Agua" and "Fuego," respectively 13,000 and 12,000 feet in height; during last century the former vomited forth volumes of aqueous matter, beneath which lies buried the old Spanish City of "Ciudad Vieja." "Guatemala la Antigua," the former capital and seat of government under a Spanish viceroy, with its hundreds of fine churches and religious establishments, was upwards of a hundred years ago totally destroyed by earthquakes caused by the sudden and terrible activity of "Fuego." Of recent years seismic disturbance has been of such rare occurrence in Guatemala that houses of two and three stories have replaced the low and substantial structures of former times built to withstand the much dreaded violence of the *tierra mota*. In the Republic of El Salvador a volcano of recent formation, named Izalco, by whose agency the capital, San Salvador, was nearly destroyed in 1873, serves the useful purpose of a beacon for this iron-bound coast on the Pacific. Towards the end of last century the site on which it is situated was a fertile knoll where the Indians cultivated their corn and where the frequent destruction of their crops by fire was attributed to acts of vengeance by neighboring tribes, giving rise to many a free fight in which that deadly weapon, the "*Machete*" played a prominent part; nor was it until a gradual upheaval of the soil was observed, that it occurred to anyone that these supposed acts of incendiarism were due to subterraneous ignition. Izalco has now attained an altitude of some 5,000 feet and coasting navigators watch its rapid growth from year to year. Its nocturnal ebullitions form a spectacle of more imposing grandeur than the eruptions of Vesuvius; explosions occur every twelve or fifteen minutes day and night with extraordinary regularity, accompanied by noises likened to the discharge of heavy artillery, followed by the escape of volumes of dense smoke and flame carrying with it hundreds of tons of rock and lava, which on a dark night presents a most weird appearance.

The face of the whole of Central America is intersected with

ravines, locally called "*barrancas*," of great depth, whose creation must have been the result of some terrific natural convulsion hundreds or thousands of years ago, by which the very strata of the rocks was twisted and displaced. Cities surrounded by these barrancas enjoy a singular immunity from the consequences of earthquakes to which they offer an effective impediment. Similar chasms occur from Mexico City southwards, but nowhere are they of such grand proportions as at and around the Guatemalan capital. Taken as a whole, Central America offers a fair field for foreign enterprise. By young men of self-denying and sober habits, possessing a capital of from $5,000 and a tolerable knowledge of the Spanish language, success either in commerce, agriculture or mining, may be confidently counted upon, but they must avoid all interference in local politics. In these as in all other countries, the foreigner whose character and mode of life command respect will very seldom, if ever, suffer molestation at the hands of the authorities.

The Nicaragua Canal, if once commenced in earnest, will open up the almost inexhaustible resources of that Republic, and the engineering works alone will offer lucrative employment to thousands of foreigners. Its physical difficulties are insignificant compared with those which Lesseps never overcame on the Isthmus of Panama; and perhaps the greatest obstacle to contend with is the silting of the alluvial deposits at the mouth of the San Juan River, the Atlantic entrance to the canal. Its whole length will be 194 English miles, 110 of which are included in the great lake of Nicaragua, 134 feet above sea level, whose total superficial area is 3,668 English square miles. A short cutting will connect this lake with that of Managua, 156 feet above sea level, with a superficial area of 600 English square miles, being fifty miles long by twenty-five miles broad, with an average depth of five fathoms.

AUDLEY GOSLING.

A STUDY IN HUSBANDS.

BY MARION HARLAND, MRS. BURTON HARRISON, AND ELIZABETH BISLAND.

I.

THE feminine reader of the symposium entitled, "*A Study in Wives*," at once seizes upon and is complacent over a feature that may escape the average reader of the other sex.

French, English, German, and Scandinavian writers give us therein a composite photograph of the Ideal Wife, in which the helpmeet of man shows clear and benign.

The Frenchwoman's "constant aim is to be interesting to her husband. She multiplies herself. In turn, she is his friend, his confidante, his partner in business, his chum." The English cotter's wife has "profoundest faith" in her "man," and sinks her own soul out of sight while toiling for him and the children she has borne unto him. The middle-class Briton's spouse is an indispensable appanage of his respectability. The German woman of mediæval, and of modern, times is typified in the pretty tale told by Bürger, and borrowed by Addison's *Spectator*, of the Weinsberg wives bearing their husbands upon their backs out of the surrendered city as "what was most precious to them." The fairest of the fair pictures sketched in the pleasing "Study" is that of the "beautiful personality" selected by the late Professor Boyesen as the representative matron of his beloved land. Hers was, we read, "an unfailing helpfulness which ever gave and gave, without thought of demanding anything in return." A part of this giving was the sympathetic hearkening to her lord's grumbling over family expenses, calming his irritability, and shielding their children from his censure.

This helpmeetness is the *motif* of the series of Ideals. By

frank recognition of man's dependence upon it for happiness and prosperity, the distinguished men to whom we owe the Study prove themselves both shrewd and generous. The Complemental Theory of the Sexes would seem to be held by them in sincerity of orthodoxy. We have no talk of substance and shadow. The boulder and moss, the oak and the vine, are not so much as hinted at. The *fin de siècle* sentimentalist has learned that moss does not comfort boulders, and that the clinging parasite saps the strength of the tree.

We have, therefore, no ground for complaint against tone or tenet of "*A Study in Wives.*" If he who makes two blades of grass grow where but one grew before is a benefactor to the world, she who makes one good man better, one strong man stronger, serves her age well and should be thankful.

At a political dinner given in the South a little while ago, the regulation toast to women had a novel wording:

"The Ladies! God bless them! *Formerly our superiors—now our equals!*"

The caustic irony of the sentiment is subtle, yet we catch the undertone of a great truth. Acceptance of the "situation" may not be cordial, but acknowledgment of the equality for which battle has been done these many years is welcome, both to the radical and to the conservative wings of the Woman's Progress Party. The best and most sensible women in this and in other countries ask for nothing higher than to be rated as the peers of the best and most sensible men. He who admits his wife, *in very truth,* to this equal footing, has taken the first and most important degree in the School for Ideal Husbands. I give significant emphasis to the words "in very truth." If, in bygone days, women's aims were low, their thoughts and ways frivolous, the vapid flattery of their "superiority" to their brothers had much to do with their contentment with actual inferiority to nobler and possible ideals.

A French *feuilletoniste* has written a sensational story of a wife who, grown weary of devotion she did not return, sang her husband to sleep, then heaped his couch and filled his room with his favorite hyacinths. The heavy odor of the flowers stupefied him into torpor from which he never awoke. Reverse the sexes, and we have a parable that needs no key. When the asphyxia is voluntary, and both parties to the contract of marriage are

victims, we have an illustration of Max O'Rell's witty fling at "couples who had been engaged for ten years and were still hoping to know something of one another." Cases are rare in which a bachelor, however practical, sets a correct estimate upon the woman he means to make his wife. The clarified vision that enables him to take a just account of stock presupposes the marriage ceremony.

He who brings his imagination down (or up) to the contemplation of his idol (which is "short" for ideal), as a partner, with equal rights, in the concern which we name "life," a colaborer whose "counsels"—to quote at second-hand from Tacitus—"are not to remain disregarded, nor her utterances undervalued"—so simplifies the marriage relation and strengthens the marriage bond that he may be reckoned an authority in causes hymeneal.

The recognized and established equality of husband and wife outdoes Prince Ahmed's pavilion in elasticity. In the shelter of the spreading wings the phrase that grates upon a just ear—"a kind husband"—is obsolete. A man may be kind to his dog, his horse, his groom, and to his poorer neighbor. If deficient in natural affection, he may even be a kind father. He can no more, in the ideal, that is, the true, marriage, be kind to his wife than the left lobe of the heart can patronize the right. Neither can he, although liberal-minded to a fault, be generous to one who is part and equal owner in all that he possesses.

Should he find fault with her, it is as he would censure his own words and actions. A fair index of healthful spiritual and mental growth is the divine self-dissatisfaction of the earnest soul. The Ideal Husband is not content to rise without taking all of himself with him. If love leads him to make the best of his wife, a sense of what is due to himself and consequently to her, urges him to help her to live up to this high standard.

I have known many women who educated their husbands, in the true sense of the *educere*, drawing out latent good and developing the finer qualities of mind and soul. I have known few men who had patience and faith enough to do more than accept their wives as they are, settling down into fatalistic resignation when judicial weighing finds them wanting. These things are so patent that the adage, "A man's wife makes or mars him," has no companion saw touching the training the wife gets from

the husband. David Copperfield is slow to learn that his Dora's education was finished before he married her. When the conviction gets hold of him he lets go with both hands the work of training her mind. When she pleads timidly to be allowed to hold his pens while he writes what is to make him famous, he sees nothing promising in the request, or in the wistful eyes that watch the flight of the quill over the paper.

Our Ideal Husband is quick to see, and tactful in following up opportunities to comfort and to uplift her whose more delicate physical organization must often place her at a seeming disadvantage. Lapses into irritability or depression, errors of judgment and taste, are not, in his sight, evidence that his marriage was a failure, or even a mistake. Like the brave, level-headed fellow he is, he reasons that the woman for whom he would have laid down his life in 1885, must be worth living for, and living with in 1895. At the worst—when the worst cannot be ignored—since the bond uniting them is a sacred obligation and for a lifetime, he can set his wits to work to see the lights of the picture and close his eyes to the shadows, or manfully endure the inevitable as he would bear any other incurable ill.

This is conjugal fidelity of the finest type. It should be needless in a Christian land to specify, as an essential qualification for the rôle of the *decent* husband, faithfulness to the letter of constancy to his espoused wife. To the believer in the absoluteness of the holiest of voluntary earthly relations, infidelity is practically impossible.

Flirtations many and easily-gained divorces have deadened popular conscience on this head. Insidious philosophizing upon spiritual affinities and the divine right of every heart to seek and claim the mate intended for it by heaven, have wrought wider evil by compounding a false conscience and passing it off for truth and right. "Who is to judge as to whom God hath joined together?" is the excuse for fickleness that few are honest enough to characterize justly. The man who is true to his higher nature sweeps these sophistries aside and sets steadfastly before him the fact that the woman he has sworn to love, honor, and cherish, is the one to whom belongs, while they both live, the first place in his affections.

The sentence is humdrum and commonplace beside the literature most affected by the sociologist of our day. It is, neverthe-

less, God's truth, and the principle it conveys lies at the base of, and informs wedded happiness. It is not true, as men (and women) of easy virtue affirm, that the wife who is kept in ignorance of her husband's infidelities, slight or flagrant, is none the worse for them. The purity and strength of the conjugal relation are impaired, however ingenious the concealment, and the injury done to the man's inner nature is incalculable. He who spake as never man spake condemned the unlawful desire of the eye and the heart in terms the erotic novelist would brand as coarse, and at which the neurotic essayist sneers as out-of-date asceticism.

Return to first principles of this stamp would be wholesome frost to social microbes and sentimental bacilli. The breach of a voluntary promise sworn to in God's name is perjury. The betrayal of a sacred trust is treachery. To take all and to give nothing in return is dishonesty. And our Ideal Husband is an honest and an honorable man.

In the details of every-day life, he is *reasonable.* It is easier to grumble at ever-increasing expenses than to shoulder cheerfully the heavier load consequent upon a growing family. When "Finn's low averages and Bertha's hoydenish behavior" (*vide* Professor Boyesen) wound paternal pride, and "Olaf's habit of tearing his clothes" pulls upon the paternal purse, it is clear to the masculine mind that somebody ought to be blamed. Upon the wife, as the motive power of the domestic machinery, is laid the onus of the cook's wastefulness, the chambermaid's impertinence, the butler's breakages. Women are so used to this vicarious chastisement that they flay their own consciences in good faith for the misdoings of their underlings. The housemother holds herself individually accountable for every spoiled *entrée;* dusty corners are as the blot of crime upon her soul, and she repents in her prayers of her children's naughtiness as the direct result of maternal unfaithfulness.

When our reasonable man takes upon himself the blame of his clerk's negligence and his cashier's defalcation and his porter's drunkenness, then, and not until then, will he lay upon his wife's shoulders and heart the weight of another's sins and shortcomings.

The Ideal Husband, thus roughly outlined, is not an impossible He. Nor is the lantern of Diogenes, with a searchlight attach-

ment, needed to find him. He reigns as one of the allied sovereigns, in many an American home, the Abou Ben Adhem of the fireside who makes the millennium of love, peace, and justice a blessed probability. MARION HARLAND.

II.

RECENTLY—since the fair American, upon her travels abroad, who smilingly confesses to the possession, at her home across the sea, of a congenial and attached husband, has become so common a feature of foreign society—the question continually recurs there, as to what manner of man is he who thus calmly submits to be forsaken by his helpmeet. The Frenchwoman, who still appears in public arm-in-arm with her spouse, lifts her mobile eyebrows in astonishment at the liberty conceded to a wandering wife. The Englishwoman, who expects to go abroad in company with her husband, or else to remain at home with him, is lost in a maze of speculation as to the true nature of the matrimonial tie in that wonderful young country oversea. It is said that the gracious lady who fills the throne and the hearts of Italy, has made open protest against the repeated presentation at her court of married American women whose husbands remain invisible. Indeed, in all old world society, like remonstrances are heard. "We see so much of your charming American women, and so little of your men," is a common remark, frequently followed by the suggestion that the nebulous heads of these ambulant households must be either unpresentable, or lazy, or indifferent, or at least indulgent beyond a continental or insular imagination elsewhere. The American husband is considered in short, where the conventionalities of society have been longer established, either a myth or a miracle.

It would be a hopeless endeavor to try to pursuade such critics to accept things American exactly as they are. They are not much moved when we patiently and persistently reiterate that the riddle is often solved by the fact that, in his brief holiday abroad, the Amercian husband of the cultured class, chooses rather to avoid the people and functions of high society in which his wife has pleasure, in favor of such joys of travel as will refresh him bodily and mentally for months to follow; and that, his own vacation over, he returns to his desk in office or counting-

room generously glad to accord to his wife and family a longer experience in rest and recreation than he was able to permit himself.

Although this magnanimous being is hardly understood among the people of civilizations older than our own, he exists here; and to him is largely due the present efflorescence of American womanhood in the world's flower-gardens. But the motives that inspire him are not all the same. Every good American who creates for himself a family, is anxious to secure for its members the full measure of privileges attainable through whatever means he has, applied according to his understanding how to dispense them. And it is not difficult to convince him that, unless he wishes his wife and daughters to be surpassed in culture and in knowledge of the world by those of his neighbor or ally in affairs, he must at once put to their credit money for a long stay abroad. Then ensues the disruption of the body domestic so peculiar to our occidental households. It would be a captious commentator upon American characteristics who could suggest that separations of this nature are occasionally tempered to the forsaken one by a sense of relief. Let us rather imagine his hope of reunion blending with the trust that when "she" next comes home to her own country, she may possibly be satisfied to stay here.

A trait peculiar to the American husband that surely entitles him to a niche in the temple of ideality, is his heroic endurance of the summer break in the comfort of his home. When June comes, when torrid heat beats upon city pavements and even night's arrival long delayed does not suffice to quell the baking earth, our well-to-do man of affairs speeds the departure of his wife and family to some cool and covetable retreat, there to remain until Autumn makes town again tolerable in their eyes. For three months or more, it may be his lot to remain, when at home, in a howling waste of mosquito gauze and brown hollands, perfumed with anti-moth paper, in a habitation presided over by a grim and furtive care-taker, who views even the master's approach to his domicile with suspicion. During this ordeal his meals at a club or hotel may become a weariness to the soul; his favorite chairs and lamps and books may be inaccessible; his wardrobe may know scant care. Such a trial, to flesh and temper, is made light of by a bachelor fortified with youth and

an unsettled habit; but it is serious to the man of middle life who has known better days. The occasion for it—the tax put upon the health of women and children by the prolonged heat of our summers—might be ignored by one less habitually considerate and unselfish than the American husband. But this yearly hegira from town homes to the country is cheerfully submitted to by thousands pent in cities where affairs of toil confine them, who provide for their families delightful, luxurious, or at least comfortable resorts in the mountains or at the sea shore, in which they themselves can hope to share but rarely and for only short experiences.

One is inclined to think it is the habit of industry that keeps alive in the manly American bosom the reputed flame of gallantry toward the wife. Among us, it is the dawdlers, the money-spenders, who treat their own wives with off-hand civility, and bestow their graces upon the wives of other men. As our countryman ascends the ladder of gold into the high places of idle society, he generally models himself after the Englishman of a corresponding class who gives the whole world its cue in the enjoyment to be had from things material. And, as everybody knows, *that* shining exemplar does not concern himself overmuch with attendance upon one woman's whims! It is a maxim with him that, to kill time in yachting, shooting, hunting or travelling, as it should be done, a man must dispense with the impedimenta of inconvenient service to the fair. What a Fortunatus is he who can still the wifely implorings for companionship, by showering greenbacks upon her pathway, and coaxing her to find amusement that will dry her eyes of the tears shed upon his departure! But, naturally, the husband thus consoling, and the wife thus consoled, are not drawn more closely together by the transaction. Very soon, she has learned to entertain herself elsewhere than in his company, and the couple, who are nothing if not modish, are sundered. From such alliances are apt to come the stories of conjugal disaster that fill our newspapers and tingle in the ears of sober folk throughout the country. The curious part of it is that these people, like most American-born men and women, have a natural bent toward the placid pleasures of home and fireside, oftener than impulse of a baser sort that drives them to moral wreck.

In the same class of society—fortunately too small as yet to

be fairly cited as illustrating American characteristics, but which it is nevertheless the ardent ambition of many Americans to enter—we see other varieties of husbands who do not sustain our national boast of superiority in that particular article of social traffic, among them him who carries to pathetic lengths his willingness to give precedence to his wife. Insignificant of appearance, homely of origin, in manner ill at ease, without real zest for the pursuits of the life into which his pretty, ambitious wife has succeeded in convoying him, he is yet conscious of feeble-minded pride in his social advancement, and in the motor that has furnished it. Following her step by step into the *penetralia* of smart society, he presents, to his old friends and acquaintances of less pretentious aims, a laughable and yet a pitiable spectacle. Left to himself, among men of his own tastes and habits, he might still have laid claim to some slight individuality. As it is, he is swayed with every wind of passing fancy in fashion, is solemnized by his fear of making a mistake, is accepted at last as a necessary appendage of a charming woman, but is, as far and as often as possible, ignored or snubbed by the set she has forced him to enter. This absurd type is not uncommon here, and its transplantation—still in the wake of the clever and insinuating wife—into foreign soil does not improve the conception of American conjugal life in foreign minds.

Another manifestation in our day is a husband who, viewed from afar, would be taken for a high prize in the matrimonial market—an agreeable, successful man of affairs, who, having amassed a fortune, spends it lavishly ; from whose wife or children nothing is withheld that can conduce to luxurious living, or lend brilliancy to the position at which he rates himself. In public, and in the visible relations of life, he is all good humor and indulgence. Men pronounce him a prince of good fellows, women smile at his approach, his employees radiate in his service, the public charities are in steady receipt of his bounty. But between him and the wife of his youth, the bride of his early poverty, the sharer of his struggle to rise, there is now a great gulf fixed. The greed for wealth, for place and prominence, the flatteries of the outside world, have filled the best spaces in his heart ; and he has long outlived a sense of dependence upon her love or companionship. Her movements, her absence from or presence in

his home, are indifferent to him ; and the finding by her of interests and friends other than his own is a solace for which he will pay ungrudgingly in hard cash. How this couple began life in the old-fashioned, happy, humdrum American middle-class fashion, is distinctly remembered by others ; and the pity of it is that their wreck should occur when the port of life is just in sight. A little less worldly success might have steered them in safety to the end of the matrimonial voyage. But, whatever the cause, their separation is one of many that do not appear in the divorce courts.

The type of American husband most familiar among us, however, is the man of busy energies, kindly, affectionate, proud of his family, with whom he is free handed and sympathetic in their pleasures—who might, if the stress of making a livelihood would leave him free to do so, enjoy domestic life heartily, and aid in bringing the married state to be what good old Dicky Steele described it in the *The Tattler*—"a complication of all the pleasures of life, and a retreat from its inquietudes." But, alas ! under the conditions of modern money-grubbing, what opportunity has the poor man to cultivate fireside amenities and hang garlands upon the Lares of his hearth? In New York, for instance, he hurries away from home directly after eating a hasty breakfast, to return to it late in the day, fagged from the incessant and nervous grinding of the mill down-town, and ravening for his dinner. At such a moment, all the charms and all the virtues combined in one wife, often cannot win smiles or playful speech from any husband so beset; and a wise woman effaces herself until the post-prandial hour gives her a reasonable hope of claiming his conversation. At this period of the evening, unless she is a mere monger of nursery gossip or a household drudge, her spirit, braced and expanded by the day of independence and responsibility, is eager for the fray of ideas. She longs for the interchange of sentiment on current topics, while her heart (an organ among our wives apt to be fairly well stored with conjugal affection) owns to a little joyous thrill of satisfaction in the *tête-à-tête* that has lost nothing by years of repetition. To it, even the grown children are an interruption; and she sees them go their several ways in search of more active entertainment with almost a sigh of satisfaction ! What, at this interesting juncture, is the attitude of the ideal husband?

What, of the real husband? These are queries to be answered by observation or by experience!

If, critically regarded, the ordinary American husband is ever discovered to fall short of the high standard of consideration for his wife attributed to him by public voice, it seems to me it is in thinking that freedom and plenty of money to spend, without giving account of it, will take the place of his personal attentions to her. He should appear more with her in public; wear less of the air of a martyr led to the stake when in attendance on her before the world; and pay more heed at home to the trifling observances of convention and dress and manner that are so provokingly important to the happiness of most women. A very small show of effort, in the matter of externals and in courtesy of daily speech, will sometimes go to the heart of a wife, when a gift of value, or a concession of points in dispute between them, will leave it cold and untouched. The American wife, accustomed as she is to free range of thought and action, to admiration of her spirited achievements, to good humored indulgence of her "fads," does not, as a rule, receive from her husband the *petits soins* M. Max O'Rell speaks about as distinguishing the manner of a French husband to his wife. Nor is she accustomed to seeing her spouse arise to open the door for her, as is the English wife. Trifles, light as air, are these no doubt; and not to be weighed in the balance against the fidelity, the generosity, the single-minded loyalty of our average American toward her he is pleased to style his better half. But one wonders, sometimes, if their absence does not account in a measure for the fact that she is so rarely a real half of her husband—if her extolled independence of attitude does not rob her of that dream of identity with him she once promised herself so fondly. For there is no appeal possible from a husband more inspiring to a wife than that for comradeship. If our women were to hear it oftener, perhaps there would be less said of the pursuit of "public works" that take the American wife over the borders of her home, outward bound.

CONSTANCE CARY HARRISON.

III.

SPEAKING historically, all evidence leads inevitably to the conclusion that the only entirely ideal husband ever known to exist was unfortunately cut off in the flower of his

youth, some time during the early years of the Pliocene Period. Minute fossil fragments of his bones have been discovered and are worn as relics by pious celibates; they are even said to have worked miracles, but no record exists of a second avatar of this noble being, and the experience of wives gives no reason to hope that a sinful and unworthy world can ever hope for his reappearance.

Nevertheless, with that fine disregard ever shown by the sex for scientific facts and historical evidence, every woman begins her sentimental life with expectation unabated by the experience of others. The luminous aura surrounding her lover translates him at once to a simulacrum of that long dead, knightly saint, until the fierce light which beats upon the husband dissipates the mists of early love, and brings into view the unprepossessing traits of commonplace humanity.

As is the case with all legendary persons the outlines of the character of the ideal husband are vague. The charming vision that haunts the dreams of maidenhood is compounded all of passion and purity, of beauty and vigor, chivalry and grace. A Samson among men he willingly yields into her feeble hands the locks of his power. A creature of a volcanic passion which renders him indifferent to meals and superior to sleep, he can be moved to rapture by but one single specimen of the sex, and can live for ever upon the hope or memory of her tenderness. He combines with an easy mastery of all manly arts a delightful preference for reading poetry aloud beside the domestic hearth; is superior to all vulgarly material considerations and is yet generous in the matter of diamonds, and, in a word, unites in one stalwart person all the virtues of Galahad, Launcelot, and Arthur.

The wife, perhaps—in moments of disgust with the crude masculinity of her mate—will permit herself to ponder an ideal who, while less magnificently ornamental than the gentle maiden's collection of romantic bric-a-brac—is yet, like the well recommended English butler, "thoroughly domesticated." She dreams of a person prepared to throw himself with enthusiasm into the study of croup and measles, full of burning sympathy in the matter of female domestic service, and yet so full of tenderness and tact as to be able to instantly obliterate himself at moments of domestic crises. Like the aforementioned ideal servant he is never in the way and never out of it. He is uncritical of incompetence or failure, and unexactingly fond; unabsorbed by affairs

and yet commanding the secret of worldly success, and above all and before all he is constitutionally and hopelessly blind to the charms and virtues of any other woman than his wife.

Tastes may differ as to details, and according to temperament, nationality or social condition, but, broadly speaking, this pleasing person with his eccentric combination of qualities, figures in the abstract affections of all women.

But these, of course, are dreams—diversions of those exalted moments when the human moth allows itself with futile richness of imagination to think of the star as a possible companion. Practically what every woman hopes for and desires in her mate is that he should be a man. Not merely a person of the masculine sex, nor a creature of impossible and conflicting virtues, but one in whom the elements are so blended that within the strong circle of his virility she finds space to develop the best of all her possibilities.

Her ideal husband is no Galahad, but he retains so much of the tradition of knightliness as to keep a deep reverence for womanhood, which no bad women he may have known have been able to destroy; for this reverence of her sex she feels is her strongest incentive to right living.

Again, her ideal husband is distinctly a jealous husband, not, of course, to the point of being a vain, uneasy fool, but sufficiently so to prove to his wife that he values her—as much as his money, we will say, which he would surely not leave lying on the roadside to be snatched at by every passer by, and which he will freely incur inconvenience or even danger to defend. True, the law does not encourage this point of view. It permits him to kill the midnight burglar robbing him of his property, but denies him the same privilege in the case of the thief breaking into his home to steal his happiness. Despite the incongruities of the law the man whom the woman dreams of is red-blooded enough to be a physical terror to the sneaking invader of households. Indifference as to her fidelity argues it so valueless that she can not feel she defrauds him in not preserving it.

Her ideal husband regards her neither as mistress, chum, nor servant. Her motherhood raises her in his eyes above all three. She is something different from himself, the embodiment of his finer sentiments, his emotional life, and as such to be guarded

from the ruder side of existence, with something of the tender indulgent care given to a child with somewhat of the reverent consideration accorded by the laity to the priesthood. Nevertheless this nice person is not uxorious. While he assumes all the rougher share of life he is extremely exacting of her within her sphere, and demands the very best exertion of her powers. He is not content to be bundled into a hotel because she is too lazy or helpless to deal with domestic difficulties. He will not put up with cold and niggardly affection, with a neglected mind or person. All the treasures of heart and brain he demands in return for her exemption from the coarser cares of life. He even exacts that she shall be a good citizen as well as a good woman, and have public as well as private virtues. There is a theory that the patient, unexacting financial agent who is supposed to typify the genus husband in America—who like Charity suffereth long and is kind, thinketh no evil, and giveth all his goods—is woman's ideal of a mate, but this is a slander. The dull submission of the overladen ass is not the quality which ordinarily excites feminine respect. That brilliant, greedy figure, hung with jewels, who stands aloft in the social car laying the goad upon the bowed shoulders of the humble, overworked married slave who draws her chariot, is purely a figment, evolved out of the note books of shallow foreigners rushing express through the country to make a volume of travels. In reality the American husband is the most exacting of his kind. He demands gaiety, physical and mental charm, a high cultivation of all her powers and an infinity of carefully performed duties from his wife. If the American woman is brilliant and ornamental, it is because the American husband will put up with nothing less. In older civilizations woman finds in married life all the conditions prepared for her; rules made which she has only to obey, a careful code of precedents which she has only to follow. Here a woman may be within a period of seven days transported from a country boarding school to the most conspicuous position in the land, and without previous training be called upon to receive ambassadors and preside at state dinners. The husband who elevates his wife from the wash-tub in a mining camp to the palace of a millionaire, expects her to create out of the chaos of her previous experiences an ordered social world between the morning and the evening of her first day of wealth—and she does it and likes it,

and loudly proclaims that this exacting creature is the most delightful example of husband known.

Curiously enough the real person is as unlike as possible to the generally-accepted picture of the typical American husband, with his narrow, sordid, bank-clerk soul, his neglected mind, and his cynical estimate of woman as a fantastic child with an insane lust for luxury. Perhaps the typical husbands of other nations have been as much belied, and the Frenchman is not the sensualist who thrusts the woman's pretty babies from her arms into alien hands in order that her attentions may not for a moment be distracted from himself, nor her labors diverted from his business. Perhaps the German wife is not really an unpaid, contemptuously-treated upper servant, nor the English woman the victim of a selfish, domineering master. At all events but few women find all the unpleasing characteristics of the type combined in their individual specimens of the national husband.

In a recent number of this REVIEW a most interesting "Study in Wives," from the point of view of men of four different nationalities, showed—allowing for the variation of national temperament—a strong unanimity as to the character of the ideal wife. The writer of the last paper, while making a touchingly beautiful tribute to one of these noble souls—whom one was allowed to infer was his own mother—cannot refrain from a fling at the "New Woman." No discussion of any phase of the relations of the sexes is now complete without allusion to that female spectre from whose antics modern man is continually rushing weeping into the arms of the reading public to claim its sympathy and protection. It is evident that the ideal husband is not the mate for her. . . . "I cannot conceive what kind of a wife she would make, because I cannot conceive of the kind of man who would marry her."

Poor new woman! Let it be admitted that she is not a pleasing object—fails of being an attractive woman, and does not succeed in becoming an admirable man—is neither fish, flesh nor good red herring; but the ideal husband can lay his hand upon his heart and truthfully maintain that he is not responsible for her existence; he had nothing to do with her paternity. Her father is quite a different sort of being; he wanders to and fro in the land bemoaning the decadence of the old-fashioned woman, and bewailing the loss of his ancient prestige in feminine eyes.

We heard no complaints from him some generation or more ago, when he first began to shift the burden of life upon the shoulders of his women. He thought there was something very noble in their desire for independence, their wish to relieve him of responsibility. Alas! after a decade or two, these women who had accepted men's duties began to demand a share of his privileges as well, and suddenly all those bright angelic traits assumed the outlines of a hybrid monster, and he raised a loud alarm, which only increases in hysterical intensity as her demands grow more comprehensive.

The ideal husband has no part in this disturbance. His wife has no desire to become liberated, nor to develop her individuality, beyond the limits of his life. Did any one ever see an honored priestess wish to leave her shrine to become a washerwoman? The wife of the good man finds no restriction of her liberty in marriage, no lack of freedom to do all the good work of any kind for which she has capacity. It is the selfish, inferior man who falls below the ideal who is responsible for the unpleasant developments in modern woman. She finds a strong, if unexpressed, sentiment in the family now that the girls upon reaching maturity must follow the boys into the world and assume their own support. The brothers decline to be hampered in the struggle for life by their sisters, and even a large moiety of the modern husbands are active in their encouragement of their wive's efforts to help gain the daily bread. No wonder that the woman finding herself forced to work insists upon having room to do it in.

The ancient patriarchal system may have been tyrannical in some of its features, but at least the males, under the system, were men and protected and provided for their women, who freely gave them submission and affection in return. In India reformers find the gravest opposition from the very women whose condition they are anxious to ameliorate. They fear to see the overthrow of a system which provides—even under tyrannous conditions—a home and a protector for every one of their sex.

Far above and removed from all this *tu quoque* of the sexes, this clamor of conflicting tongues, stands the good man, who is also the ideal husband—the sweetest hope of every woman, the perfect happiness of the one who finds him.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

HOW TO AVOID WAR.

MEETINGS should be held by every Chamber of Commerce throughout the country to protest against the widespread devastation war and its rumors will entail.

Meetings should be held in every village town hall to enable the farmer to express his protest at a condition of affairs which will reduce wheat to 25 cents a bushel by the closing up of European markets, and which will raise the rate of interest on his mortgage.

Meetings should be held by every labor organization to protest against a state of affairs that will stop operations on every building now in course of construction, and which, through the general paralysis of business, will reduce to beggary thousands of innocent work-people.

But still more should meetings be held by every church throughout the land to protest against the infamy of war between the two great English-speaking peoples of the world.

Urgency is required, because we may be led into a position from which it will be difficult to withdraw.

A BUSINESS MAN.

CANADA AS A HOSTAGE.

ANYBODY who has long listened attentively to the screaming of our great American Press Eagle will have heard its voice on Venezuela without detecting one note anticipatory of war with Great Britain. Clearer than any other is the familiar comfortable tone of assurance that the mother country will yield pretty much anything rather than come to fisticuffs with the grown child. It is easy, also, to catch the note of presumed triumph; the accents of the gamester who holds a sure thing and believes his opponent knows it. Indeed there is, sometimes, candid and exultant statements of the reasons why a third-term Possibility may safely paint the Monroe doctrine wildly red and flaunt it in challenge of Bull.

"Great Britain dare not oppose us," we are told. "She dare not, though her naval strength would enable her to work her will in Venezuela; she dare not, though European nations would approve her stand; she dare not, because she fears a war which would inevitably end in our screaming over annexed Canada."

Some of the more grey and bald-headed among our press eagles may think this a short-sighted view of what would result from the imagined conflict. General Sherman did indeed remark that Canada is within our lines, and Mr. Goldwin Smith has certified that Canada is England's

hostage to the United States. But what if Canada, on the outbreak of war, should be found placidly within our lines and yet not a hostage? What if the Dominion should declare her independence as soon as war became imminent?

That the Canadian people might decently take that course rather than risk invasion because of a dispute about Venezuela may be asserted reasonably. That they would take it, if moved by consideration for Great Britain's interests, seems plain; for thus they would relieve the old country from defending, and bar the United States from attacking, the Dominion. Then the British Navy and the New Navy might try conclusions.

It is a fine question whether Mr. Cleveland's cruisers and privateers, by levying on Queen Victoria's ocean traffic, could make more than her ironclads might by requisitioning the great American cities of two oceans. Possibly the more grey and bald-headed eagles aforementioned may conceive of Mr. Rudyard Kipling viewing that fine question with unholy glee, or a council of British admirals regarding it with tender recollections of Blucher's "*Was für plunder!*"

EDWARD W. THOMSON.

WHAT IS MALARIA?

THE word malaria was originally used to designate "bad air" or air contaminated with noxious gases, and these were supposed to be the cause of miasmatic or swamp disease. The Roman marshes, so far as we can ascertain, afforded the first cases of diseases of this type which were recorded in writing, though, of course, mankind "shivered and burned" with malarial paroxysm ages before the historical Roman plains were known. About twenty years ago medical men began to realize that malarial fevers were caused by some agent other than "bad air." A poisonous something associated with noxious gases, but quite apart from them, evidently lay at the root of the manifestations which they knew as paludal or marsh disease, But even the light of science, in which they saw more clearly this additional cause, failed to make them discard the time-honored name malaria, and to-day it still stands for the class of ailments whose symptoms we know so well.

Various theories have been advanced in the past to account for the actual cause of malaria. The subtle nature of the poison has given some observers courage even to deny its existence. It was asserted by one eminent authority that the so-called malarial diseases were due solely to cold and chill after exposure to great heat; especially when the body was exhausted by toil and fatigue. There can be but little doubt that such conditions are predisposing causes of malaria—that they render the system susceptible to its poison. But this is true of any of the germ diseases and to-day we know malaria to be a germ disease.

In 1881 Alphonse Laveran, a French physician, discovered in the blood of persons suffering from malarial fevers a microscopic organism which was never found in the blood of persons in health. At first very little attention was paid to his announcement; few had ever heard of him, and the scientific world was committed to the alleged discovery of Professors Klebs and Tommasso-Crudelli of a bacillus of malaria having quite different characteristics. Other observers, after a time, confirmed Laveran's statements, but failed to do so in the case of the alleged Klebs bacillus.

Laveran's discovery has been called the plasmodium of malaria, although he himself called it *oscillaria malariæ*, because of the peculiar oscillating movements it made.

The parasites are found within the red blood corpuscles, and also free in the blood. They are classed among the protozoa, *i. e.*, they are one-celled animalculous vegetables. So constantly are these little organisms found in the blood of persons suffering from malaria that we can tell to a certainty whether a case of fever is malaria and requires a certain line of treatment, by examining under the microscope a drop of blood taken from the finger of the patient. The blood may be examined fresh, without any special preparation. The finger or the lobe of the ear is simply pricked with the point of a sharp lancet, and a drop half the size of the head of a pin is placed on a clean cover glass, such as is used for microscopic specimens. This is then put on a glass slide under a very powerful microscope, when the plasmodia can be seen in the form of minute round bodies within the red blood corpuscles and of larger spheres, often having one or a number of black specks in their center, floating with the corpuscles free in the blood.

Other forms of the plasmodium have been described. Some of them have hair-like filaments projecting from them ; others are shaped like rosettes, others again are crescent shaped.

Laveran maintains these shapes are different stages of development of the same kind of plasmodia. Other observers claim that the different shaped plasmodia cause different types of malarial fevers. For example, one kind producing ordinary ague, another pernicious malarial fever, another intermittent fever, and so on. Laveran himself admits, however, that the crescent-shaped bodies are seen oftenest in relapsing fever and in malarial anæmia.

Some of the views of the Italian school—which holds in the main to Laveran's plasmodia, but believes that each type of malaria has a plasmodium of a different kind—are borne out by the peculiar characteristics of the disease. Thus they claim that the plasmodia develop inside of the red corpuscle and each phase of their development marks a phase in the development of the disease. First a small plasmodium appears within the corpuscle, and this gradually increases in size eating the corpuscle up, so to speak, as it does so. Then the little specks, already referred to, appear, these being broken up, destroyed pieces of the red corpuscles. The plasmodium then begins to segment or divide into several new plasmodia.

When the segmentation is completed the blood corpuscle, which now contains four to six new plasmodia, begins to lose its characteristics until it entirely disappears, destroyed by the parasites. The latter then float free in the blood serum until each finds lodgment in a new corpuscle when it recommences a new cycle of existence. The time occupied by the various phases of development of the plasmodia determines the periods of the disease, *i. e.*, whether the fever be every fourth day, every third day or every other day and so on.

The plasmodia do not have things quite their own way, however, for the phagocytes of the blood are their deadly enemies. These are the white blood corpuscles, little round white globes endowed with a peculiar motion like that of a certain jelly-fish. The phagocytes have been likened to soldiers, for they bear the same relation to the economy of the blood as do soldiers to the economy of the nation. They have also been called "The policemen of the blood." They destroy harmful invaders. The plasmodia are eaten up, so to

speak, by the phagocytes. The phagocytes can be seen with whole plasmodia in them, or with fragments, or with only the granules or little black pieces of red blood corpuscles, to which reference has been made.

Quinine is especially deadly to the development and life of the plasmodia. Thus we can account rationally and theoretically for its beneficial effects in the treatment of malarial diseases. The use of the drug—for which we are indebted to the instinct, perhaps, of the Peruvian Indian, or at least to pure empiricism—is placed upon a true scientific basis.

Without doubt, the malarial plasmodium is developed outside of the body in decaying organic matter, particularly in swampy districts. Nevertheless, this has not been proven, for it has never been seen or cultivated like other disease germs outside of the body. Many scientists believe it to be a water germ, and to be principally transferred to man through the medium of drinking water. Some have advanced the theory that mosquitoes carry it and inoculate man when they insert their probosces in the flesh! The facts, however, I think, bear out the conclusion that it may be taken in with the air breathed, that it is air-born and from the earth where it finds its origin.

We might sum up our knowledge of malaria about as follows:

1st. Malaria is caused by a germ or parasite.

2d. These parasites destroy the red blood corpuscles.

3d. They complete in the blood a cycle of existence which corresponds to the stages of the disease.

4th. The plasmodia not only attack the red blood corpuscles but also effect certain changes in other tissues of the body, particularly the spleen, kidneys and bone marrow.

In addition to these conclusions it seems probable that different kinds of malarial diseases are caused by different varieties of plasmodia.

CYRUS EDSON.

THE FUNCTION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

THE large and growing interest in the subject of public education finds voice, not only in private discussion, but in the number of articles that are constantly being written upon the subject. In following the latter, one cannot help noticing how diverse, and often confusing, are the ideas advanced. The writers start from differing premises, but generally come to some vague conclusions about the necessity of more and better educational facilities. In all this, the distinction between education in general, and state education in particular, appears to be lost sight of completely. School boards are criticised and belabored, the most elaborate and expensive systems are strenuously advised, and it is assumed that it is the business of the state to furnish all the higher education that the rising generation may find useful. Much confusion would be avoided, and the discussions less at cross-purposes, if writers would clearly define what they mean by public education. Why does the state educate? and how far should it educate? If any substantial unanimity upon these questions could be arrived at, the whole problem would be simplified, and the direction of advance be clear and assured.

Before attempting to answer the above query, it may be well to bring out the negative side of the question. The state does not educate for charity.

The most ardent advocates of higher education by the state do not put the ground of their request upon charity. Neither does the state undertake education to give culture or polish to a number of its citizens; if so, it becomes a form of socialism, and, to be consistent, other good things should likewise be furnished. Where shall we draw the line? It would be much better for the state to furnish hygienic houses and apartments to the people at a moderate rental, than to offer the advantages of a higher education. The former is actually done by most of the large cities of Great Britain. In any scheme of advancing socialism, higher education should be the last thing attempted. As at present constituted, the state does not educate with socialistic ideas and motives. Why, then, *does* the state educate? To preserve itself. How far should the state educate? Simply to the point necessary for its preservation. *The underlying principle of state education is state preservation.* The moment we leave the principle of necessity, we are on uncertain and debatable ground. It does not require much discussion to determine the simple and fundamental branches of education that the state should teach in order to protect itself against gross ignorance and inefficiency. Reading, writing, figuring, and a knowledge of the country's history should be most thoroughly taught. To this could be combined an education of the hand as well as of the head, the first rudiments of training having been started in the kindergarten. All appliances for teaching these fundamentals of education should be most modern and complete, and carried on under the best hygienic surroundings. The absence of any attempt to cope with the higher and more ornamental branches would leave sufficient time and money to lay a proper ground-work in every child's case, even the most backward and unpromising one. The importance of primary education is now universally recognized, as it is, directly or indirectly, made compulsory in all civilized countries. When, however, the state attempts to carry education along higher lines, the temptation to neglect the humble primary branches in the interest of the upper and more showy grades, becomes apparently impossible to resist. This tendency is nowhere more glaringly exhibited than in New York, where public education is poor and incomplete in the primary and fundamental parts, but elaborate in the higher and non-essential grades. We have two well-equipped colleges with many courses, and numerous grammar schools on the one hand; on the other, primary schools without proper appliances for either health or education, overcrowded and unable to accommodate many of the children who apply for even this poor modicum of instruction. The great majority of the children of New York who are educated at the city's expense never get beyond the primary grades, as they have to begin to earn their living at from twelve to fourteen years of age. A conservative estimate places the number of children who cannot be accommodated for want of room at the public schools, at fifty thousand, the great majority of whom are candidates for the primary grades. Poor as it is, the fundamentals of education are thus denied to a large number of children who need such training. Many of these children are of foreign parentage, and are thus in danger of growing up in ignorance of our laws and institutions, unless the state educates them, as a measure for its own protection.

The last census shows that illiteracy is twice as great among the foreign born population than among the natives, excluding the colored population of the South. When the question is looked at from the standpoint of state preservation, as well as from justice and right, the folly of this dispropor-

tion of expenditure upon upper grades of schooling in proportion to the number of children benefited, becomes apparent. At bottom, it is a financial question as to where money that has been given for a certain purpose can be, and should be, best spent. We are not here discussing the desirability of universal higher education although much can be said on either side of this question. Greece, with a population of barely two million, and seven gymnasia or colleges, with one university, might be looked at from all sides in studying such a problem. Experience has shown that the state can devote about so much money to the various functions it has to perform. Public education can claim no exemption from this rule. When more is attempted than is justifiable by the resources at hand, either some part of the course must suffer, or enormous demands be made at the hands of the taxpayers. The New York Board of Education recently submitted to the Board of Estimate and Apportionment the sum of $5,648,079 as the lowest sum that is needed to conduct the expenses of our public schools during the coming year. Last summer the Board of Education took steps toward the erection of seven new school houses, but when these are completed, many more will still be necessary to accommodate the large number of little children for whom no provision is made. Many of the older buildings are in a deplorable hygienic condition.

At a public meeting last winter, Commissioner Wehrum, who had made an inspection and study of the subject, declared that seven million dollars would be required to put the public schools of New York into proper sanitary condition. The writer, who has made a careful sanitary inspection of many of the school-houses, believes this to be a conservative estimate. The new school-houses are rendered expensive to construct from the wide range of instruction that is required in them. Outside the great expense of properly housing the children, the cost of instruction averages $31 per head, with from 175,000 to 180,000 enrolled. If all these children could take advantage of the whole course, it might be a question whether this large expense were not justified. Only a small proportion, however, advance to the upper grades, which form the costly part of the system, while for half that sum per head, thorough primary education could be furnished to all. Complete elementary instruction of the best quality, freely guaranteed to every child, is all that the city or state should be required to furnish. When it attempts to go beyond this, it involves enormous expense to give advantages to the few who can benefit by them, and the beginners are usually the first to suffer from this draining of the funds in wrong directions. New York forms an object lesson of the evils here portrayed, with its badly appointed, overcrowded primary schools that cannot accommodate the throngs of children seeking admission, in spite of the enormous sums that are devoted to public education.

In the newer communities of the West, the expenses of public instruction are largely borne by the returns from land grants, and accordingly the ornamental and higher grades of education receive much attention. But these communities usually have more crying needs in other directions for the expenditure of public moneys. Last summer, the writer visited a Western city of about seventy thousand inhabitants, that had expended three hundred thousand dollars in the construction of a public high school, where everything was taught, from music to zoölogy. The rooms and appliances were modern and almost palatial, but the superintendent told me that only about five per cent. of the public school children could afford the time to

take the course. The town drains into a lake, and takes its water supply from the same source, the two pipes being not far separate. As a result, infectious diseases are common, especially typhoid fever. This town can afford to give a few of its children ornamental education at public expense, but it cannot find funds for proper drainage and water supply.

One of the first functions of the state, more important even than education, should be to ensure healthful living conditions for the people. At any rate, if any funds are left after primary education has been attained, they can be best employed in stamping out preventable diseases, such as diphtheria and typhoid fever. The whole question will be simplified if the proposition be accepted as a sound one, that the state should educate only to the point necessary to preserve itself. This point can be reached by thorough and universal primary education. No aid is afforded this problem by attempting to give a few the advantages of a higher education. According to the census of 1860, 72 per cent. of the population of Spain could neither read nor write, but it boasted in the possession of ten universities!

HENRY DWIGHT CHAPIN.

AN EXPENSIVE DELUSION.

DURING the war of extermination against the Unitarians of southern Spain, a number of Moorish mothers flung their children into the sea, rather than surrender them into the hands of their persecutors. It may be doubted if since that time the history of the civilized world has recorded a more portentous expedient of protest than the result of the recent elections, when sixty-eight thousand of our fellow-citizens took refuge in a political tiger-den, to effect their deliverance from the yoke of Sabbatarian despotism.

"*Del Rey y de la Inquisicion calla la boca*" was a Spanish proverb—"Seal your lips to criticisms of the King and the Inquisition"; but the extremes of intolerance provoked an outburst of public indignation which finally led to their abatement, and it is a significant fact that almost for the first time a representative of the American press has ventured to name the delusion which for many long years has darkened our social atmosphere like an all-pervading mist, robbing the sky of its sunlight and the woods and fields of their birdsong. "But for the exasperating effect of uncalled-for, unjust, harsh, and oppressive execution of the Sunday laws," says a leading metropolitan newspaper, "a union of all the anti-Tammany forces would have been as easy and triumphant as it was last year"

The charge of obstinate folly, it is true, has been retorted upon the leaders of the opposition. They have been accused of reckless selfishness; of a "blind antagonism to the moral sentiment of their neighbors," just as the apologists of the Inquisition attributed the fate of those Moorish children to the headstrong fanaticism of their parents, though the alleged fanatics would have been glad to purchase partial recognition of their human rights by connivance at the most extravagant sectarian practices of their persecutors.

The advocates of personal liberty have no quarrel with religion, nor with personal bigotry in its most pronounced Sabbatarian forms, but only with *aggressive asceticism*, with the belief in the possibility of bettering the world by the suppression of popular pastimes, and the duty of continuing the attempt in spite of invariable disappointments. That belief—the key-

stone dogma of anti-naturalism—asserted itself in the rancorous fury against the "worldliness" of physical culture; against the pagan worship of joy; against the Easter-fires, Maypoles and round dances of our mediæval ancestors; against the entertainments of the modern theatre, and finally in the enforcement of a monkish quietism on the day when a large plurality of our workingmen get their only chance for outdoor sports.

That form of anti-naturalism has never failed to defeat the moral purpose of its apostles, and in its obtrusion upon the recreation-needing millions of our industrial republic is really a more terrible curse than the despotism of the Roman emperors during the most depraved period of paganism. The tyranny of the Cæsars was a lightning hurling its bolts at prominent trees; the intolerance of our Sabbatarian bigots is a forest fire, deadening the life-germs of whole mountain ranges.

The present political consequences of Sabbatarianism—though they have forfeited the fruits of a great reform movement—may yet be retrieved, but there is no doubt that its effects have deeply, and perhaps permanently, impaired both the moral and physical health of our industrial classes. The alternation of night and day should reveal the truth that nature is averse to permanent gloom. Sunlight is a primary condition of all nobler life, and only ignorance or basest selfishness can doom a child of earth to the misery of toil uncheered by the sunlight of recreation. For even enlightened selfishness would recognize the advantages of the pagan plan. The passions of personal ambition burned then as fiercely as now, but the Roman world-conquerors thought it wiser, as well as nobler, to share their spoils with the soldiers who had fought their battles, with the workmen who had reared their palaces and planted their gardens. The very slaves had their *saturnalia;* at the end of each working day menials and artisans forgot their toil amidst the wonders of the amphitheatre. The promise of the evening cheered the labors of the hardest task; minds frequently unbent by the relaxation of diverting pastimes were less apt to break under the strain of toil, less liable to yield to the temptation of despondency, envy, and despair.

"Without the stimulus of exhilarating sports," says an educational reformer, "perfect bodily health is as impossible as moral and mental vigor. And as sure as a succession of uniform crops will exhaust the best soil, the daily repetition of a monotonous occupation will wear out the best man. The hopelessness of unrewarded drudgery drains the springs of health, even at an age when they can draw upon the largest store of inner resources. Nine-tenths of our factory children are literally starving for lack of recreation; not the means of life, but its object, civilization has deprived them of. They feel a want which bread can only aggravate, for only hunger helps them to forget the misery of *ennui*. Their pallor is the sallow hue of a cellar-plant; they would be healthier if they were happier. I would undertake to cure a sickly child with fun and rye bread sooner than with tid-bits and tedium."

And even considering the question from the most cynical standpoint of practical expedience, one may often come to doubt the wisdom of what a dissenter calls "the dollar and dogma league" of our peculiar civilization. Obscurantism has incidentally developed a keen faculty for seeing in the dark, and for the sake of witnessing the surprising effects of the truth that can be stranger than fiction I have sometimes wished our commercial Pecksniffs could overhear the remarks of their supposed dupes.

"I would not blame those fellows for screwing down our wages to the bottom notch," said the recipient of an invitation to a Sabbath School for adults, a workingman who had recently been fined for trying his holiday luck at a trout stream, "I would not grudge them the right of saddling me with extra work whenever they have me at their mercy, or of refusing me the slightest assistance if I should fall sick; but I do blame them for trying to knock me out of a picnic that would not cost them a copper of their own money—just for the sake of *rubbing it into me*, that their youngsters shall have all the fun going and mine none at all. It's more than mean; it's foolish. After knowing their way of taking every unfair advantage one may still excuse it on business-rule principles, but then seeing these same skinflints teaching a Sunday class and whining till the the tears run down their jackboots, in their anxiety to make a poor fellow renounce his own syrup-pot, as well as theirs, and wait for the Sweet By and By. . . . They may consider that the cheapest way to hush up matters, but unless they have got rid of their common sense, as well as of their humanity, they ought to know that it is pretty late in the day for such tricks, and that a man with half an eye open can see through their little game."

"Curtain! Curtain!" to stop such glimpses behind the scenes.

The contemplation of possible reforms affords, indeed, more cheerful views of the subject. On the simple principle of permitting all privileges that do not interfere with the privileges of others, we could legalize Sunday field sports on playgrounds sufficiently remote from places of worship to obviate disturbance; and within a quarter of a century the offer of prizes for proficiency in such exercises as running, leaping, and wrestling would effect the physical regeneration of our republic. Millions of boy-topers would be turned into young athletes; millions of spectators would be lured from the gloom of slum-dens to the sunny fields. Our workingmen would begin to find life worth living; the best of all natural stimulants would enable them to dispense with the tonics of the dram-shop. In the interest of law and order, large cities would find it a good plan to arrange free Sunday picnic excursions—and fishing excursions, too, for that matter—free hillward trains and musical excursion boats, with non-alcoholic restaurants. It would prevent vice on Basedow's plan of baffling the wiles of the tempter by making healthy pastimes more attractive.

For, in spite of the experience of centuries, it cannot be too often repeated that the practice of trampling the flowers of earth has never prevented the development of rank weeds. The record-clerk of a little court, house town in western Indiana could furnish a document that ought to be displayed in large type at the headquarters of every "Law and Order" league. Reform purposes were the first plea of a captured White Capper, but when confronted with the proofs of outrageous brutalities he began to recognize the futility of further fiction and confessed that "game and fish were all gone, and with no prospect of a circus this year or any other fun going, the boys concluded to get up a little moonlight sport of their own."

For similar reasons, the students of our hidebound theological seminaries indulge in frolics that can hardly be dignified with the name of secular sports, and in hundreds of cases the police of our blue-law-ridden country-towns have discovered schoolboy associations of burglars and pickpockets.

"All work and no play" makes Jack a mean, as well as a dull, boy. Compare the bright and cheerful youngsters of the Alleghany hunting hamlets with the Sunday-spying cads of a Western bigot borough, or the followers

of Robin Hood with the partisans of Robert Montgomery: not the bitter pessimism of our working classes only, but their anarchistic and nihilistic tendencies, have a good deal to do with their resentment of the more and more intolerable despotism of the meddlers with their natural right to celebrate their holidays after the fashion of Rheinsberg rather than of La Trappe.

Sabbatarianism has closed the gates of our universal republic against some of the most desirable colonists, frugal, law-abiding, and industrious, like the natives of southern France, whose intelligence would promote every art of peace, and whose valor in times of national peril would make them march to death as to a festival, but who refuse to celebrate their festivals like funerals. It has failed to keep out immigrants whose law-defying habits make them indifferent to the evils of legislative absurdities.

But are such drawbacks not compensated by the abatement of the liquor vice? asks my temperance friend. That pretext, however, dates only from the time when Asceticism began to experience an inconvenience in stalking about undisguised, as in the penances, the vigils and fasts of the Middle Ages. The fanatics of anti-naturalism cared so little for the physical welfare of their converts that in the mediæval monasteries self-torture and alcoholic excesses went for centuries hand in hand, and for the purposes of sanitary reform the enforcement of the Sunday excise laws is, indeed, the purest mockery. What would we think of the intelligence of a legislator who should prohibit the reading of obscene literature on the Sabbath-day, but freely permit its sale on all other days of the week? Sabbatarian blue laws prevent picnics, excursions, athletic field-sports, and even musical and art entertainments; they not only fail, however, to prevent drunkenness, but notoriously drive thousands to drown their *ennui* in the Lethe of alcoholism.

As usual the suppression of healthy pastimes has begot a passion for vicious pastimes, and the joy-starved children of our factory towns form only a small percentage of the millions whom Sabbatarian bigotry has made duller, meaner, sicklier, and poorer.

In explanation of an otherwise inconceivable inhumanity, it must be admitted that the unworldly motive of Sabbatarianism probably commends it to the favor of certain moralists, and it may promote the revision of their ethical standards to ponder the fact that the alleged virtue is uglier and more expensive than any vice.

F. L. OSWALD.

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THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE, ONE OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATES TO THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

THE ringing shock of the President's Message to Congress upon the Venezuelan question, and of its rebound when it struck the other side of the Atlantic, has now ceased to split our ears; the disturbed air has returned so nearly to its normal condition as to allow us again to hear our own voices. Men can now speak to each other on both sides of the ocean assured of being heard and understood.

We begin to enquire what all this noise has been about. In order to know this and understand it, we have only to consider one leading characteristic of the English-speaking race, common to each of the two nations which comprise the whole of the domineering, aggressive, conquering, and prevailing strain to which we belong—their land hunger. Our race has experienced no difficulty whatever in accepting the promise that the "Saints shall inherit the earth," the discovery that the language of the Saints was purely English, followed hard upon. Consider Britain, this little island in the North Sea, and its pendant, Ireland, a territory that could be placed in the middle of the one state of Texas, and yet all the cotton that the world uses grown upon the rim left outside. Can a more startling statement be made than that this isle holds under her flag about one-fourth of the earth's

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whole surface, and the same proportion of its population? So much for the land. As for the water, no power on earth can peep its head out beyond the neutral three leagues from shore, except by her august permission. How has this miracle been performed? There is only one answer. The English-speaking race is the "boss" race of the world. It can acquire, can colonize, can rule. It establishes law and administers justice everywhere it settles, where before there was neither the one nor the other. It tolerates all religions and encourages a free press; it makes free men in free states.

This breed of men landed at Plymouth Rock and speedily pushed out all the other races, and established here one of the centers of its own race. In due time the colony came of age, and, being a true and legitimate son of its mother, it set about founding a freer government in a freer state than had ever yet been formed, even by the mother—instigated thereto, not by native Americans, not by Puritans or Knickerbockers, but by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, who first proclaimed that America should be of right free and independent, a doctrine which the native American accepted from them eighteen months later. The movement for independence in their adopted land fell legitimately upon my fellow-countrymen, whose ancestors had been engaged for centuries maintaining the independence of their own. Wherever he roams, if he finds no country he begins the work of creating one, for a country the Scot must have, to live, and, if necessary, to die for. To "die for one's Country" sounds well; "to die for one's Colony" does not *ring*. The younger branch of our race here quickly acquired the territory of the Colonies, a narrow strip of land skirting the Atlantic Ocean, with a total population of three millions, and founded the Republic thereon. This was their first acquisition of territory, following the example of the mother. This was little more than a century ago, and to-day, by successive purchases from civilized governments, and upon one occasion by war with a government, by treaties, purchases, and war with the various Indian tribes, the first acquisition, with three millions population, has become 3,500,000 square miles of the present, with seventy millions of English-speaking people. By the purchase of Louisiana and the acquisition of Texas and California from Mexico, the new country, at the beginning

scarcely more than 200 miles in width along the Atlantic, now stretches 3,000 miles in a straight line from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, and from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico almost 1,500 miles. Alaska, purchased from Russia, extends so far to the west that San Francisco, upon the Pacific, is now in the middle of the territory of the United States, which extends east and west nearly 6,000 miles. The action of the race in the old home and in the new in regard to territorial acquisition has thus been precisely the same. The mother has dominated or acquired almost everything with which she has come in contact and which she coveted, and the son has been no discredit to his mother in the same line. It is a root passion, some of us think a prerogative, of our race to acquire territory.

There is, however, one difference which makes "all the difference" between the positions of the old land and the new in the gratification of their land hunger. Happy new land, whose lines of development lay across coterminous territory (Alaska excluded), which being acquired formed one compact solid nation! Her great estate lies within a ringed fence. She is forty-five nations in one without a visible dividing line. The citizen can walk from ocean to ocean and find no break in the earth under his feet, and she is so firmly knit together by the Federal system that every day makes her more surely one great nation—one homeogenous people —and yet by her political system she proves that the freest government of the parts makes the strongest government of the whole.

The task of territorial aggrandizement before the United States was thus comparatively easy. She had only to grow and spread herself naturally over unoccupied territory, which was part of one unseparated whole and which being occupied became part of her united self.

How different has been the task of Britain, and how startlingly different the result. This little island, having no coterminous territory, long endeavored to obtain acquisitions upon the continent. The King of England has been the King of France. As the continent grew in population the task became too great even for the conquering race in little Britain, and she was driven back within her own small boundaries. Her attention was then necessarily directed to all parts of the earth, however distant. If she could not have more room at home she sought it everywhere abroad and has been highly successful in the search. The

result is, however, that she is the most disjointed and loosely knit Empire that can be conceived of. Her office is that of the mother; she begets numerous children, nurses them tenderly, is a most generous parent, but all her care leads to one inevitable end—her children obtain maturity and leave the household. All that there was of this Republic was once hers; it is now all lost. Canada remains only nominally hers, a wayward child, unjust and tyrannical to her mother because bursting into manhood. She taxes the products of Great Britain; refuses to be bound by copyright treaties embracing the British Empire, of which, nevertheless, when occasion demands she still claims to be part; she has created all the trouble that has arisen between England and America in regard to the Bering Sea dispute; Pauncefote and Blaine settled all that and Salisbury wired his congratulations, but Canadians appeared in Washington and informed Sir Julian that if Britain presumed to make treaties for Canada she would not have Canada many weeks, and the Marquis of Salisbury quietly tore up the treaty he had so cordially approved; she is now troubling the United States upon a question of boundary. All these restless revolts against authority prove that the days of her dependence upon the old land pass quickly. A recent English writer has said that every hour in Australia a Monarchist dies and a Republican is born. Federated Australia already looms upon the horizon, which in turn must soon lead to an independent Republic. There is no escape from this great law of development, and many of the statesmen of England probably know it well, although not one lives bold enough to tell his countrymen the truth he may so clearly see. They follow the example of Beaconsfield who, while living, catered to what is called the "Imperial idea," and yet we see from his letters recently published that he was deceiving his countrymen while he wrote his sister the truth. "The Colonies are millstones around the neck of England; they lean upon us when they are weak, and leave us when they become strong." When English statesmen speak of imperial federation, it may often be suspected that they have two opinions upon the subject, as Beaconsfield had, and that the wish is father to their words, not to their thoughts. Some day the people of England will become as wise as Lord Beaconsfield was, when politicians can deceive them upon this point no longer.

We should be greatly sorrowful for Britain if it were not

clearly seen that this growth of colonies to maturity, and thence to independence, was favorable to the increase, enterprise and power of our English-speaking race as a whole. One cannot help feeling for the mother who sees her children successively leave her to start in life for themselves, and we bow before this wonderful, small but mighty old mother England in reverence and sympathize deeply with her in the wrenches which she is compelled to undergo in the course of nature. Nevertheless, it is better for our race that it should be so. If her offspring were content to live as colonists, we could no longer be proud of her blood.

How have these coveted lands been acquired by the two divisions of our race? Into that, alas, it were well for the strict moralist not to enquire too curiously. Let us assume that it is best described by saying "by hook or by crook." Too often the lamb has troubled the waters for the wolf. Whatever the agencies may have been—and these have constantly become less dubious since the start—over all there rests this source of satisfaction that, upon the whole, the management of the land acquired by our race has been best for the higher interests of humanity. It is an evolution, the fittest driving out the least fit; the best supplanting the inferior; and the interests of civilization rendered the acquisition of the land necessary. It was right and proper that the nomadic Indian should give place to the settled husbandman in the prairies of the West; it is also well that the Maori should fade away, and give place to the intelligent, industrious citizen, a member of our race.

Great Britain has, therefore, necessarily acquired lands "by hook or by crook" in any part of the world, as the United States has acquired land adjoining her by just the same means. Our Indian treaties and subsidies, our Mexican war, would readily give us illustration, but with the United States we are not now concerned. It is from England's similar policy we have to draw, and no finer illustration of the *modus operandi* can be given than her dealings with Venezuela. She begins modestly by claiming a boundary; Venezuela requests her to submit her claims to arbitration; this is refused; the matter rests awhile, when it appears that the boundary of England has been shifted a good deal and embraces more territory adjoining Venezuela; another remonstrance from Venezuela, and another rest. When the question revives, Britain discovers she was mis-

taken again and did not claim enough, and her third claim extends far beyond the second. Finally, there is a fourth line drawn which reaches over valuable auriferous deposits, and really lands Great Britain on the banks of the Orinoco. This was rather too much, and Venezuela again asked the good offices of the United States to beg Great Britain to submit the question to peaceful arbitration. This Great Britain agreed to do in 1885 through Lord Granville. There would have been no Venezuelan dispute had the doctrine of continuous foreign policy been adhered to, but the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, who is the one man wholly responsible for all that has occurred to embitter English-speaking men, actually refused to carry out the agreement of his predecessor to arbitrate the whole question.

The *Daily News*, of London, as we note by a recent cable, begins a conciliatory editorial upon the Venezuelan question with these words: "We believe the British claim to be just." But the talented gentleman who has recently been called to the editorial chair of that great organ, and who is destined to become a great force, unfortunately omits to indicate which of the several claims he has found to be the just one. Probably the scale runs thus: First claim, just; second, more just; third, most just, as it gives Britain most territory. Thus do "Justice" and "Claims" of our race—when upon the prowl to satisfy their land hunger—in delightful harmony, contemporaneously swell, like Siamese twins, mutually nourishing each other.

This is certainly one of the most flagrant exercises of brute force against a weak power which can be adduced to illustrate the propensity of the English-speaking race to absorb as much of the land of the world as it possibly can, and this policy in the case of Venezuela would have been triumphantly successful, had the question remained one between the very weak Lamb and the very strong Wolf. I do not mean to hold Great Britain up to peculiar opprobrium. What the race in Great Britain would do, the race upon this side would do, and no doubt has done—although it is but just to say that the natural instinct leading to abrupt appeal to force is somewhat modified in the American through intermixture of blood with races less strongly possessed of the dominating spirit. He offers arbitration. I present this instance of the powerful grasping from the weak, not as an English trait, but as a race trait.

Successive American governments have done their best to bring Great Britain back to its promise to arbitrate, made by Lord Granville in 1885, but without avail. Secretaries of State Bayard, Blaine, and Gresham, in successive administrations, have gently intimated to Great Britain that this was the only honorable course she could pursue, and that the United States would be greatly pleased if she fulfilled her agreement. It was, therefore, impossible for President Cleveland's administration to turn its back upon the cause of weak Venezuela, even had it been so disposed. Previous governments having listened to her appeal, and being convinced of the justice of her request for arbitration, which as we see Britain had herself acknowledged, the United States was bound to call upon Great Britain for a definite answer, whether or no she were willing to fulfil her honorable engagement and submit her claims to an impartial judge for peaceful settlement as she had agreed to do in 1885. The precise form adopted in doing this does not touch the principle involved, but it is well frankly to admit that public opinion in the United States to-day favors the view that the menacing part of the President's Message had better been omitted. Asking Britain to carry out what she had agreed to do through Lord Granville and standing for arbitration, the President's position was impregnable and bound to win. Had he stopped with asking Congress for authority to appoint a Commission to ascertain the true boundary between Britain and Venezuela, solely for the guidance of the United States, the most potent part of his message as published would have been tenfold more potent, left to the imagination unsaid.

Insisting with an adversary upon the duty of accepting peaceful arbitration is one thing; insisting upon peaceful arbitration, *or* ——————— quite another. But this is to be said for the President: he had great provocation in Lord Salisbury's reply. Going beyond the rejection of the Monroe Doctrine as inapplicable to the case, as he did, into an irritating discussion as to the existence of the Doctrine itself, and his refusing on the part of Great Britain to accede to the known wishes of the United States that the dispute with a weak sister Republic upon this continent should be peacefully settled, were enough to raise even as calm and phlegmatic a man as the President to indignant words. On the other hand, let us be fair, Lord Salis-

bury had received great provocation in Secretary Olney's dispatch. It is an able paper upon the whole, but how a man capable of writing such a paper, should permit himself to depart so far from fact as to say that the United States is sovereign upon the American continent and its *fiat* law, passes comprehension. This is not the case, as every schoolboy knows, and the effect of such a claim upon the sister Republics of the South must be most injurious. Had Mr. Blaine, when presiding over the Pan-American Conference, even intimated that the United States claimed anything beyond equality with these Republics, the Conference would have dispersed at once. More than one unintentional word bearing upon the power of the elder brother gave evidence of the extreme sensitiveness of the delegates of the sixteen States of South America who were representative men of their respective countries. Fortunately for us the pride of the Spanish race in South America is not to be trifled with. It was not for nothing that President Harrison, on receiving these delegates when their labors were ended, said to them: "We have had in your honor a military review, not to show you that we have an army, but to show you we have none."

It is significant that the most important work of the Conference was the adoption of the following by a vote of the sixteen Republics:

"The Republics of North, Central, and South America hereby adopt arbitration as a principle of American International Law, for the settlement of all differences, disputes, or controversies that may arise between them."

Thus is the whole American continent pledged to arbitration, Chili excepted, whose delegates did not vote: a mighty step forward in the march of human progress.

It may take several wise Secretaries of State succeeding Secretary Olney, to fully erase the suspicions which he has so recklessly created. One can understand how Great Britain, who still owns so much of the American continent, must have felt when the alleged sovereignty of the United States over its possessions was thus flaunted in its face. The truth is that neither Lord Salisbury nor Secretary Olney has conducted this correspondence in a manner creditable to his reputation as a diplomat; for their communications have needlessly irritated the

nations to which they were addressed. With President Cleveland's message, it is different; although the menace of war should have been left unsaid, still it was said in a dignified, solemn and impressive manner. There was in it neither bluster nor contradiction of fact. To-day it is scarcely regrettable that his indignation carried him far, because he has certainly called the attention of the masses of the people of Great Britain to the momentous consequences involved by the withdrawal of Lord Salisbury from Lord Granville's agreement to arbitrate in 1885, and by his more recent refusal of abitration addressed to the American Government. In all probability this will ensure a peaceful settlement of the question with greater ease, and prevent prolonged disturbances which would otherwise have resulted from a less determined attitude.

Let us now consider the condition of public sentiment on both sides. In the United States, East, West, North and South, from which divergent voices were at first heard, there is but one voice now. Public opinion has crystallized into one word—*arbitration.* In support of that mode of settlement we now know the nation is unanimous. The proofs of this should not fail to carry conviction into the hearts of Britons.

The one representative and influential body in the United States which is most closely allied with Britain not only by the ties of trade, but by the friendships which these ties have created, is the Chamber of Commerce of New York. If that body were polled by ballot, probably a greater proportion of its members than of any other body of American citizens would register themselves as friendly to England. So far did the feeling extend in this body, that a movement was on foot to call a meeting to dissent from the President's Message. Fortunately, wiser counsels prevailed, and time was given for an examination of the question, and for members to make up their minds upon the facts. The result was that at the crowded meeting subsequently held, there was passed a resolution, with only one dissenting voice, in favor of a commission for arbitration. In the whole proceedings there was only one sentiment present in the minds of those assembled: "this is a question for arbitration."

Several messages have been exchanged between societies in the two lands, the replies to which, given from this side, should be noted. Here is the latest, which is only one of several. The

Society of Christian Endeavor of England cables begging the 2,000,000 dear young Christian Endeavorers on this side to believe that their brethren and sisters in England "would almost prefer death to hearing that an English gun had been fired against the United States, the broad America so many of us know and love. May God avert so direful a calamity. Bid them not only pray for peace, but remember that we will join them at the mercy seat in earnest entreaty that this, to us, inexplicable alarm may be the occasion for a new and stronger alliance between all Christian hearts on either side of the Atlantic, and that we, the Christian Endeavorers of both countries, will, in the spirit of Christ, do our utmost to create a public opinion in favor of righteousness and peace, whenever either is threatened by our statesmen or our press. Let this be a 'holy alliance' that shall leave its traces on the future history of our world." The following reply was made: "The officers of the United Society of Christian Endeavor heartily reciprocate your sentiments. We pray for peace and for righteous *arbitration* of all difficulties between nations."

Judicious readers will notice the absence of one word, "arbitration," in the English telegram, but it is not absent in the American reply. It goes without saying that, when the peace-loving people of the United States with one accord take their stand upon arbitration as the only fair method of settlement, a rejection of that mode which was once accepted by Britain must cause more than grievous disappointment.

Upon the other side of the Atlantic there are cheering signs that the sentiment favorable to arbitration in some form begins to show its force and wins its way. The most noteworthy is, of course, that furnished by the words of the London *Times:*

> We would welcome any reasonable method of settling the dispute without a resort to force.
>
> There is no particular sanctity in the Schomburgk line, but it was regarded by Great Britain as marking off virtually settled districts from those still unoccupied.
>
> It ought not to be difficult to determine what districts have been actually occupied by each nation, and, excluding these, to arbitrate on the unsettled districts as a whole. It would not then be necessary to deal with the Schomburgk line at all, while the objects of Lord Salisbury's restriction would be attained.

It is difficult for American readers to understand the unique position of that paper, especially in regard to the foreign policy of

Great Britain. But as an ardent apostle of arbitration, and most anxious for the vindication of that principle in this quarrel, I should rather have those words from the *Times* than similar words from one-half the newspapers in England. They weigh more. The International Arbitration Society, of which Sir John Lubbock is chairman, is, as we learn by cable, to declare for arbitration at its coming meeting. This will not be without influence, but it would have been more powerful had that organization not affiliated with the Peace Society and received its delegates as allies, thus confounding arbitration with "Peace-at-any-price," which compelled me to resign the Vice-Presidency with which I had been honored, holding, as I did, that peaceful arbitration is one of the few causes for which it is not only justifiable, but a duty to fight. Any nation which refuses arbitration in a boundary dispute and thus resorts to war rather than forego its claim to sit as judge in its own cause, should be made to realize the truth of Christ's words: "They that take up the sword, shall perish by the sword." We should fight to prove the truth of that decree, as the only sure means of finally reaching the longed-for reign of peace. If ever the industrial, peace-loving Republic has to draw the sword, may it be in vindication of peaceful arbitration, in international disputes, the Christian substitute for barbarous war.

Many have been watching for Mr. Gladstone's voice in favor of this principle, because of all men living he has done most to establish it between the two branches of our race. It required a powerful man and a noble one to lead Parliament to accept arbitration in the Alabama dispute. Many have wondered how he could remain silent, since the infinitely lesser question, grave as it is, of the sufferings of the Armenians roused him to indignant speech. He spoke at length in his reply to the *Chronicle*, a paper which has done much good service to both Britain and the United States, and should be remembered in this crisis. Mr. Gladstone's words are important. He says: "My opinion of arbitration is unchanged, although it cannot be of use for me to enter the discussion at this moment."

This leaves no doubt of his position now, nor where he will be found should occasion require. He adopted arbitration, when Prime Minister, in the Alabama case with the United States; and he was Prime Minister in 1885 when his Foreign Secretary

accepted the holy principle, in this very Venezuelan dispute which has aroused so much animosity between nations who should be friends. Mr. Gladstone's fame is to rest securely upon this foundation, if none other. In his day he was the foremost and most powerful champion of arbitration.

It is a pity that the record of Mr. Gladstone's successor, Lord Rosebery, as an arbitrationist, is not as good as could be wished in this dispute. He refused arbitration with Venezuela, following Lord Salisbury; but this he may have done in obedience to the rule of continuity in foreign policy, and it does not follow that he would not have promptly acceded to the express desire of the United States that the dispute should be thus adjusted. Nothing could be better than his message, recently published, in which he scouts the idea of war between the two nations "about a frontier squabble in a small South American republic."

One of the weightiest expressions yet cabled comes from the Solicitor-General of the last Conservative Government, who was offered the same exalted position in the present administration, Sir Edward Clarke. He said to his constituents, in a public speech: "If England goes to war upon this issue, *she will not be in the right.*" So much for arbitration in Britain.

Expressions of good-will and of desire for peace with their kindred here have been too numerous to quote, but there is one which is probably unique in every respect in the whole history of international disputes, and it has done much to relieve the situation. This message was from no less personages than the heir to the British throne and his son in succession:

> "They earnestly trust and cannot but believe the present crisis will be arranged in a manner satisfactory to both countries, and will be succeeded by the same warm feeling of friendship which has existed between them for so many years."

No ordinary feeling of good-will and of kinship called forth these graceful, timely, and important words. That they do not echo the sentiments of the good old crowned Queen, who proved her own good-will once before for the Republic at a memorable crisis, can not be supposed. This message bursting through the limits of official reserve may safely be taken to indicate a peaceful solution, and proves again that blood is thicker than water. It is from the heart, and none of us can hereafter say or write that the Prince of Wales is chiefly the leader of

fashion and without much influence or power beyond this sphere. In this matter his has been the most potent voice of all that have reached us. He has sown precious seed, from which some day he may reap a golden harvest, and from which he can even this day safely assure himself, that he has powerfully contributed to the maintenance of peace within the world-wide possessions of our race.

It is possible, of course, perhaps probable, that Lord Salisbury may agree direct with Venezuela, as he has the right to do. President Cleveland opens a wide door here, saying any adjustment of the boundary which that country may deem for her advantage and may enter into of her own free will, cannot, of course, be objected to by the United States. Such a settlement might naturally be more agreeable to Lord Salisbury than a return to arbitration which he has rejected. Although any peaceable settlement would be well it would not be so conducive to future peace, nor render war between the countries so nearly impossible, as if the policy of arbitration received in this instance further vindication, and the added force of another precedent to influence future generations.

The simple truth is that the British in the past have laid their hand on all the territory they could acquire in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America in obedience to their instinct for expansion, and having successfully done so, they were still endeavoring to carry out the same policy upon the American Continent with, as they supposed, the weak Republic of Venezuela, when they were suddenly confronted with their own race and equals in the art of acquisition of territory, and this completely changed the situation. They had not the slightest intention of interfering with the United States, nor have they now. The silver lining to this war cloud consists not in the fact that the United States have succeeded in making the Monroe Doctrine a part of international law, which it is not, but that it has succeeded in convincing Britain and Europe of a much more potent fact, that it is a deep rooted instinct inherent in the blood of the larger half of our dominating race.

Great Britain, as far as the other half of her race is concerned, may still acquire any land she can in Europe, Asia and Africa, and Americans will regard the spread of her people with pride and satisfaction, if she will kindly permit them hereafter to

superintend territorial changes upon the American continent, and uphold the doctrine of peaceful arbitration upon it. Nor can she fairly grudge her race here one continent when she has freedom to roam over three.

Every nation has its "Red Rag," some nations have more than one, but what the "Right of Asylum" is to Great Britain, the Monroe Doctrine is to the United States. Each lies very deep in the national heart. Few statesmen of Great Britain do not share the opinion of Lord Salisbury, which he has not feared to express, that the "Right of Asylum" is abused and should be restricted, but there has not arisen one in Britain sufficiently powerful to deal with it. The United States never had, and has not now, a statesman who could restrain the American people from an outburst of passion and the extreme consequences that national passion is liable to bring, if any European power undertook to extend its territory upon this continent, or to decide in case of dispute just where the boundary of present possessions stand. Such differences must be arbitrated.

There comes in the life of every manly man a time when he has to assert his own manhood. It is difficult for the mother to understand, or to approve of, the child she nursed in his utter helplessness, standing up against her fond decisions for his career and in turn ruling over his mother for her good. The Republic has become of age and entered into the possession of his heritage. It has so much room that its desire does not go in the direction of acquiring non-coterminous territory to which alternative his parent land is reduced. It is as the elder brother of the sixteen Republics upon this continent that it intends to act. It claims no sovereignty over the weakest of these, nor has it any intention to interfere in their domestic concerns; neither does it desire to hasten the departure of European powers from this continent by anything save the operations of natural causes, which are ending their sway as rapidly, perhaps, as is desirable. In vain does Britain labor to build up British communities in British Guiana, or in Canada, or in any portion of this continent; she only establishes and nurses them in their weakness, as Beaconsfield so truthfully said, to see them leave her in their strength. A noble office, the noblest office among nations, that of the mother is hers; but when she attempts to enlarge her boundaries, as she has undoubtedly attempted, by drawing several lines between herself and

Venezuela, each giving her more territory than the other, the other half of the race upon this continent feels that it must now-a-days be consulted; and if that other half out of tender regard for Great Britain, or out of a still higher motive, the feeling of what is due to herself as a Christian nation, asks that the correct boundary shall be determined by arbitration, a grave responsibility rests upon those who reject the olive branch.

In his speech at Manchester Mr. Balfour said he

"Trusted and believed the day would come when better statesmen in authority, and more fortunate than even Monroe, would assert a doctrine between the English-speaking peoples under which war would be impossible.'

That day has not to come, it has arrived. The British Government has had for years in its archives an invitation from the United States to enter into a treaty of arbitration which realizes this hope, and Mr. Balfour is one of those who, from their great position, seem most responsible for the rejection of the end he so ardently longs for. It is time that the people of Great Britain understood that if war be still possible between the two countries, it is not the fault of the Republic but of their own country, not of President Cleveland and Secretary of State Olney, but of Prime Minister Salisbury, and the leader of the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour, who do not accept the offered treaty which would banish war forever between the two nations of our race. This invitation was sent by the same President Cleveland, who is now denounced as favoring war.

I do not share Mr. Stanley's view, which Mr. Balfour seems to echo, that the people of the United States would go to war with Great Britain lightly. As I know them, their regard for the ties that bind the English-speaking race together are not less strong nor less general than that of the people of Britain; but being of that dominating race, the American is sensitive in regard to the affairs of this continent.

He feels that the doctrine of arbitration of disputes renders huge armaments unnecessary. He sees clearly that, the principle of arbitration destroyed, the introduction of the European mode of settlement, war, follows. Hence, he feels it to be his stern duty to uphold arbitration, just as he felt it to be his duty to preserve the Union. He sees that it would be better to rally this continent to its defence, and secure perpetual peace there-

after, by fighting against the first attempt, should any be made, to render this continent, now dedicated to Arbitration, the prey to war as other continents are.

John Bright, Quaker as he was, nevertheless pronounced the war for the preservation of our Union, a duty. Were he alive to-day, he would tell his countrymen that if they persisted in rejecting the American policy of arbitration upon questions affecting the American Continent and lighted the torch of war upon it, all the crimes recorded in human history would pale before this.

Peaceful arbitration is the great gain of this century. It was my office to introduce to Mr. Cleveland, then President of the United States, as he is now, the delegation from the British Parliament urging arbitration. In the conferences I had with him previous to his receiving the deputation, I found him as strong a supporter of that policy as I ever met. I do not wonder at his outburst, knowing how deeply this man feels upon that question; it is to him so precious, it constitutes so great an advance over arbitrament by war that—even if we have to fight, that any nation rejecting it may suffer—I believe he feels that it would be our duty to do so, believing that the nation which rejects arbitration in a boundary dispute deserves the execration of mankind.

It is only necessary for the people on both sides of the Atlantic to keep in mind that above all other considerations connected with this, in itself, most trivial dispute, there stands imperilled the Christian substitute of peaceful arbitration for barbarous war. The dangerous stage has been already reached and passed. There will be no war between the United States and Great Britain either upon the Venezuelan question or upon any other, because the first has already planted itself upon the rock of arbitration, and the other is slowly but steadily moving toward its acceptance.

No government can live in Britain which dares squarely to persist in rejecting arbitration in a boundary dispute upon the American Continent. There is too much religion, too much conscience, too much sincere desire for peace and good will among men, and far too much genuine kindly feeling among the people from Queen to Peasant for their "kin beyond sea," to permit any government to commit so great a crime.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

BRITISH FEELING ON THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, AUTHOR OF "THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH."

DURING the fortnight of excitement which followed President Cleveland's message of December 17th, I was on the Atlantic, returning from Cape Town to England, nor have I had time since landing to examine the geography and the diplomatic history of the Venezuelan boundary question with sufficient care to enable me to discuss it here. I shall therefore say nothing as to the merits of the dispute; while as regards the actual diplomatic situation, it is a situation which may change from day to day, and cannot well be dealt with in an article which will not be read till three or four weeks after it has been written. All, therefore, that I can attempt, in response to the invitation of the Editor of this REVIEW, is to endeavor to summarize for American readers the attitude of English public opinion on the Venezuelan controversy and the impressions made by the language of Mr. Cleveland and the action of Congress. Nothing is more desirable than that each people should understand how the other has felt and is feeling on such a matter. Till they do, neither can make proper allowances for the other; and in international, as in domestic relations, the making of due allowances is the indispensable prerequisite to friendliness and concord.

Each party to a controversy is apt to estimate the interest of the other party by that which he feels himself. Now, the British people had not cared about the Venezuelan question because they had not known about it. It would be well within the mark to say that not one man out of ten thousand was aware that there was a Venezuelan question at all. Even in the House of Commons I doubt whether one member out of ten had heard of the

matter. I think it has never been the subject of debate there, and I can recollect only one member who, during the last fifteen years, interrogated the Government upon the subject. Even those—very few—persons who knew that it was being mentioned in correspondence between our Government and that of the United States thought, till quite recently, that the interest of the United States was entirely indirect and secondary, was in fact merely that of a friendly power tendering its good offices as mediator. Nobody had the least idea that your Government considered the matter to be one of immediate and primary importance to America, justifying an ultimatum. That the Monroe Doctrine could be deemed involved had not occurred to our minds. We have been accustomed to regard that doctrine as asserting the objections entertained by the United States to two things, viz.: the establishment of any new settlement of a European Power in America, and the attempt to forcibly change by Europeans arms the form of government which an American community has created. The instance of its actual application (although I believe that it was not referred to in the despatches) often present to our minds has been the case of Louis Napoleon's occupation of Mexico in support of the so-called Empire of Maximilian. In that instance the interest of the United States was obvious, direct, palpable. The American country affected was on the borders of the United States ; and a European military despotism exercising a protectorate over that country by its army might constitute a standing menace to the adjoining parts of your Union. In this instance the country concerned lies two thousand miles by sea from the United States, and much further by land, and what is the matter in dispute ? Not the independence of an American State, nor its form of government, but some thousand square miles, mostly trackless forest, the recognition of which as a part of British Guiana would not add in any way to the military strength of Britain, nor in the least affect either the security of the United States or any of her material interests. There was therefore no idea of traversing the Monroe Doctrine, or any other principle to which American opinion is attached. Even now, after reading what has been said by Mr. Olney and others in America, the Monroe Doctrine, as enunciated by Monroe and expounded by American historians and publicists up till the last few months, seems to

have no more application to this particular case than a dogma of theology or a proposition in mathematics. Whether this British impression is correct is a question I will not argue ; all I desire to explain is that, although English statesmen and lawyers might differ among themselves as to the extent to which the doctrine may fairly be deemed to go, none has on this occasion sought to challenge it, in the form known to history, or has supposed it was being in fact challenged. It has seemed to us, as it seemed to Mr. Calhoun in 1848, that, in applying any such doctrine, "no general rule can be laid down; every case must be decided on its own merits." This case seemed to be wholly outside the doctrine as hitherto understood. We remember with pleasure that the original protest in the message of 1823 against contemplated interference by certain European power, with the lately formed Spanish republics was approved, and to some extent suggested, by the British Government, even in those so-called "unregenerate days," before the Reform Act, when it was virtually an oligarchy ; and we sympathize to the full with the desire of the American people that great military states and despotic monarchies shall never spring up on the soil of the New World.

This remark suggests another point in which the attitude of a large part of the American public has taken us by surprise. That part seems to give its sympathy to Venezuela rather than to British Guiana, and apparently only because Venezuela is called a republic. The notion that Great Britain is not a free country because the head of the state is not elected but (greatly to the convenience of a democratic people which has elections enough already) is selected by statute from a particular family according to a defined rule must surely have long since disappeared from the United States. Yet the converse idea seems to linger that a community is free and self-governing because it calls itself a republic and its head a president.

What a singular illustration of the power of a name ? Like almost all the other "republics" of Spanish and Portuguese America (Chili is an exception) Venezuela is and has been for many years a military tyranny. Power, won by force and maintained partly by rifles and partly by money, has passed from one adventurer to another, with no freedom and no self-government as those things are understood in Great Britain and in America. The civilization of these countries is of a low type.

Their diplomacy is so tricky and shifty that it is very hard to maintain any diplomatic relations with them; and one of the difficulties we have had in settling this question with Venezuela is that negotiations have been interrupted by revolutions, and our Foreign Office could never count upon having that which one dictator had appeared to agree to accepted by the next. The questions we have with these Spanish American republics are seldom important, but they are always vexatious, for their governments have no sense of responsibility, and abuse the privilege of weakness. As respects freedom and progress, the contrast between a colony like Guiana, peopled by men of the same Dutch and English blood as peopled New York in 1776, and the Hispano-Indian communities of Central and South America, is too conspicuous to need description. There is not a monarchy in Western Europe, perhaps one might say in all Europe (excluding Turkey), that is not more free, more orderly, and more progressive than these mock republics; and it is not strange that the British colonists in the disputed territory, who have settled there in the belief that they were safe under colonial laws and administration, should feel alarmed at the risk of being turned over to such a government as that of Venezuela. American citizens would be the last to relish such a prospect for themselves.

I am not, however, arguing that American sympathy should go with the colonists on the ground of blood or of freedom—justice first. What has astonished us is that the mere empty name of "republic" should apparently have won much American sympathy for the state which is, in fact, the less free of the two, and the less like your own.

Justice first. This, I hope, is the doctrine which English public opinion will support. We had certainly no idea till within the last few weeks that we were suspected of "land grabbing" in South America, and of seeking, as some one appears to have said, "to turn the Caribbean Sea into a British lake." No one here has ever heard of such plans or aims. If they exist anywhere they have been most carefully concealed from Parliament and from the people. So far from endeavoring to increase our influence as against the United States, on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico or Caribbean Sea, I believe that if the United States were presently to annex Guatemala, say, or Venezuela itself, Britain would

look on with unconcern, so far as no treaty rights of her own were affected. Many of us would rejoice at the prospect of improvement for these countries, and would entertain no apprehensions save for the well-being of the United States Government itself, which would be embarrassed by incorporation of populations unfit for the civic duties and powers of citizens of a free republic.

That, however, which has most astonished us is the disclosure of a hostility to Great Britain in considerable sections of the American people. We have long been aware that we are disliked, as a nation, in some European countries ; and we can see why. The interests and the claims of France, for instance, come into contact with those of Britain in several parts of the world, and although both nations, feeling that their highest and ultimate interest is peace, are resolved to preserve it, still the contact is attended by a certain amount of friction. To explain the causes of German dislike is less easy ; but there has, no doubt, been some rivalry in colonization and a keen rivalry in commerce ; though, as it is the German houses that in commerce have been gaining upon the British, one hardly sees why German feeling should be so much stronger against Britain than British feeling is against Germany. Speaking generally, one may say that the position of detachment which Britain has taken up in the politics of Europe, and her immunity from invasion, together with the sharp competition for colonial expansion which has marked the last few years (so far as the tropics are concerned it will probably turn out to have been a waste of force) have rendered the aversion to England in several continental countries explicable. Differences of race character make each people perceive the faults of the other with too quick a resentment, and dull the appreciation of merits. The newspapers fan every spark of annoyance into a flame and cover violence and misrepresentation with the cloak of patriotism. They are as great a danger to peace in our hemisphere now as the jealousies of kings and queens were in earlier centuries.

But in the case of the United States these explanations are not available. Those Englishmen who have travelled in America have of course been aware of the mischief your schoolbooks do in teaching young people to regard the English as enemies because there was war in the days of George III. Such Englishmen knew that as Britain is almost the only great power with

which the United States has had diplomatic controversies, national feeling has sometimes been led to regard her as an adversary, and displays of national feeling often took the form of defiance. Even such travellers, however, were not prepared for the language of the President and its reception in many quarters, while as to Englishmen generally, they could scarcely credit their eyes and ears. "Why," they said, "should we be regarded as enemies by our own kinsfolk? No territorial dispute is pending between us and them, like those we have or have lately had with France and Russia. No explosions of Jingoism have ever been directed against them, like those which Lord Beaconsfield evoked against Russia some twenty years ago. There is very little of that commercial, and none of that colonial, rivalry which we have with France and Germany, for the Americans are still chiefly occupied in developing their internal resources, and have ample occupation for their energy and their capital in doing so. Still less is there that incompatibility of character and temper which sometimes sets us wrong with Frenchmen, or Russians, or even Germans, for we and the Americans come of the same stock, speak the same language, read the same books, think upon similar lines, are connected by a thousand ties of family and friendship. No two nations could be better fitted to understand one another's ideas and institutions. English travellers and writers used no doubt formerly to assume airs of supercilious condescension which must have been offensive to Americans. But those airs were dropped twenty or thirty years ago, and the travellers who return now return full of gratitude for the kindness they have received and full of admiration for the marvellous progress they have witnessed. We know all about the Irish faction; but the Irish faction do not account for this. So we quite understand that resentment was caused in the North and West of America by the attitude of our wealthy class during the Civil War. But that attitude was not the attitude of the British nation. We refused to join Louis Napoleon when he wished to recognize the Confederacy, and the mass of our people always gave their sympathy to the cause which they held to be the cause of freedom. As for the harm done by the carelessness which allowed the escape of the "Alabama," we went to arbitration upon that and paid a larger sum than the United States found itself able to allot. Our own

commercial prosperity is so closely involved with that of the United States that we watch the movements of her commerce and the activity of her industries almost as narrowly as we do our own, and with nearly as direct a sympathy. She has grown enormously in resources and in power. We have watched that growth with a satisfaction unalloyed by jealousy, for we have regarded her as a mighty force for good in the world, certainly never dreaming that her force and ours could come into collision. We cannot imagine that she, with her immense wealth and population, can be apprehensive of ourselves or of any other power. She is too strong for that. Moreover, we have not sought to circumscribe her action or to stand in her way. Only two years ago when the question of Hawaii arose, and it seemed likely that she would take steps to annex those islands, or declare a protectorate over them, Lord Rosebery remained silent, though that silence displeased some few English Jingoes and disappointed not a few American Jingoes. Our press, whose tone often exasperates Continental nations, is almost uniformly respectful and friendly to America. What can we have done to provoke in the United States feelings so unlike those which we ourselves cherish ?"

In thus summing up what one has been hearing on all sides in Britain during the last fortnight, I am not exaggerating either the amazement or the regret with which the news of a threatened breach between the two countries was received. The average Englishman likes America far better than any foreign nation; he admires the "go," as he calls it, of your people, and is soon at home among you. In fact, he does not regard you as a foreign nation, as any one will agree who has noticed how different has been the reception given on all public occasions to your last four envoys, Messrs. Welsh, Lowell, Phelps, and Lincoln (as well as your present ambassador) from that accorded to the ambassadors of any other power. The educated and thoughtful Englishman has looked upon your Republic as the champion of freedom and peace, has held you to be our natural ally, and has even indulged the hope of a permanent alliance with you, under which the citizens of each country should have the rights of citizenship in the other and be aided by the consuls and protected by the fleets of the other all over the world. The sentiments which the news from America evoked were, therefore, common to all classes in England.

After a few days people began to understand that Congress was not to be taken as necessarily representing the whole people, and understood also that the first vibrations of the chord of national sentiment—a chord which responds in all high-spirited peoples when they are told that their honor is affected—might be different from the deliberate convictions of the citizens when there had been time to enquire whether either national honor or national interests were in danger. It came to be known that many who had declared approval of the President's message had not understood it to mean war, and that influential bodies regretted its tone, and that the Christian churches were pleading for peace and good-will. Thus the tension relaxed. Men felt it impossible to suppose that we could find ourselves fighting with the people we like best in the world for a matter we knew nothing about till a month ago, a matter which we had cared nothing about until the language of menace was used, and a matter in which we have a scarcely perceptible interest, and you an interest even smaller.

A shock has been given to public confidence, not only in the spheres of commerce and finance, but in other spheres also. A postponement, which may prove fatal, of the efforts of Britain to save the Armenian Christians from extermination has most unhappily followed. Nor are we entitled to assume that all danger is over, though some of us will not believe that a shot will ever be fired by either people against the other until it has been fired. But the results of the crisis will not have been wholly unfortunate if it leads us in Britain to study and comprehend better the lines upon which opinion is moving in the United States, if it rouses both people to try to eliminate any causes for reciprocal jealousy or offence which may be removable, and if it hastens the establishment of a permanent system of arbitration for the settlement of all grounds of difference between them. Already those in both countries who realize not only the material evils of war, but the incalculable and abiding injury war inflicts on the moral and political life of a nation, have been awakened to a warmer love of peace and a keener sense of kinship, just as the imminence of a complete rupture sometimes renews the affection of estranged relatives and leads to reconciliation. Englishmen, many of whom would have no great dislike to a war with some other power (for there is a

great deal of the pugnacity of Henry the Fifth's time left among us), are thoroughly pacific in this instance, and that not merely or perhaps chiefly from prudence, but because they feel that a war with America would be a civil war, in which even victories could bring no glory—*bella nullos habitura triumphos.* Thousands of us have dear friends on the other side of the Atlantic. How could we rejoice in what would afflict them? or they in what would afflict us?

Englishmen have also, I think, an open mind on the boundary question. They have not yet looked into it, and they are prepared to do so with a wish to be fair. Passion has not yet been aroused, and will not be, except by the language of menace. No division of political opinion has so far arisen, a fact rare enough to be remarkable, for many questions of foreign policy have been hotly contested in Britain within the last thirty years, and in every case where aggression on another state was suspected there have been warm protests, sometimes vehement party struggles. If, therefore, any part of the case for British Guiana is shown to be weak, public opinion will, I believe, refuse to press it, and we shall not be ashamed to own ourselves mistaken. Every one desires that an honorable way out of the present difficulty may be found. If the same temper prevails on the other side of the ocean—as we trust and believe it does—that way will be found.

JAMES BRYCE.

PRACTICAL POLITICS.

BY THE HON. F. T. GREENHALGE, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE practical politician is the necessary outcome of practical politics as we find them to-day. A general understanding of the character of the practical politician is therefore indispensable in the consideration of what practical politics are, and what they ought to be. And we must recognize the fact that the practical politician even now has his uses and his merits, as well as his vices and his defects.

He is loyal, diligent, indefatigable in the support of his party and its candidates. The genuine practical politician never bolts the ticket, and he never forgets or forgives the man who does. He is versed in all the learning of political mechanism; he knows just when a caucus is to be held; what States hold elections in any particular year; what majorities were given at this or that election; what "out" there is in any candidate.

If any question of principle arises, he refers glibly to the last party platform; that is his bible, gospel and law In fact, he looks upon principle as a kind of imposture which it may be necessary to employ—not, however, for the wise and intelligent, but for the ignorant mass which is to be cajoled and taken in.

As I have said, he is loyal in a certain sense and to a certain degree. He is a Dugald Dalgetty enlisted for the campaign; he is, as the lawyers might say, true *ad litem*. He has an inexorable rule by which he can determine whether a public man is politically dead or politically very much alive and at the front, or, as he would say, "on top." He is present at all political gatherings of his own party, and sometimes at those of the other parties. Neither rain, nor heat, nor business, nor family cares, ever prevent him from being on hand where any political business is to be transacted. In his moral character he ranks well

with the average of mankind. He is, as a rule, neither licentious nor intemperate. His views of principle in ordinary affairs of life do not apply to the business of politics. His justification of questionable transactions brought up to him for discussion by his wife and daughters is that such matters do not fall within the realm of ordinary moral rules; they belong to the mysterious domain of politics.

He comes to think that he makes and unmakes political careers and political reputations ; that, after all, he is the mainspring, the force and the regulator of the body politic—to which term he gives a much narrower meaning than the true one. He reverences the machine, because he regards himself as the machine, or as a large part of it ; he loves details—he is a detail himself. Principles—great movements of the people—a candidate who has shot into the firmament like a new star, without having been put there, and lighted like a lamp, these things disconcert and irritate him. The "slate" is more important to him than *Magna Charta* or any conceivable constitution. The "slate" must not be imperilled by revolutionary forces. And he says, in the spirit of Louis XIV.: "The Slate, it is I." He relies greatly upon what he calls the "farmer vote," the "soldier vote," the "labor vote," etc., etc., etc., and can tell you exactly and precisely why a candidate will or will not get one or the other of these class votes, which he firmly believes are always cast *en bloc.* He cannot realize the inherent independence and power of reasoning of thousands of soldiers, farmers or workingmen.

He is a profound believer in thaumaturgy, in *coups d'état,* in surprises. He says : "Wait, wait ; this campaign is young yet; something will drop—about—let me see—well, about six—no, five days from now." He always has the air of accurate calculation, of guarded and judicial statement; he is a Delphic oracle, able to prove himself an infallible prophet, whatever happens.

He regards the giving of his vote as a personal favor to be returned by personal favors. A public official who distributes offices among his personal friends and relations, he considers worthy of all commendation. "Why shouldn't a man stick by his friends—why shouldn't he help his family? This method of dealing with the public service is an evidence of a noble and generous heart." Family and friends are realities. The state,

the country, the public? These are mere "platform" words and are not real entities.

The type of practical politician now under consideration is a "professional," living for politics and living out of politics. He does much political work, but only on the *quid pro quo* principle. "The laborer is worthy of his hire," he says with great gusto, for he loves to defend his position by scriptural quotations. He must be "recognized," and he is eager to point out to the raw recruit also that for everything *he* does, *he* must be "recognized." He loves to go to some young patriot burning with devotion to his state or his city, who has swept the corrupt element of a convention like chaff before the Sirocco-like wind of his scorching invective, and whisper to him that the reform nominee is bound to give him such and such a place, "because you made his nomination possible."

But with all his faults, his follies, his amusing characteristics, it must be remembered that he is a *constant force* He never lets anything go by default. He is, indeed, a machine, tireless, fearless, conscienceless, and remorseless—at least in his own sphere of action.

He insists upon the unreality of things. A is popular and always commands applause. To make B "popular," all that is necessary is to furnish the applause. C never seeks an office—the office seeks him. D can be put in the same class as C—a petition of a hundred, a thousand, names, can be got at a very small figure and with very little labor But the "practical politician" seldom or never deceives the public by these ingenious but shallow devices. It is easy to distinguish the true from the false—the diamond from the paste.

Again, our politician places much dependence upon money. He assumes a cold, practical air—a great idea is mentioned to him, a plan which will really call a sluggish people to arms—but he says coldly and cynically: "Yes, but where's the money?" And many men who have started in politics with an idea, with a sentiment, with an inspiration, being beaten down, have become doubly and more the advocates of Mammon. The new doctrine is so practical, they become really ashamed of their ideals; they go to the farthest extreme of the meanest and basest practical politics, and actually seek to hide the early and noble ideals which their young manhood cherished.

The practical politician firmly believes that the sole measure of a man's fitness for an office is the ability to get it. Competency, education, experience, honesty, are merely "platform" words—strong, but of no real significance. In fact, the less ability the candidate has for a place, the more ability he displays in securing it "He has a right to aspire—it is an honorable ambition—and he isn't ashamed to say what he wants and to set his friends to work." This is the language of the so-called practical politician. He admires nothing so much as the brutal frankness of a selfish, sordid creature, whose stupidity makes him proud of his infamy.

Of course there is a very different stripe of "practical politicians." There are men of conscience, intelligence and patriotic purpose. They have made their influence felt in many ways—chiefly in local or municipal politics—where, in fact, the widest field is open to their efforts. These are men who believe that the grandest "recognition" their devoted labors can receive is in the strengthening and purifying of the body politic, in honest and economic modes of administration; in extending public benefits to the whole public, and diffusing the blessings of good government, as the Almighty diffuses the sunshine, over each and all alike.

Politics so often deal with ignoble things—things of the earth, "earthy"; things of the pocket, of the sewer, of the gutter; with disagreeable people, disagreeable places. Patient labor, self-denial, sacrifice are needed. Comfort, pleasure, luxuries, necessities must be given up to ensure success. Rebuffs, insults, calumny, ridicule, defeat and disaster, must be met and overcome. This is the environment, these the factors, which confront the earnest, patriotic man.

The prospect herein outlined is not encouraging. No wonder that young men of refinement, of ambition, of honesty, of aspiration, glowing with patriotic purpose, eager to serve their fellowmen, shrink from the herculean task confronting them here. But this is the place, and here are the materials, where and with which great souls have labored and have been victorious. Liberty, justice, equality, education and progress in every direction, have been set free from just such elements as these, or worse than these, and have emerged shapes of glory and strength to gladden and comfort mankind. And even now the strong soul

can find his loveliest Ideal imprisoned somewhere in this sordid Actual. Thomas Carlyle, in his grim eloquent way, says, in *Sartor Resartus*, Book II., chapter IX. :

"Yes, here in this poor, miserable, hampered, despicable Actual, wherein thou even now standest, here or nowhere is thy Ideal. Work it out, therefrom, and, working, believe, live, be free. Fool ! the Ideal is in thyself, the impediment, too, is in thyself ; thy Condition is but the stuff thou art to shape that same Ideal out of. What matters whether such stuff be of this sort or that, so the Form thou give it be heroic—be poetic ? O thou that pinest in the imprisonment of the Actual, and criest bitterly to the Gods for a Kingdom wherein to rule and create, 'know this of a truth : the thing thou seekest is already with thee, here or nowhere, couldst thou only see ! "

Truer or more inspiring words than these were never written. Out of the mud, the uncleanness, the dishonors, of the Actual and the practical, it is permitted to the true man, to the patriot and hero of this practical age, to mould the grandest Ideals into realities, living, breathing, working for good. But the heroic, patriotic spirit is indispensable. No *dilletante* devotion, no narrow, selfish ambition, will have the power to effect these magic results.

Now, while it is necessary to be right—in order to command success—*it is not enough to be right.* Having determined on what is right, in a given case, you cannot send out your purpose like a stray child to be abused, deceived and beaten; a strong, well-equipped escort must accompany and guard that purpose, able to deal with friends and foes, to protect in every way the interests of their charge. How to launch a noble purpose at the right time, to provision it, to equip it, so that it may meet the storms which are sure to come, is the true study of the true and honest practical politican. He must be wise as the serpent, and harmless as the dove *to the State.*

Tact in an honest cause is almost as valuable as virtue. Knowledge of men is as necessary to a good man as to a bad one. Too often, the reformer imitates the example of Mr. Tupman, who, when Mr. Pickwick broke through the ice, rushed across the fields shouting "fire," leaving Mr Pickwick to his fate.

Can a politican be pure and practical ? Yes. Must he be visionary in order to be virtuous ? Emphatically, no. Truth and justice need less management than falsehood and injustice.

But intelligent, well-disciplined forces are necessary even to the cause of truth and justice. Prospero must ever be on the alert even if Caliban is his only enemy.

Why does an honest, patriotic man take office? Office seldom enriches the honest, patriotic man. A list of the leading American public men to-day will establish this fact. Most of them are lucky if they have a competency, or indeed escape bankruptcy. One of the moving causes, then, must be "that last infirmity of noble minds," ambition, the love of fame, of popular applause—in short, of glory. But is there not blended with this motive, in many cases, a passionate love of country, an intense longing innate in great souls

> "To scatter blessings o'er a smiling land,
> And read their history in a nation's eyes?"

The sense of power exercised by a great man for the welfare of his country, of his fellow-men, must make him feel as nearly divine as anything can.

The ordinary practical office-holder is not borne up by any of these visions of glory. The reward of faithful and patient service is the respect and affection of those who come in contact with him, and he consoles himself by reflecting that even if he has only been charged to drive a nail into the timbers, or to caulk the seams, of the ship of state, these simple services are telling their honest story every day that the majestic fabric floats.

Men must make a living, too, and men of wonderful ability can be found in just such subordinate stations who can accomplish great results when directed by others, but who are weak and inefficient when acting for themselves.

The conclusion of the whole matter then is that high and noble aims must be supplemented by careful, patient, intelligent labor—by unselfish courage and fidelity. And the people themselves must regard public service more justly, if not more charitably, than they seem to do at present. The outlook is encouraging; a better, nobler, more patriotic spirit is abroad in the country; men are finding that they must not censure, but act—that they themselves are largely responsible for what they condemn, and upon the whole, I believe, we are approaching a new and better era of "practical politics."

F. T. GREENHALGE.

THE INCREASED PRODUCTION OF GOLD.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

A QUESTION is gradually shaping itself in the minds of men who take a long look ahead which in an apparently simple form yet involves most complex problems. That question is: "What will be the effect of the great annual additions to the world's stock of gold which are now certain to be made for many years to come?" This additional supply of gold is produced under very different conditions from those under which the last great supply was added when the gold product of California and Australia was developed. At that time the greater part of the gold was derived from placer mines by surface washing or from separate and distinct deposits or pockets corresponding to the Comstock lode. For many years this product was developed by chance and not by science: the profits were attained indiscriminately by common laborers—by men wholly ignorant of mining, or by men of science, aptitude and previous education. It was subject to no rule and there could be no estimate of the cost of production either in terms of labor, in terms of exchange for the goods and wares consumed in the processes, or by any comparison with general prices.

The present product of gold is being developed under totally different conditions. The sources of gold are the great "reefs" of South Africa, doubtless corresponding to the original sources of the gold which was found in the gravels of California and Australia; or in corresponding veins or "chimneys" in Cripple Creek and other corresponding places in this country or in Australia; or in a huge area of clay gravels lying between the Andes and the sea in Ecuador in which the gold is held in suspension throughout the mass, and not merely in the "pay dirt at the bottom of a deep bed of loose gravel as in California.

While there are still many chances in prospecting for gold, yet the working of the principal deposits is no longer to any extent a matter of chance. It has become a branch of regular industry to which mechanical and chemical science has been most fully applied—in which labor and capital are worked together under intelligent direction—and of which the cost of production can in many instances be computed with a very close approach to accuracy. In other words, while one may look on in wonder and amazement at the feats in the "Kaffir Circus" and wonder which of the performers will win at the loss of all the rest, yet underlying all that excitement, men of the most profound ability are computing the cost of manufacturing gold ingots as deliberately as other men compute the cost of pig iron, steel bars or cotton fabrics, and in a considerable measure they are dealing with known and established factors in reaching their conclusions.

This work is being conducted in four different continents at the same time by men of the English-speaking race operating upon deposits of immense potential of which the product will be limited only by the cost of production and by the world's demand, but of which the supply must be in excess of any previous quantity ever brought to the knowledge of mankind. These deposits being in South Africa, in Australia, in Ecuador and in the Western States and Territories of North America from Alaska to California inclusive, substantially all this work is being done under the safe conditions of English law; the treaties with Ecuador assuring fairly safe conditions in the conduct of the work in a state which constitutes the single exception in not being under the governmental control of the English-speaking people.

Before we can comprehend these changed conditions and their prospective influence, the monetary events of a century must be condensed into a single page. Under the relatively unsafe and unscientific conditions of the period from 1801 to 185[illegible] inclusive, before the discoveries of gold in California and Australia had begun to affect supplies, the product of gold of the world had been a little under eight hundred million dollars ($800,000,000), which was added to the world's stock at the average rate of sixteen million dollars ($16,000,000) a year. Then came the wild excitement, the great supply from the gold washings from the Comstock lode and other events. In twenty years, from 1851 to 1870 inclusive, the addition to the world's

stock of gold amounted to a fraction under twenty-six hundred million dollars ($2,600,000,000), at the average rate of one hundred and thirty million dollars ($130,000,000) a year. Soon after 1870 came the disturbance in the monetary systems which led to the legal tender legislation of 1872 and 1873 in Germany and the United States, followed by the action of the Latin Union and of India, the end of which changes was to establish gold as the unit of value among the great commercial nations. After 1870 there was a moderate falling off in the production of gold, and the change in the methods of its production began. From 1871 to 1890 inclusive the amount added to the world's stock of gold was a little over twenty-two hundred million dollars ($2,200,000,000) at the average rate of one hundred and ten million dollars ($110,000,000) a year. In 1891 the influence of these changed conditions and the application of science to mines, reefs and deposits under a system of regular industry led to an immense and constant increase of the supply. If the estimate for the year 1895 is attained, there will have been added to the world's stock of gold in five years, 1891 to 1895 inclusive, over eight hundred and twelve million dollars ($812,000,000), at the average rate of one hundred and sixty-two million dollars ($162,000,000) a year, the present year probably yielding two hundred million dollars ($200,000,000), the average production of gold only in this five years amounting to more than the average product of gold with silver added at its former coinage valuation in the period from 1851 to 1870, when California and Australia were yielding their greatest supplies of gold.

Having thus compared the conditions of what may be called the manufacture of gold and silver ingots in the period from 1850 to 1890 with those governing the same branch of manufacture in 1891 to 1895 inclusive, we may now approach the problem presented by the title of this paper: What will be the influence of this great increase in the production of ingots of gold under the present conditions of order, safety, and the application of science to mines of regular industry, these conditions corresponding closely to those which govern the production of iron, copper, and other metals?

In dealing with this problem the writer will assume that the world's commercial unit of value is now fully and finally established. It is a fixed weight of gold incorporated in ingots or in

coins manufactured from ingots of gold; silver ingots and silver coin having been displaced by the final recognition of the fact that there can be but one monetary unit or standard of value at one time, to which or by which unit all other products including silver will be rated; that is to say, all prices will be finally established at a given ratio in each of four seasons making one year, by their estimation or rating to this single gold standard.

This leads directly to the consideration of prices and wages. In order to get some clue to the influence of sudden and great increase in the manufacture of ingots of gold at a lessened cost at the present time one may rightly attempt to measure the influence of the same great and sudden increase in the production of gold from 1850 to 1870. But in order even to begin to comprehend the elements of this problem one must give a hasty glance over the industrial history of the nineteenth century, in which the great applications of science and invention have displaced the handicrafts of the earlier period in all the arts—in which period the great commerce of the world in the necessaries of life has been developed—in which period the obstruction of distance has been sunk in a fraction of a cent a ton per mile in moving the necessaries of life from the uttermost parts of the world—and in which period also national debts, standing armies and national navies have reached a magnitude as impossible of being sustained without disaster as they are impossible of being removed without revolution. At the beginning of the century every nation, state, county district, and even every town and hamlet, was almost self-sustaining, each family producing for itself and storing in each year the larger part of its own product of food, fuel, fibres and fabrics of every kind. Between 1840 and 1850, immediately before the great additions to gold were made from California and Australia, the railway had begun to affect all commerce upon land and the steamship had begun to alter the conditions of international commerce, these two new factors leading rapidly to conditions which taken in connection with the increased application of mechanism to production might have been expected to cause a rapid reduction in the prices of all the necessaries of life corresponding to the reduction in the labor cost thereof. Such a general reduction in prices might perhaps have been anticipated except the medium of exchange and the credit system had alike become more adequate to meet the needs. The new supplies of gold served as the

basis of that extension of credit and of that commerce. In place of a reduction in prices at the gold standard, after a period of considerable variation there was a gradual, and finally a rapid rise in prices, culminating in 1873. Hence the changes which under uniform or diminishing conditions of a supply of monetary metal might have brought about a reduction in prices was met by the increase in the volume of gold and by many other elements of change, notably by a greatly increased consumption of goods, with the effect named. The subsequent fall in prices since 1873 can be accounted for in respect to every leading article of commerce by further and more startling reductions either in the cost of production or in the cost of distribution without having any recourse to the moderate changes which have occurred in the relative supply of gold since that date down to the recent great additions. Space cannot be given in this article to any minute statement of these facts.

Such a discussion of prices would call for a consideration of the Austro-Prussian War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the War of the Rebellion in this country, with all the influences which these events exerted upon prices and upon monetary systems, especially the suspension of specie payments in most of the countries which were engaged in these wars. During that period Great Britain became the place of safe deposit of the civilized world, capital trending toward England from every quarter in order to be put under the security of the unimpaired gold unit of value of Great Britain. It may be held that when the people of this country become aware of their true interest, doing away with every doubt about the stability of the gold unit of value, the United States may become the safe deposit of nations whenever the great war ensues, which seems so near and yet so far away. But even if the passive war which is eating out the heart of Europe by heavy taxation and destructive expenditure should not culminate in active war, yet the capital and the best blood of Europe among the laboring people will inevitably trend toward this country in order to attain security for life and property, exemption from conscription and the opportunity to work under the conditions of safety which yield the high wages and good subsistence that are the complement or correlative of the low cost of production which prevails in this country.

After a few years of rapid reductions in prices a level has been

reached subject only to the moderate changes due to varying seasons. The average prices for the last few years of the necessaries and comforts of life, of the metals and of most fabrics, has not varied materially from the averages of the years 1845 to 1850, just preceding the additions to gold. May it not be held under these conditions that the quantitative theory exercises its influence very slowly, but that in the very fact that the general level of prices of late years has not varied materially—being but very little less than those immediately preceding the enormous additions of gold—we have evidence that both gold and silver have lost a part of their purchasing power, silver having been depreciated by the greater abundance of gold and its substitution in bank reserves and as a unit or standard of value by the great commercial nations?

At the present time all civilized nations have become interdependent—the world has become one great neighborhood—all men live by an exchange of products or of services, and in spite of wars of tariffs and wars of monetary systems, which have in great measure survived the wars of race and creeds, men serve each other more and more in all the transactions in which money is made use of, or of which the terms of the exchange are stated and measured in terms of money. In order to reach even a glimmering comprehension of the influence of our annual increase of the metal of which true money is now made—true or good money meaning only that kind of coin which is worth as much after it is melted as it purports to be worth in the coin—we may make an approximate estimate of the annual transactions or exchanges, both domestic and foreign, of the four groups of machine-using nations whose product has been increased and whose cost of production has been diminished by science and invention. In this attempt to give a faint idea of the magnitude of the exchanges in which trade and commerce consists, I must use figures which are in my own judgment fairly well established, especially in respect to this country and by analogy in other countries. The product of the United States is ratably to population the largest, the cost of production the lowest, and consequently the wages or earnings of the people the largest when measured by quantity, or highest in money, as compared to all others. I compute the total product of this country at the present time at two hundred and twenty-five dollars' ($225) worth of food, fuel, fibres and fabrics per head.

I then estimate other countries by analogy on this basis; this analogy being mainly established by the difference in the rates of wages or earnings, which being recovered from the sale of the product may be taken as a fair standard by which to estimate the relative product of the several states or nations.

United States: Population approximately 70,000,000—producing within its own area an excess of food, fuel, timber, ores and fibres—annual product computed at $225 per head...	$15,750,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland: Population approximately 40,000,000—deficient within its own area in food, ores and fibres—annual product computed at $170 per head.....	6,800,000,000
	$22,550,000,000
Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands: Population approximately 64,000,000—food barely adequate, often deficient; also deficient in fuel, timber and fibres—annual product computed at $125 per head.....	$8,000,000,000
France: Population approximately 40,000,000. Deficient in fuel, ores and fibres: rich in agriculture—annual product computed at $150 per head.....	6,000,000,000
Total population in round figures, 214,000,000.....	$36,550,000,000
These are approximate estimates only, which may serve to give a slight comprehension of the problem.	
Let it be assumed that one-fourth part of this product is consumed where it is produced, without purchase or sale, and therefore without the use of money; say.....	$9,550,000,000
Remainder.....	$27,000,000,000

The exports of domestic products of these countries amount in value to over $4,000,000,000, a sum which comes to a little under fifteen per cent. of the above valuation. As our own domestic exports are less than six per cent. of the valuation which I have put upon our product, this established sum of the exports of all named goes far to prove that the value of the subjects of all commerce, domestic and foreign, must be estimated at as much as $27,000,000,000 and probably more.

This remainder is an approximate measure in terms of money of the value of the subjects of trade and commerce of the countries named in this list only. But before these articles of food, fuel, fibres and fabrics reach the consumer they have been converted and reconverted from the crude to the finished condition and in each of these transformations there has been a purchase and a sale in terms of money. Each reader may follow in his own mind the transformation of the ores into mechanism and tools—of the timber into buildings, furniture, etc.—of the grain into bread, dairy products and meats—and of the fibres into clothing. I think at least three purchases and sales will be admitted as a moderate estimate. It follows that the transactions

of these four groups in the distribution of $27,000,000,000 worth of products come to the incomprehensible sum of $71,000,000,000 a year at the present time. It is useless to attempt to reason on such a basis of figures since they convey little or no meaning to the mind of any one except for purposes of comparison, but by again reducing them to individual terms we may gain a clear view. If that sum be the measure of the trade of 214,000,000 people, the average is a fraction under three hundred and thirty-two dollars ($332) a year to each person in these transactions or purchases and sales.

In the United States the annual transactions measured in terms of money in goods and wares only unquestionably exceed $500 a year to each person, making the minimum volume of trade ($35,000,000,000) thirty-five billion dollars.

Again, the readers of this article may gain a clearer view of the nature of this problem by passing in review the number of purchases and sales which have been necessary in order to put three to five pounds of food on their tables each day for each member of their households, forty to fifty yards of textile fabrics per year on their backs, and a shelter over their heads. If they will again deal with distance as an element of commerce they will find that the sources of their food, clothing and shelter averaged over a thousand miles from their present dwelling places. Again, it will be observed that this is the measure of the commerce of only one-seventh of the population of the globe in goods and wares necessary to life without regard to land, stock and bonds.

We now begin to find a standard by which to compare the amount of gold now estimated to be in monetary use, customarily computed at about $4,000,000,000—and the annual addition which may reach in 1896, $214,000,000. On these estimates the existing quantity of gold in use would come to less than twenty dollars ($20) per head of these specific countries only, containing only one-seventh of the population of the globe, and the annual addition would be only one dollar ($1) per head in ratio to this seventh of the population.

It will be remarked that this annual product even if it reaches $214,000,000, will bear the ratio of only fifteen cents per head of the whole population of the globe now computed at over 1,400,000,000. Of this sum it is commonly held that one-half or more is used in the arts, yet it suffices as a monetary standard or

unit of value, there being a greater mass of gold held in the reserves of banks than was ever known before.

It is by such computations that one may prevent himself from being dazed or misled by estimates of the production of gold computed in tens and hundreds of millions.

It will also be observed that even if a large margin must be allowed for errors in the computation of national product and of the volume of trade, yet diminish them or increase them as we may, the fact remains that, whatever may be the present or prospective product of gold in the near future, it bears but a mere fractional ratio to the large volume of trade of which it has become through a long process of natural selection the sole standard or unit of valuation, and such it will continue to be in spite of legal tender acts, treaties of legal tender called bimetallic, or any other device by which any attempt is made to compel men to use anything but the safest, surest, and most uniform unit or standard of value yet evolved in the experience of mankind.

This process of reasoning and these facts bring us to the inevitable conclusion that the work of the modern world is and must be conducted mainly by the use of instruments of credit and not by the use of coin of any kind.

On the other hand the necessary conclusion is that an adequate credit can only be established upon the sole unit of value which has become the world's monetary standard. That unit is gold passing by the measure of weight in the form of bars, ingots or coin.

In the face of the paramount necessity of the commerce of the machine-using nations which dominate the commerce of the globe, the attempt has failed to set up two standards or units, one of gold and one of silver—the increasing abundance of gold enabling this displacement of silver to be carried into effect without any serious temporary difficulty and without any adverse influence of a permanent character.

In 1850—that is to say in the middle of this century of the development of the great commerce of the world in the necessaries of life—the modern instrumentalities of the railway and the steamship had just begun to reduce the cost of these exchanges and to make an enormous increase of commerce possible. That increase of commerce required a corresponding increase in credit and again that increase of credit required a

corresponding increase in the monetary metal which was then rapidly becoming the world's unit of value—namely gold. That demand was met by the supply from California and Australia.

We are now approaching the beginning of another century in which the forces which make for the development of commerce, for the increase of abundance and for the establishment of material welfare among men, are competent to give results of which the progress of the present century may be but a shadow. We are at the beginning only of the development of continents heretofore almost unknown and but little occupied. Witness the Trans-Siberian Railway with all that it portends—witness the opening of Africa and its passage from a *terra incognita* to one even now more fully developed than the prairies of our own country were little more than half a century since. Australia and New Zealand are now counted among the most progressive countries occupied by the English-speaking people and a beginning has been made in opening the ways of commerce in South America, now the single almost unknown land in its far but fertile and prolific pampas of the Argentine and Bolivia. In this development of continents the very search for gold is again one of the most potent influences making the way for the commerce which ensues, while at the same time supplying the basis of the credit which must be so rapidly extended in order to make the conduct possible of that increased commerce.

Upon this view of the necessities of trade, of the extension of credit, and of the movement of a huge and immeasurable increase in the exchanges of the world, the present and the prospective increase in the production of gold, while giving assurance of a supply adequate as a reserve for the vast extension of credit, yet presents no element of such an increase as to seriously affect its immediate value or estimation—that is to say, it will have no immediate or direct or quantitative influence upon prices and wages.

The present annual increase in the production of gold, although absolutely greater than even that of 1849 to 1870, is yet less in ratio to the vastly increased commerce of the world, for which it serves as a standard, and in the conduct of which it serves as the basis of credit or unit of redemption. It must now be observed, however, that there is not as great a margin for any further reduction in the cost of producing and distributing the necessaries of life among the great commercial nations at the

present time as there was in the former period. The reduction in the cost of all commodities necessary to life has been more rapid than the reduction in the cost of producing gold. Hence, if the cost of producing gold under existing conditions should be greatly reduced, and the product should increase rapidly even on the present large amount of the output, then the quantitative theory may again influence prices in a long period. The purchasing power of gold or its ratio to all other commodities may, in that event, show itself by a depreciation which would manifest itself in a very gradual but general rise of prices on the gold standard, which may not be explained by changes in the cost of the production and distribution of the commodities themselves. Any such immediate effect, however, may not be at present anticipated, since the vastly increasing commerce of the world will probably absorb all the gold that can be produced for many years without any serious quantitative influence. On the other hand the assurance of a constant and regular supply of gold will give to this and all other countries in which the gold standard is subject to no doubt, a basis for credit and for the expansion of commerce, for the increase of abundance and yet more for the increase of consumption which is the end of all trade and commerce, which may exert a powerful influence on prices, especially on the prices of those great commodities which have in this country so recently been depressed even below the cost of production by the doubt as to the stability of our unit of value. This doubt was brought upon us by the incapacity of Congress and its submission to the demands of the misrepresentatives of the nation, who forced legislation in the interest of the mining camps of the silver-producing states.

On the other hand the increasing commerce of these great continents now in process of development will create a rapidly increasing use of silver as a subsidiary coin; which increasing demand meeting a somewhat diminished production may tend to raise the ratio of silver to gold which will find its expression in an advancing price of silver. Hence the conclusion that the present quantitative increase in the product of gold will meet an increasing demand and will have no direct influence upon the prices either of property or of products.

If these propositions are sustained by the facts in the case, their lesson to the people of this country is plain and simple.

Among the machine-using nations of the world we hold the dominant control of iron, steel and copper. We, therefore, hold the paramount position in the production and in the application of the mechanism by which abundance is secured at the lowest cost, therefore yielding the highest rate of wages or remuneration to labor. We also hold the control of such share of the gold of the world as we may require as a basis for our credit, even if our own abundant product does not suffice. We may give our sympathy to the debt-burdened nations of Europe with which we compete while pitying them in their futile effort to sustain their huge standing armies and monstrous war fleets, the mere support of which reduces so large a portion of their people to the conditions of pauper laborers. We may wonder at the folly of those who would deprive us of our own position of advantage by their effort to destroy our credit in the interest of a few silver miners whose insignificant product has cost more than it has come to. Finally we may stamp with scorn and contempt upon the Jingoism of the hour which would put upon us the very burdens from which our competitors are trying to escape, but from which no escape except by violent revolution and long continued anarchy and disaster yet appears.

We may especially despise that type of Jingoism whose representatives try to break the peaceful relations of the English-speaking people, who are becoming more and more united in the pursuits of peace and order, and whose moral influence when once exerted in putting a final stop to the plunder of private property upon the sea even in time of war, may by-and-by give to our naval vessels the noble title of protectors of commerce in place of the degrading name of commerce destroyers by which some of our ships are now disgraced.

We may well deepen our harbors and widen their channels—we may well remove the natural and the legal obstructions to commerce so that our defence shall consist in the increasing service which we may render when "the ships that pass between this land and that shall be like the shuttle of the loom weaving the web of concord among the nations."

The foregoing text had been prepared in November. The publication has of necessity been delayed until the present number. In the interval an event of most profound significance has oc-

curred—a threat of war among the English-speaking people. This threat has brought into conspicuous notice the inseparable character of the moral and political forces with the material interests of the people of this country and of Great Britain. It needed only the threat of war to cause the thinking people and the masses of the workmen alike of both countries to forbid such a crime against humanity. Out of that danger great progress may ensue.

In order to attract attention to the material interests imperilled and also to the nature of our commerce with the gold standard states of the world, the following statement of the commerce of the ten years from 1885 to 1894 is submitted :

	Exports. Per cent.	Amount. Exports.	Amount. Imports.	Imports. Per cent.
Great Britain and her Colonies	60.	$4,765,830,100	$2,468,475,746	33.60
Holland, Belgium, France and Germany	22.79	1,809,533,962	1,705,605,336	23.22
	82.78	$6,575,364,062	$4,174,081,082	56.82
All other countries	17.21	1,367,982,873	3,172,315,519	43.18
	100.	.....	$7,346,396,601	100.
Merchandise balance	.....	.....	596,950,334	.....
	.....	$7,943,346,935	$7,943,346,935	.....

These figures are very significant. Sixty per cent. of our exports, consisting in by far the largest measure of farm products, are bought of us upon a gold basis by Great Britain and her Colonies. Twenty-three per cent. of our exports, also consisting in largest measure of farm products, are bought by the several machine-using nations of Europe—France, Germany, Holland and Belgium. Only seventeen per cent. of our exports, consisting in larger measure of manufactured goods, are bought by all other countries; but that branch of our traffic is very rapidly increasing since the virtual control of the iron and steel manufacture has passed to this country, while the removal of duties on wool and other materials entering into the processes of our domestic manufactures have put us more nearly on an equality in the cost of materials with other nations.

Bearing in mind that this country will probably take the first rank in the production of gold this year and that in each year for the last ten years two hundred and fifty million dollars ($250,000,000) has been placed at our credit in pounds sterling in the banking centres of the world in settlement for the excess of our exports above our imports in our traffic with the machine-

using nations, the fact becomes evident that this country holds a command over all the gold resources of the world. Nothing but our own incapacity as exhibited in Congress or the ill-advised action of the Executive in undoing the great service already rendered in the cause of sound finance by an ill-advised threat of war, can prevent the monetary system and the finances of this country being placed upon the most solid basis within a very short time. The logic of events is rapidly bringing every man who places sound legislation above party success to the necessity of making slow but sure payments of the demand debt of the country without making a new forced loan by reissuing any legal tender note that has been paid in coin. The masses of the country are becoming aroused to the fact that the worst attack that can be made upon their material interests is the forced circulation of bad money: good money, according to the admirable definition given by Cernuschi, the ablest leading advocate of bimetallism, being only that coin which stands the test of fire and which is worth as much after it has been melted as it purported to be worth in the coin.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

NOTE.—For an extended treatment of the economic elements of our commerce and their bearing upon this question see *Engineering Magazine* for February, 1896.

IS THE HUMAN RACE DETERIORATING?

BY M. G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

An impression seems to be gaining ground that the nations of Christendom are undergoing serious changes as regards vital statistics, that their rates of increase are declining, and that in the middle of the next century some nations will come to a stand-still, birth-rate and death-rate becoming equal. First, as regards birth-rate there are seven principal countries of Europe that possess complete and accurate statistics for fifty-two years, which show as follows:

	Births yearly per 1,000 population.		
	1841-60	1861-80	1883-92
England	33.4	35.1	31.9
France	26.7	25.8	23.3
Prussia	38.C	39.1	37.4
Austria	40.3	39.0	37.7
Holland	34.9	36.3	33.7
Belgium	30.2	32.0	29.9
Scandinavia*	32.3	31.3	29.9
Mean rate	33.8	34.1	32.0

In every one of the above nations the birth-rate for ten years ending 1892 shows a marked decline, and therefore the main fact relied upon by alarmists is indisputable. The inference, however, which they draw from this fact is erroneous and absurd. Had they taken the trouble to compare birth and death rates they would have found that the natural increase, that is the surplus of births over deaths, has been much greater (in Europe) during the last ten years than at any previous period of which we have statistical returns. The explanation, of course, is that death-rates have declined more than birth-rates. Paradoxical as it may seem, a falling birth-rate often indicates a rising increase of population, as will be seen on comparing the rates of the decade 1883–92 with those of any previous term of years. For ex-

* The statistics of Sweden, Norway and Denmark are taken collectively, as if they were provinces of one nation.

ample let us compare the figures for the said decade with those for a term of twenty years ending 1880, viz:

	1861–80.			1883-92.		
	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
England	35.1	22.0	13.1	31.9	19.2	12.7
France	25.8	24.0	1.8	23.3	22.2	1.1
Prussia	39.1	27.1	12.0	37.4	24.4	13.0
Scandinavia	31.3	19.0	12.3	29.9	17.3	12.6
Austria	39.0	30.8	8.2	37.7	29.0	8.7
Hungary	42.6	39.4	3.2	43.6	32.5	11.1
Italy	37.2	29.9	7.3	37.8	27.2	10.6
Holland	36.3	24.6	11.7	33.7	20.9	12.8
Belgium	32 0	22.7	9.3	29.9	20.9	9.0
Average	35.4	26.6	8.8	33.9	23.7	10.2

The mean annual rate of increase for the above nine nations rose from 8.8 in the period 1861–80 to 10.2 in the decade 1883–92, that is to say from 8,800 to 10,200 per million of population. In other words, the natural increase of Europe proceeds now at 16 per cent. greater speed than in the period 1861–80. This evident fact disposes of all the assertions and theories connected with the supposed deterioration of the human race. Nevertheless, it may be interesting to pursue the subject further by comparing the number of legitimate births in each country with that of marriages:

LEGITIMATE BIRTHS PER 100 MARRIAGES.

	1861-80.	1888-92.		1861-80.	1888-92.
England	385	389	Italy	411	451
France	282	284	Holland	407	457
Germany	401	420	Belgium	379	369
Austria	362	414	Sweden	372	425
Hungary	375	444	Denmark	320	401

The mean rate in the first period was 369, and in the second 405, being an advance of 10 per cent., that is to say 10 families now have as many children as 11 had before 1880. The question naturally arises, why should marriages be more prolific now than before? Because the marriage-rate has declined, and there is an invariable law respecting the human race, that as the ratio of marriages to population rises the number of children to each marriage will fall, and *vice versa*, as will be seen hereafter. For the present let us compare the marriage-rates in the above two periods:

MARRIAGES YEARLY PER 10,000 POPULATION.

	1861-80.	1888-92.		1861-80.	1888-92.
England	83	76	Italy	75	76
France	79	73	Holland	81	70
Prussia	86	82	Belgium	73	74
Austria	87	77	Sweden	69	59
Hungary	93	87	Denmark	77	69

The marriage-rate has fallen heavily in all countries except Belgium and Italy: the mean rate for the 10 countries was 80 in

the first period, and 74 in the second, being equivalent to a fall of 7½ per cent., which is quite sufficient to explain the decline of birth-rate that has been already noticed. Is it reasonable to expect the birth-rate to remain unaltered while the marriage-rate shows so heavy a fall? As to the causes of this fall they are numerous and diversified, the principal being agricultural depression, military service and emigration · all these have operated in the same direction, and with special force since 1880. To illustrate the effects of agricultural depression and emigration we have only to take the case of Ireland, where the marriage-rate has fallen to 47 per 10,000 inhabitants, the rate for Europe being 74. Indeed, when we consider the fall in prices of all agricultural products throughout Europe, since 1880, we cannot be surprised that it has seriously affected the rural population and reduced the marriage-rate.

We have seen in the foregoing tables that, while the marriage-rate has declined since 1880, the average number of children to a marriage has increased. In like manner those countries with a low marriage-rate will have a much larger ratio of children to each marriage than those in which the marriage-rate is high, viz.:

	Marriage Rate per 10,000 Pop.	Legit. Births to 100 Marriages.
Ireland	47	476
Sweden	59	425
Holland	70	457
England	76	389
Austria	77	414

Before going further it may be well to set down here the facts elucidated from the preceding tables.

1. The birth-rates of seven principal European nations have declined notably since 1880.

2. The decline in death-rates has been still greater, and the surplus of births over deaths is not falling, but rising.

3. Some nations with a low birth-rate have a greater natural increase than others with the highest birth-rate.

4. Marriage-rates have declined since 1880, but the number of children to a marriage has increased in every country except Belgium.

5. The natural increase of population has proceeded with greater rapidity since 1880 than before.

There is, meantime, no reason to anticipate any inconvenience from this increased rapidity of growth. At the close of the

eighteenth century Malthus alarmed Europe by his theory that population increased too fast for the public welfare: this view was successfully impugned by Nassau Senior, who showed "that the means of subsistence have a tendency to increase faster than population," and the experience of the nineteenth century bears out Professor Senior's dogma. When Malthus wrote, the labor of a peasant sufficed to raise food for ten persons: at present in the United States a male adult can raise food for 120 persons. Nevertheless, the shade of Malthus seems to haunt many journalists and other writers of our time. They cannot see that under ordinary circumstances an increase of population means an increase of wealth and prosperity. Thinly populated countries, like Russia, Spain, and Ireland, are steeped in poverty, while populous ones, such as England, Belgium, and Germany, are in an affluent condition. The rate of wages is always highest where population is dense, lowest (as in Russia or Spain) where there are less than 100 persons to the square mile. If there is much misery in Europe it is not because of surplus population, but for divers causes that need not here be enumerated.

So much for the Old World: let us now come to the United States, where the rate of increase of population has been steadily declining, the successive decades showing as follows:

Period.	Increase per cent.	Period.	Increase per cent.
1831-40	32.7	1861-70	22.6
1841-50	35.9	1871-80	30.1
1851-60	35.6	1881-90	24.9

This decline can only be explained in one of three ways: First, a falling off in the number of immigrants as compared with population; secondly, a diminution of natural increase; thirdly, an outflow of population to Europe or elsewhere. If we compare the ratio of foreigners to population we find that so far from any falling-off or outflow of returning emigrants, the foreign population in 1890 stood as 15 per cent. of the total, having never before reached so high a proportion. We turn then to the question of natural increase, that is, the rise in the American-born population from one census to the next, the result of which is briefly as follows.

	American-born Population.		
Period.	Annual increase.	Mean pop.	Rate of increase.
1831-40	370,000	15,000,000	24.6
1841-50	473,000	20,100,000	23.5
1851-60	636,000	27,300,000	23.3
1861-70	569,000	35,000,000	16.3
1871-80	1,049,000	44,400,000	23.6
1881-90	989,000	56,400,000	17.5

Here we find that, excepting the decade 1861–70, in which occurred the war for the Union, the annual rate of increase of American-born population was almost uniform, say, 23½ per thousand, and that in the final decade, 1881–90, it fell to 17½. It is not easy to ascertain the cause for this decline, there being no statistics of births and deaths for the Union. That there has been a decline is beyond all doubt, for if we compare the ages of the population at each succeeding census, we find a steady fall in the ratio of children, as the following table shows:

PERSONS UNDER 15 YEARS IN 1,000 OF POPULATION.

1840	437	1870	387
1850	416	1880	331
1860	399	1890	368

This declining ratio has been coincident with an extraordinary increase of urban population (cities and towns over 8,000 souls) since 1840, as follows:

	Urban pop.	Rural.	Total.	Urban percentage.
1840	1,940,000	15,120,000	17,060,000	11.4
1850	3,330,000	19,870,000	23,190,000	14.3
1860	5,072,000	26,371,000	31,443,000	16.1
1870	7,640,000	30,920,000	38,560,000	19.8
1880	11,319,000	38,837,000	50,156,000	22.6
1890	18,265,000	44,357,000	62,622,000	29.2

The reasonable inference from the above tables is that the overcrowding of population in cities is unfavorable to children. The evidence, however, is not conclusive, since European nations have had in like manner a rapid growth of urban population, and their rate of increase is, nevertheless, ascending. Moreover, notwithstanding the above decline, we find that the ratio of children in the United States is higher than in European countries, viz.:

PERSONS UNDER 15 YEARS, PER 1,000 INHABITANTS.

France	266	Ireland	325	England	352
Switzerland	318	Belgium	335	Germany	355
Italy	323	Austria	338	Norway	361
Sweden	323	Scotland	349	United States	363

The superiority of the United States in the ratio of children is one of those characteristics of the American race that defy explanation. It does not by any means imply that the birth rate is higher than in the countries of the Old World, seeing that Norway has the highest ratio of children in Europe, although her birth-rate is lower than those of England, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, or Denmark. Possibly the span of life in the United States is much shorter than in Europe, and if this be so the proportion of persons under fifteen years of age will, of course, be much greater than if the climate were disposed to longevity.

Comparatively few people in the United States pass the age of 60, as will appear if we take the ratio of those who had reached that age in the census of 1890 among the population over 20 years old, and compare the same with other countries.

PERSONS OF 60 OR MORE YEARS IN 1,000 OVER 20 YEARS.

United States	107	Prussia	139
Austria	126	Italy	140
England	134	Belgium	166
Sweden	137	Ireland	196

The number of persons over 20 who may expect to reach 60 years is much less in the United States than in Europe. It would be interesting to know whether the birth-rate and death-rate are higher than in Great Britain or certain other countries. In his valuable and thoughtful report on the census of 1880 Dr. Billings estimates the normal birth-rate at 34, death-rate 18, increase 16 per thousand. He discriminates between urban and rural death-rate as follows:

	Population.	Deaths.	Death-rate.
Urban	11,320,000	252,000	22.3
Rural	38,837,000	651,000	16.8
Total	50,157,000	903,000	18.0

There is no reason to question his accuracy as to death-rate, but he appears to put the birth-rate too low, at 34, since the surplus of births over deaths in the last decade was 17.5 per thousand. Hence we must suppose the American birth-rate to be 35.5, which compares with the rates of some European countries, thus—

	Per 1,000 inhabitants yearly.		
	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
United States	35.5	18.0	17.5
Prussia	37.4	24.4	13.0
Italy	37.8	27.2	10.6

As regards the population of the United States it is surprising that the colored race is declining, although much more prolific than the whites. Dr. Billings states that 1,000 white women between 15 and 49 years of age will give birth yearly to 127 children and 1,000 colored women to 164 children; but so high is infant mortality among negroes that their rate of increase is much slower than among whites, the colored population having now fallen below 12 per cent. of the total, as compared with 16 per cent. in 1850.

And here it may be apropos to make a forecast of the population

of the United States for the census years 1900 and 1910 compared with 1880 and 1890, viz.:

	1880.	1890.	1900.	1910.
White Americans	36,829,000	45 902,000	56.020 000	68.4 0.000
Colored population	6,647.000	7.470,000	8,360 000	9,400.000
Foreigners	6 680,000	9,250 000	10.720,000	12,200,000
Total	50,156,000	62,622,000	75,100,000	90,000,000

The area of the United States, excluding Alaska, is just 3,000,000 square miles; the average density of the New England States is 71 inhabitants to the square mile, so that it may be said that the Union could easily support 210,000,000 souls, or three times its present population.

Meantime other vast fields are opening to invite immigrants. Canada, Brazil, Spanish America, and Australia are each of them larger than the United States. Each of them could find room for 200,000,000 settlers, which shows that there is no motive to fear that the world will be overcrowded for many centuries to come.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

THE STUDY OF WAR.

BY CAPTAIN H. C. TAYLOR, U. S. N., PRESIDENT OF THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE.

THERE have been periods when the existence of war was accepted by the world as an item of life and human relations; a glorious thing to the few, a disaster to the many; but to all an established fact, as much so as disease or bad weather. There were advantages in this recognition of its existence; people prepared their minds for it in some sort, commerce watched it closely, towns built their walls for it, it startled people's minds less and shocked their moral sensibilities not at all. Beyond these advantages was a greater one; this acceptance of war as a fact caused some preparation for it to be undertaken during peace. Being upon the schedule of events arrangements were made to meet it, as if it were an expected rainy season, not beginning upon any fixed date, but certain to come finally.

Some of these arrangements were crude and clumsy; the world has not always had the science that equips Roman legions and Prussian Guard regiments, nor the art that instructs leaders and instills in officers the lofty spirit of command. War has had its dark ages, its intervals of semi-barbarity; the fleets that ranged themselves at Lepanto under the opposing standards of Ali Pasha and Don Juan of Austria knew little of the art of war as practised in its thoroughness by the Greek fleets under Phormio, twenty centuries before. The battles of Von Moltke compared with those of Chevalier Bayard and of Roland at Roncesvalles indicate on the other hand advances in the military art, equalling any that history records in literature or science. Awkward as these efforts frequently were the idea of war as a permanent factor of life was in people's minds, and its existence did not therefore produce such mental disturbance and discon-

tent as latterly, nor generate doubts as to the wisdom of the Providence that sways the universe.

This mental acceptance of war is clearly not a characteristic of our times. Whatever may have been the temper of Christendom in other centuries, the present is surely a generation of peace. Nothing save national indisposition to fight could have permitted the growing armies of France and Germany during the last twenty-five years, to perfect themselves in war preparation without a blow being struck. That these fine dogs of war, trained through a quarter of a century within sight and hearing of each other, have not been let slip, is a sure sign that their owners have no present stomach for conflict. England during forty years of steady work in her dockyards swells her naval force to enormous proportions, but in all that time strikes no blow with her fleet. Russia, opposed in her expansion southward and westward, turns her thoughts eastward rather than fight, and overruns the desert, content with incorporating into the Empire some Tartar nomads. Italy finds some faint flashes of conflict with the untrained Abyssinians fully satisfying any slight pugnacity in the present mood of her people. And the United States, growing into greatness and changing while we gaze from an unimportant confederation of states to an imperial Republic of limitless resource, rests satisfied with a force afloat and ashore unbefitting the dignity of her high estate. Peace societies, national and international, are everywhere. Arbitration is urged to prevent wars, and great numbers of educated people honestly believe that within a century or even a generation this or some other means will cause wars to cease. A feeling has thus been generated that war is wrong, absolutely immoral; an evidence of man's wickedness, as thunder and lightning have sometimes been regarded as the manifestation of a deity's anger.

A thorough consideration of this subject develops ethical points of great interest, but occupies too much space in a discussion confined simply to the study of war. Something may be said, however, to those who take for granted the needlessness and immorality of war. Ruskin, in one of his addresses, lays great stress upon its value for creating ideals in art. He doubts the possibility of obtaining the architectural triumphs of Italy, the paintings of Rubens, or the plays of Shakespeare without the lofty attitude of mind induced by the contemplation

of stormy and heroic periods of history. He holds that the growing consciousness during wars, that dying is not the worst of all things and that honorable death is preferable to ignoble life, is a motive for high endeavor in art.

He says: "The pure and noble arts of peace are founded upon war; no great art ever yet rose on earth except among a nation of soldiers. There is no art among a shepherd people if it remains at peace. There is no art among an agricultural people if it remains at peace. Commerce is barely consistent with fine art, but cannot produce it. Manufacture is not only unable to produce but invariably destroys whatever seeds of it exist. There is no art possible to a nation but that which is based upon battle."

Not alone is this true of the artistic spirit; the moral nature is strongly affected by war. The sentiment that pervades a nation in stirring times is alone capable of producing that self-abnegation, that willing effacement of the stubborn ego in the flood of fellow humanity, which the head of Christianity demands for the ideal state of mankind and declares to be the corner stone of human salvation. That this pure and lofty condition of soul should be approached through the sanguinary paths of battle and campaign is indeed an anomaly, but that it is a fact all history gives evidence. Not only do nations that practise too long the arts of peace in forgetfulness of war become enfeebled and the natural prey of neighbors grown strong through combat, but they grow corrupt internally as well. Although peaceful trade may thrive, the arts and industries flourish, and every precaution against corruption, national and municipal, be observed, decay begins, the fervor of religion cools, skepticism advances, immoralities appear unreproved, and race decadence hastens its steps, even though it may be that no strong neighbor is at hand to quicken the downfall. We may recognize that war is cruel and brutal, disposing men to a state of savagery, but let us confess that the corrupt ease, the luxurious immorality of life, toward which a total absence of war always leads nations, has in it something more degrading for the human race than simple savagery.

"I mean also," says Ruskin, "that war is the foundation of all the high virtues and faculties of men. It is very strange to me to discover this; and very dreadful—but I saw it to be quite an undeniable fact. The common notion that peace and the virtues of civil life flourished together, I found to be wholly un-

tenable. Peace and the vices of civil life only flourish together. We talk of peace and learning and of peace and plenty and of peace and civilization; but I found that those were not the words which the Muse of history coupled together; that on her lips the words were—peace and sensuality, peace and selfishness, peace and corruption, peace and death. I found in brief that all great nations learned their truth of word and strength of thought in war; that they were nourished in war and wasted by peace; taught by war and deceived by peace, trained by war and betrayed by peace, in a word that they were born in war and expired in peace."

Allowing something for a possible exuberance of expression on the part of Mr. Ruskin we must still admit that the universal drift of history confirms his general statement, and breaks rudely in upon the vague though kindly visions of eternal peace among the peoples of the earth.

Granting, then, for the sake of argument, that war has its office in the world, let us consider what effect the prejudice against its study has upon preparation for its coming. It is apparent that for those who hold war to be wicked there must be something alarming in its serious study. The modern world has seen more than one great evil continue unchecked because systematic relief, if permitted, would tacitly acknowledge that the evil existed. Such arguments are often heard with regard to the study of war. An officer, distinguished for war service, replying to a request for an opinion as to certain military and naval problems of the day, after expressing himself clearly regarding the strategy and tactics of the questions involved, adds in closing: "How strange it is, how unnatural, that we in this age of enlightenment should be deliberately planning the most effective methods of sinking fleets of ships and destroying thousands of human lives." It is not surprising, when soldiers and sailors hardened in battle feel such doubts as these oppressing them, that other men of some reasoning power—philosophers of a certain ability—honestly expect to eliminate war from the world, and oppose its study or any other systematic preparation for it.

This anti-war spirit has been very noticeable during the nineteenth century. The close of the Napoleonic era found Europe exhausted and its nations sated with wars and campaigns. The appetite for war had been satisfied to repletion. Precautions

were therefore taken through laws and treaties to prevent outbreaks, and sovereigns and their statesmen devoted themselves for half a century to peace and the arts of peace, while the soldiers of the Continent and the sailors of England began a rest which was to last through generations. It was then that Christendom entered upon that singular phase of civilization which history will perhaps call the mechanical age of the world. Steam came, and later electricity; and when these great factors of increased production were fully at work, and nations felt the need of markets for their wares, a consequent zest for exploration and colonization was born, and the promise of future great nationalities began to appear in Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and other distant regions of the earth. Wealth flowed freely into men's hands, wages grew better, the poor were less oppressed, and the sweat of their brows became an honorable sign. Thus were people's minds taken away from dwelling upon war, and to such a degree that, after one or two generations of quiet, men were to be found in this latter half of the nineteenth century who could soberly suggest the possibilities of the nations of the earth ceasing to war with each other.

The effect of the long peace had been noticeable among the armies and navies of the world as well. These gradually turned their attention from matters of war to those of peace, navies leaned more and more toward their peace functions as police of the sea, surveyors of the coasts, explorers of unknown lands and pioneers of commerce; armies grew into guardians of internal order in their countries and slowly drifted toward the *minutiæ* of barrack yard drill and away from the large questions of strategy and tactics which had absorbed the generation of soldiers that preceded them. Thus from 1820 to 1870 the military element dozed peacefully through the idle years. It was pleasant, this dreaming of a military glory to come without effort, to fall some day like an over-ripe peach into hands too indolent to shake the tree. How foolish these illusions were, no one guessed until in 1870 fifty years of military dreams were set against fifty years of military study and preparation. Then some among the nations awakened and there was something comic in the hurrying to and fro and ignorant groping to find this art of war that had been left forgotten in some dusty attic corner of the military brain, something comic too in the dismay experienced upon discovering that

years of use would be necessary before the machine would work effectively.

Although some soldiers' minds were awakened by the Franco-Prussian campaigns to the value of a study of military history, the art of naval warfare was still permitted to remain forgotten, and it is only lately that the need for its study has been recognized by a few officers in our modern navies. Forgetfulness reached such a stage that some officers not only questioned the advisability of studying the art of war, but denied that it had ever existed, of a sort that could be learned and effectively used by means of study. Officers of high standing in our own navy, and in others, said: "We can sail our ships, fire our guns accurately, we can keep correct positions in line of battle. There is nothing else of consequence. Of course there have been Nelsons and Farraguts afloat, and Napoleons and Grants on shore, but they were gifted men, with military genius which caused them to discern without study the right thing to do and the fitting moment for it." It is evident that this opposition is based upon an ignorance of the Napoleons and Nelsons, whose genius it acknowledges. "Wage an offensive war," said Napoleon, "as did Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Prince Eugene and Frederick. Read and read again the history of their eighty-eight campaigns. Model yourself upon them; in this way only can you become a great leader and penetrate the secret of the art. Your reason thus enlightened will cause you to throw aside maxims opposed to these great men." Again he says: "Tactics, manœuvres, the science of the engineer officer and of the artillery officer; these can be learned in text books; but the knowledge of grand tactics is acquired only through experience and by the historical study of the campaigns of great captains."

Plutarch tells of Alexander the Great that "he loved polite learning, and his natural thirst of knowledge made him a man of extensive reading. The Iliad, he thought, as well as called, a portable treasure of military knowledge, and he had a copy corrected by Aristotle, which is called the casket copy. Onesicritus informs us that he used to lay it under his pillow with his sword."

In other words, when we examine the lives of great generals and admirals, we find that the art of war can be learned in times

of peace only by the study of naval and military history, and was so learned by them.

Notwithstanding much opposition among the ultra-conservative element in modern navies, the influence of the Franco-Prussian war began to exert an effect upon the United States navy within fifteen years of its conclusion. This became visible between 1880 and 1885 in the founding of the Naval War College on the shores of Narragansett Bay by Rear Admiral Luce; and later in calling to his aid the strategic and literary ability of Captain Mahan. Their efforts and those of others who followed them have succeeded in securing to the College a struggling existence during the last ten years. At present a more secure tenure of life seems to be promised by the earnest interest of the Secretary of the Navy and of a growing number of naval officers in the development of the art of naval warfare.

The methods followed at the Naval War College to ensure this development may be of present interest to the readers of the REVIEW, for the fashion of the moment is to enquire more closely than formerly into questions of national defence. These have been confined for some time to the material, to our ships and weapons; and it has been taken for granted that ships would be combined into fleets, and fleets disposed to the best advantage without any special effort on the part of anyone—indeed that they would dispose and combine themselves, so simple a matter did it seem compared with the task of providing great iron-clads and their guns.

The system pursued at the Naval War College is founded upon Napoleon's maxim to read and reread the records of war, and in order to encourage the study of history and freshen interest in it, recourse is had to various means, borrowed in some cases from the work of the German General Staff, and in others invented by our own officers, where studies of land warfare require modifications to suit them to naval campaigns. The college has been its own guide in cases where the German army methods were not applicable; for the navies of foreign nations have not advanced in the art of naval warfare sufficiently far to be a sure guide for our officers.

These aids to study are of two kinds; first, the literary and historical; and second, war exercises and examples. The former consist of lectures by eminent authorities, led by Captain Mahan,

upon the different branches of the art of war, essays and discussions upon past naval operations, and the application of their governing principles to the situations offered by modern navies, their armaments and the probable fields of future conflict.

The exercises—so-called—are the solution of war problems, the planning of naval defence for sections of our coasts based upon the laws of strategy and tactics, and various war games and illustrations, calculated to bring into play the military qualities of the mind, and at the same time to provide data for the determination of disputed points in tactics and naval policy. A principal problem in the defence of the coast is presented each year, and is constantly before the officers of the permanent staff of the War College throughout the year, and before the officers temporarily in attendance during the summer session. The locality selected as a theatre of operations in the problem of 1894 was our Atlantic shore from Delaware Bay to Nantucket, with the enemy's central objective assumed to be the blockade and final occupation of the port of New York. The section chosen for the problem of 1895, was the coast from Narragansett Bay to the Bay of Fundy, with the control of Boston, Portland and the adjacent shores as the enemy's objective for the purpose of assisting certain movements of his land forces.

A condition of these problems, resulting from the policy of our country in maintaining small standing forces, is our marked inferiority in naval strength, the odds being placed at three to one against us, so far as ships and guns and trained men are concerned. The complete solution of these annual problems involves a thorough examination of the strategic situation, and intense concentration upon the tactical features of the positions which strategy marks as dominant in the campaign. Long and sober deliberation seconded by systematic discussion, is required before any one can say where our main fleet should select its central rendezvous and base ; slowly but surely the naval mind, groping for something tangible to base itself upon in these thoroughly professional questions, settles upon the experience of past wars as the only foundation of knowledge, and realizes that in the study of naval history lies the key of the problem.

The post of the main fleet being settled upon, its needs of coal and ammunition must be provided for, and its security in the waters chosen for its base or its refuge must be guaranteed,

so far as possible. This latter demands a close study of the tactical defence of the localities selected; the planning of sub-marine mine fields; the most suitable anchorages for the fleet; shelter for torpedo boats, rams, colliers and supply ships; all resulting in the construction of war charts and defence plans upon which the details of war preparations are clearly marked and explained. It will be readily understood, even by those who have not made the profession of arms their calling, how effective this mental exercise is in fixing the attention upon the pages of naval history; upon the English blockades of Brest, Cadiz and Toulon; upon the boom defences of French harbors; upon naval sieges, ancient and modern, and upon the tactics of naval battles fought in narrow waters.

Space will not permit a description of the naval tactical problems introduced in the War College to induce quick grasp of war situations, and to remove the tendency to over-deliberation produced by the principal problem of the year; nor of the war games which, while training the eye and mind in the battle movements of single ships and fleets and in naval campaigns, accumulate in addition much valuable data as to the comparative value of column and line formation, of speed, armament, and coal endurance, and enable us to establish principles for the offensive and defensive movements of fleets.

Modern navies have, as we said before, found their principal office for generations past in promoting the interests of peace and preserving order on the seas. But this cannot always be, and our country, which bids fair to occupy a high place among nations, should no longer be unprepared for those wars which must come. We see the centres of trade activity, of agriculture and the industries, moving steadily westward, and we are not wise if we do not recognize that the centres of military power on land and sea must in the nature of things follow the universal movement, and that in the near future the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico will have a naval importance such as the Mediterranean has possessed for thousands of years.

Let us then prepare, not in haste or confusion, nor with boastfulness, but calmly and with deliberate energy, so that whether victorious, or beaten and borne down by numbers, we shall have no bitter regrets for wasted years and lost opportunities.

H. C. Taylor.

FOLLIES AND HORRORS OF WAR.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

"FIRST the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." It is neither parody nor paraphrase, but I think a fair application of this natural law, as it is revealed to us in both the books of God—Nature and the Holy Scriptures—to say, first the toy-drum, then the school drill, and then the militia company. What does this mean as to the tendency of the human animal, and as to the right method of his training? Making all allowance for the attraction of "pomp and pageantry," for the boy's love of noise, for the joy of the martial strut, for the glory of the gorgeous uniform, is there not in it evidence of the inherent instinct of fighting? And if there is, ought it to be developed, or ought it to be discouraged? Nobody can know much of most of uor big schools, nobody can witness the scene or read the story of a football game, and not see how quickly, in most young natures, the wrestling match or the rivalry of sides begets the heat of anger and the act of violence; and again one says, ought these athletic games to be encouraged or forbidden? And the question is not easy to answer. As developing strength and independence and courage they have great value. I think the true solution is that they ought to be encouraged and directed toward the splendid virtue of self-control; until a boy would rather be flung in the wrestling, or lose the game of ball, than conquer in either one by an act of violence, for which he got the sudden strength by the rush of an animal passion flushing him into fury.

The drift of this inquiry is toward the discovery of some reason for the widespread instantaneousness, with which the American

people hailed the possibility, this winter, of a war with England. Does it mean that there is a pan-American hatred of England ? I do not believe it. The spirit of 1896 is not the spirit of 1776. Some Irish people who have brought over here their old grudges, and a few natives, who have been called "pinch-beck patriots," mistake pat-riotism for patriotism, and when they use the fine phrase, "I am an American," mean "I am an anti-Anglican." But the number is comparatively small. And when I look on the other side of the water, where surprise and astonishment more slowly accept the thought, it is only to see that the mob in the concert halls are quite ready to cheer for a fight in the Transvaal. It seems, therefore, as if the brute lay very near the skin of our humanity ; so near as to need not even "scratching," but only tickling, to discover it. It looks as if the love of battle were instinctive in man. I confess it appears to me to mean that after all these centuries, in the very finest product of Christian civilization, the influence of religion is only skin deep. Looking at the excitement in America, whether you begin with the needless violence of the President's message, forcing, what on the face of it was a friendly offer, with a threat ; or look at the next stage, the delirious discussion and the decision of the two Houses instantly, and with only a voice or two of warning, to accept and provide for the possibility of war ; or at the mad panic which made men really "bulls and bears" in Wall Street ; or at the way in which, with one or two most honorable exceptions, the press of the country and the unthinking mass of the population greeted the idea,—take it wherever it manifested itself, it seems to mean that fighting is congenial to humanity. Certainly if a popular excitement can be kindled to white heat in an instant, by a few unwise words at the end of a wise suggestion, in favor of such a moral impossibility, such an immoral possibility, as a war between America and England ; certainly if war can be either suggested or accepted as a remedy to be resorted to by the United States of America, in order to prevent the damage done to our American institutions by Great Britain's claim to a few square miles more or less of South American land, which are also claimed by that travesty of a republic, with a caricature of government, Venezuela ; certainly if the third party, offering unasked advice, in a dispute between two other parties, is justified in saying, and saying to the satisfaction of the people, that unless somebody arbitrates

in this remote dispute, the third party will take up arms and force the issue—I see no other explanation but that average human nature is all the time spoiling for a fight. I am unwilling to acknowledge that the only influence which can arrest or control this political hysteria should be the influence of money. The concession of gold fields to American citizens in Venezuela, and the sobering effect of the scare in Wall Street, look now as if gold were the cause, and were likely to be the cure, of this commotion. "*Sacra auri fames*," the poet said! And this materialistic age of ours acts, as if that meant "the holy" and not "the accursed" hunger for gold. Let us get the whole matter on a higher ground.

I am not discussing the abstract question of the ethical right or wrong of war. I believe that the ethics of nations are founded on the same principles as the ethics of individuals. A multiplication of men does not produce any other moral code than that which each man receives. Even magisterially this is true. The nation represented by its sovereign authority, or the individual whom the law makes judge or sheriff, may take life without committing murder; but multiplying right or wrong by millions merely makes the right or the wrong million-fold, and does not make wrong right. And I believe that the man or the nation which provokes strife, or strikes the first blow, commits sin. In the universal fallibility of human judgment—made inevitably more fallible by national prejudice—it cannot be assumed that the position of one nation is *entirely* right and of the other *entirely* wrong; or that the wrong of the one makes the other right. And it must follow that the wise course is to let some other fallibility, which is unprejudiced, pick out the right and point out the wrong, which must inevitably be combined like tares with wheat, in each position. But that picking and that pointing must be done by something that is more delicate and human, than the pointing of the sword and the picking of a bayonet. Neither am I contending for the principle that war is always an unpardonable wrong. *If* religion ruled, *if* Christianity had conquered, *if* the Christ were really king, *if* the Gospel had leavened the world, *if* either the summary of the Law, or the Sermon on the Mount were the standards of life, then war would be impossible. Alas, none of these things is true! And the street brawl, and the stealthy dagger, and the quick blow, and the prompt pistol are,

no more and no less, than standing armies, and "the tented field," and the carnage of battle, evidence that the world has not yet "gone after Christ." But surely the utmost straining of what is called the right of self-defence in a man, the extremest application of the maintenance of what is called national honor, cannot justify, before God or man, in the interests of humanity or religion, any resort to war except in the very last emergency, and for the actual preservation of personal or national life.

Omitting from the consideration the positive necessity of rescuing the Armenians from the uncontrolled and unutterable cruelty of the Turks; omitting the question of a resistance by arms to a tyranny enforced by arms; omitting the question of opposing army to army, when the unity, which is the life of a nation, is threatened; what can be more *irrational* than war, as a means of settling disputes between nations and peoples. A quarrel is very often, at least, about some abstract question, which in no sense affects the prosperity of the mass of the people; and yet hundreds and thousands of men are summoned and sent to lay their lives down; and, when the resources of one or the other side are exhausted, then the question at issue is settled; *not* by reason, *not* by justice, *not* by principle, *not* by argument, *not* by the facts of the case, but by either force of numbers or skill in generalship. And whatever gain accrues comes not to the dead, but to the stronger survivors of the quarrel. We have come to feel this about that relic of barbarism, the duel; and the cold-blooded preparation to kill, wholesale or retail, in order to avenge or to sustain what is called honor, is unreasoning and indefensible, on principle, in a man or in a nation.

What are they? What can paint or what can describe them? The sacrifice of precious lives, the desolation of hearts, the desecration of homes, the ruin of fortunes, the wreck of prosperity, the arrest of the plough in the furrow, that the dead may be buried where the wheat should have been planted, the arts and occupations of peace given up or giving place to the preparation of the sinews of war, commerce destroyed, industries paralyzed, panic where there had been confidence, passion taking the place of reason, and a temper roused, of violence and hatred and revenge, which leaves its trace upon the character of the whole people long after the restoration of peace. I wonder if everybody has forgotten Southey's Blenheim verses with their ccmbi-

nation of poetry and philosophy, with their fine irony of common sense, and with a little leavening of Christianity. Old Kaspar takes the skull which the boy had found:

> "It's some poor fellow's skull, said he,
> Who fell in that great victory."

And when the children asked about the war:

> "And what they fought each other for?"

he answers:

> "I could not well make out;
> But everybody said, quoth he,
> It was a famous victory."

And then comes the pitiful recital of burnt dwellings, fleeing households, the country "wasted far and wide" with fire and sword, and the shocking sight after the field was won.

> "For many thousand bodies there lay rotting in the sun."

And the only refrain to the children's questions, "What good came of it at last?" and to their suggestion of its wickedness was,

> "Why, that I cannot tell, quoth he,
> But t'was a famous victory."

History will make Kaspar's record of more than one of the famous battles of the world. And if the question ever is to be asked or answered about this suppositious war between England and America, the answer will be as difficult as Kaspar's, and more disgraceful. Just now, like the Ephesians, who cried out "with one voice about the space of two hours, Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" the greater part not knowing wherefore, our people are crying out, "Great is the Monroe Doctrine!" A *doctrine*, not a principle, not a law; an opinion of a man borrowed from England, refused adoption by the Congress to which it was proprosed; relating to the long-forgotten fear of some establishment on this continent of monarchical institutions, which might injure the republican principles of America! Banquo's ghost is a substantial personality beside it.

Wm. Croswell Doane.

HOW A WAR BEGINS.

BY GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP, LL.D.

WHEN our Civil War began I was a boy of ten; but I took an intense interest in it from first to last; drilled and held rank in two or three highly-disciplined and efficient juvenile companies, which often appeared on parade or performed escort duty with the West Point cadets and volunteer troops of the United States, in New York and elsewhere. In the intervals of school duties I undertook to carry on for myself a voluminous manuscript record of current martial events, which was dignified to my mind by the name of a "History"; collected masses of newspaper cuttings; obtained nearly all the useful books relating to the conflict which appeared at that time (including the published official reports of commanders); and gathered all the military maps which could be procured from the government.

The vividness of the impressions made upon me then has never died out. But if any of these are more real and startling in remembrance than others, it is those of the small incidents in daily life, just preceding hostilities; the little things which gradually, yet in the end abruptly, led to a conflagration of public feeling. They were like flying sparks from fireworks with which the whole people were playing; sparks which most of them believed could be quenched with ease, until at last they fell into that storehouse of human explosives, the emotion of a special unforeseen hour; and a rending shock ensued.

It is worth while to recall these things now, when the bounding pulse, the quick flush and premonitory aching of war fever are felt in various members of the civilized world. I recall how, just after the John Brown invasion of Virginia, I visited relatives in Richmond with my parents. We all had the utmost good will towards the Southern folk. My father had lived the first two

years of his married life in Louisiana, though he came from the North; he understood and in many ways sympathized with the people of the South, but this made little difference. They were already in the first stages of febrile vertigo, and could not see us clearly.

My brother and I, walking one day in a street where some digging was going on, were attacked by a number of lads twice our size, whom we did not know, but who had found out that we were Northerners. They picked up clay from the side of the open trench in the street, kneaded it into hard balls, and began firing at us, with derisive shouts reviling us as Yankees and abolitionists. We promptly returned their fire, in self defence, while retreating in good order in face of superior numbers. To this moment I retain the keenness of the feeling that thrilled me then, of indignant grief that peaceable fellows, who wished the others no ill in the world, should be so wantonly and injuriously assailed. That was the only feeling, then. A few days later, something else occurred.

We used to play with our boy cousins and with a large number of other boys, in their recess and after school, on a big open field. One afternoon a diminutive "fire-eater" came up to me while we were at our sports, and, without provocation, began a tirade against me as a representative of the offensive North. Not satisfied with that, he drew out his jack-knife and stabbed me in the hand. Then I desired nothing but his destruction. My cousins closed round me and led me away to avert deadly combat. As they thus forced me off, my eye detected a jagged half-brick lying on the ground. Instantly stooping I picked it up, whirled around and flung it at the stabber, who still followed taunting. The missile barely grazed his temple; and he ceased to taunt. But how grateful have I been ever since that it did not kill him!

There you have, in miniature, a model of the genesis of war; a boy version of it, but significant. First, good will on one side at least; then a grieved yet forgiving sense of undeserved attack; finally, a swift and unreckoning desire for vengeance.

On the other hand, when we came back to the North, I was equally shocked by the habitual utterances of a mature relative, who, being an ardent abolitionist, had decided that the Constitution of the United States, because it did not preclude slavery,

was "a league with death, a covenant with hell." While comfortably devouring steak and creamy stewed potatoes at breakfast, or in the intervals of playing the flute sweetly to piano accompaniment in the evening, he would announce in firm tones—whenever the question of national affairs came up—that he was a "disunionist," that he wished to see the Union destroyed, because to continue it on the basis then existing would be immoral. Bred from my earliest recollection to love of country and of the Union, I could not understand this extreme of disloyalty at the North any more than I could that of hatred and threatening disloyalty at the South.

The war was then still more than a year away, and all but an extremely small minority of the American people, North and South, still believed such a conflict impossible. Every one went about his or her usual avocations, while stormy talk invaded more and more the realm of social conversation, ordinarily deemed to be peaceable. As a very youthful onlooker and listener, I remember how, now and then, friends and relatives among my elders would quarrel upon the impending issue, and how a coolness followed, presaging further heat; how the quarrel would be made up, and how it would break out again. I remember in especial one tall, pale-faced gentleman with a full black beard, who used to converse on the subject by the hour with greatest fluency and ease. He spoke always in a subdued voice, as though he were dreaming, or meditating aloud. He gave no emphasis; his words oozed out in a dull monotone, without rising or falling of the voice. Yet in this deadly, colorless manner of speech he uttered the most bloodthirsty sentiments. As though he were saying "Thank you," with cold politeness, he would declare: "Yes, I should like to see the Southerners all driven into the Gulf of Mexico, and I would like to wade from here to the Gulf though their blood."

Then there were the warlike men of the North who did not talk of wading through blood, like this vampire, but still spoke with a sternness and fierceness that steadily heightened the crisis and hastened the catastrophe. And there were the fiery men of the South, whose haughty and bellicose breathings were like embers glowing always nearer to the point of flame. A curious thing was that there were so many of diverse mind altogether here, visiting, dining and hobnobbing; and that in one breath

they would utter the most appalling challenges, and in the next moment smile and say that, after all, no war between such close kinsfolk was possible, and that everything would be settled calmly before it came to that point. So the confusion and the half hostile, half friendly hurly-burly went on, even after the South Carolina troops were under arms. I remember well the day when the news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached New York. People in this city were still going on in the same state of semi-hilarious, semi-tragic sentiment, and chaffing or scolding one another as though about any customary division of opinion. Many persons on the streets, in hotels, or at home—men, women, children—were wearing what was called "the palmetto cockade," a blue and white rosette, with a bit of straw palm in the centre, as an emblem of sympathy with the South, or with the Union as it was. Others wore the red, white and blue.

When the news of Sumter came suddenly, every palmetto cockade disappeared in a trice, as though under blight. Every one realised that a new, strange and almost weird condition of things had been precipitated, fraught with peril to all. Yet, up to a few hours before, hardly anyone had believed that such a quick, decisive change could occur, or had even faintly perceived, if it should occur, what a grim meaning it would bear.

That is the way war begins. It is hard to describe the swift, almost breathless, abruptness with which this awful alteration took place, which was to continue in force through four terrible and harrowing years. What had previously been offhand opinion, intemperately expressed, became now either an ecstatic assertion of loyalty to the Union, right or wrong, or an utterance of dangerous treason. Words were no longer mere words, but meant bullets on the coming battlefields. National feeling glowed and shone at white heat; yet withal there was a deep and boding solemnity in the faces of men and women, as they went in and out, and thought and spoke of the deadly trials and sorrows now close at hand for individuals and families as well as for the people considered as a whole. Great numbers still thought, even then, that violence might be averted. A peace convention was held, but deliberated in vain amid unmerited ridicule; and in Philadelphia, near "the Cradle of Liberty," a great meeting of the best citizens assembled to advocate peace or compromise, the tone of which would seem incredible now to

those who imagine that there was but one voice among patriots, and that voice for war. But it was too late to allay the storm.

The sparks of hasty speech, blown to and fro for two or three years without immediate harm, had fallen into the magazine of stored up emotion. Southerners had proclaimed up and down the highways that the North would never dare to fight, and that, if it did, one Southern man would be a match for four Northerners. The men of the North, on the other hand, with rash valor had asserted that, if it came to fighting, they would whip the South in thirty days. Boast and bickering, mock and sneer had been bandied between them many a day, while they had been carrying on business together or feasting at the same board or visiting each others' houses;—and now all these things were to be put to the test. Soon the time came when a man with a drum would start out along Broadway, and other men from the street, the shops, the hotels—with mad enthusiam or grim resolve —would fall in behind him at a moment's thought, and the whole procession would march to a recruiting station and enlist. The army was gathering; friendships, families, old ties were being sundered; and grief and patriotism, glory and death were beginning their mystic dance through the land.

Then the big, splendidly equipped regiments from other places poured through the thoroughfare, southward, like a sunny blue tide; while from crowded sidewalks and packed windows came roaring cheers and a dove-like flutter of white handkerchiefs;—a tide which was to have no perceptible ebb. For thousands of these men were never to be seen again. And when, long after, regiments mustered out of service came northward through the city again, they were mere handfuls, battered, worn, dingy, with bullet-shredded flags. They were like men of bronze, sad and stern, with a far-off gaze of the eyes; and they looked neither to right nor left; and there were no cheers or fluttering handkerchiefs, but only awe in our hearts and tears in our eyes as we beheld them.

The most striking thing about it at the beginning was—and one of the most striking is now—that so much misery might have been avoided had people then known what war is, and had they been more self-contained and magnanimous on both sides, when the trouble was brewing. A great principle was involved, a far-

reaching problem was to be settled ; but I have never been convinced that it could not have been rightly settled by popular patience, wise statesmanship, a grand exhibition of manly and Christian conduct.

I confess to an innate love of war ; that martial matters fascinate me ; that I favor a spirited foreign policy, and am jealous in defence of the majesty and honor of the nation. It is no timidity that prompts these reminiscences and reflections. Yet I believe that, in this age of the world, and with our experience, we should remember what war really is and how unexpectedly it often comes. The cloud rises and passes. People say "the war scare" is over. Yet they continue to talk war recklessly at intervals. Months go by, and perhaps years. Then suddenly the cloud covers the heavens, and the tempest bursts. Every intemperate word, every rash or unnecessary defiance has gone to swell and surcharge the cloud. It is the people, after all, who make war, in every country—or make it possible. And they make it not so much by a declaration of the Congress or the king as by their careless or unmeasured utterances in times of peace. War is sometimes inevitable, but every citizen has a responsibility, not simply individual, but national, to avoid bringing it on by fiery speech when the issue of force may honorably be prevented by manly self-restraint.

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

DISCONTENTED WOMEN.

BY MRS. AMELIA E. BARR.

DISCONTENT is a vice six thousand years old, and it will be eternal ; because it is in the race. Every human being has a complaining side, but discontent is bound up in the heart of woman ; it is her original sin. For if the first woman had been satisfied with her conditions, if she had not aspired to be "as gods," and hankered after unlawful knowledge, Satan would hardly have thought it worth his while to discuss her rights and wrongs with her. That unhappy controversy has never ceased ; and, with or without reason, woman has been perpetually subject to discontent with her conditions and, according to her nature, has been moved by its influence. Some, it has made peevish, some plaintive, some ambitious, some reckless, while a noble majority have found in its very control that serene composure and cheerfulness which is granted to those who conquer, rather than to those who inherit.

But with all its variations of influence and activity there has never been a time in the world's history, when female discontent has assumed so much, and demanded so much, as at the present day; and both the satisfied and the dissatisfied woman may well pause to consider, whether the fierce fever of unrest which has possessed so large a number of the sex is not rather a delirium than a conviction ; whether indeed they are not just as foolishly impatient to get out of their Eden, as was the woman Eve six thousand years ago.

We may premise, in order to clear the way, that there is a noble discontent which has a great work to do in the world; a discontent which is the antidote to conceit and self-satisfaction, and which urges the worker of every kind continually to realize a higher ideal. Springing from Regret and Desire, between these

two sighs, all horizons lift; and the very passion of its longing gives to those who feel this divine discontent the power to overleap whatever separates them from their hope and their aspiration.

Having acknowledged so much in favor of discontent, we may now consider some of the most objectionable forms in which it has attacked certain women of our own generation. In the van of these malcontents are the women dissatisfied with their home duties. One of the saddest domestic features of the day is the disrepute into which housekeeping has fallen; for that is a woman's first natural duty and answers to the needs of her best nature. It is by no means necessary that she should be a Cinderella among the ashes, or a Nausicaa washing linen, or a Penelope for ever at her needle, but all women of intelligence now understand that good cooking is a liberal science, and that there is a most intimate connection between food and virtue, and food and health, and food and thought. Indeed, many things are called crimes that are not as bad as the savagery of an Irish cook or the messes of a fourth-rate confectioner.

It must be noted that this revolt of certain women against housekeeping is not a revolt against their husbands; it is simply a revolt against their duties. They consider house-work hard and monotonous and inferior, and confess with a cynical frankness that they prefer to engross paper, or dabble in art, or embroider pillow-shams, or sell goods, or in some way make money to pay servants who will cook their husband's dinner and nurse their babies for them. And they believe that in this way they show themselves to have superior minds, and ask credit for a deed which ought to cover them with shame. For actions speak louder than words, and what does such action say? In the first place, it asserts that any stranger—even a young uneducated peasant girl hired for a few dollars a month—is able to perform the duties of the house-mistress and the mother. In the second place, it substitutes a poor ambition for love, and hand service for heart service. In the third place, it is a visible abasement of the loftiest duties of womanhood to the capacity of the lowest paid service. A wife and mother can not thus absolve her own soul; she simply disgraces and traduces her holiest work.

Suppose even that housekeeping is hard and monotonous, it is not more so than men's work in the city. The first lesson a

business man has to learn is to do pleasantly what he does not like to do. All regular useful work must be monotonous, but love ought to make it easy; and at any rate, the tedium of housework is not any greater than the tedium of office work. As for housekeeping being degrading, that is the veriest nonsense. Home is a little royalty; and if the housewife and mother be of elements finely mixed, and loftily educated, all the more she will regard the cold mutton question of importance, and consider the quality of the soup, and the quantity of chutnee in the curry, as requiring her best attention. It is only the weakest, silliest women who cannot lift their work to the level of their thoughts, and so ennoble both.

There are other types of the discontented wife, with whom we are all too familiar: for instance, the wife who is stunned and miserable because she discovers that marriage is not a lasting picnic; who cannot realize that the husband must be different from the lover; and spends her days in impotent whining. She is always being neglected, and always taking offence; she has an insatiable craving for attentions, and needs continual assurances of affection, wasting her time and feelings in getting up pathetic scenes of accusation, which finally weary, and then alienate her husband. Her own fault! There is nothing a man hates more, than a woman going sobbing and complaining about the house with red eyes; unless it be a woman with whom he must live in a perpetual fool's paradise of perfection.

There are also discontented wives, who goad their husbands into extravagant expenditure, and urge them to projects from which they would naturally recoil. There are others, whose social ambitions slay their domestic ones, and who strain every nerve, in season and out of season, and lose all their self-respect, for a few crumbs of contemptuous patronage from some person of greater wealth than their own. Some wives fret if they have no children, others just as much if children come. In the first case, they are disappointed; in the second, inconvenienced, and in both, discontented. Some lead themselves and others wretched lives because they have not three times as many servants as are necessary; a still greater number because they cannot compass a life of constant amusement and excitement.

A very disagreeable kind of discontented woman is the wife who instead of having a God to love and worship, makes a god of

her religion, alienates love for an ecclesiastical idea, or neglects her own flesh and blood, to carry the religious needs of the world; forgetting that the good wife keeps her sentiments very close to her own heart and hearth. But perhaps the majority of discontented wives have no special thing to complain of, they fret because they are "so dull." If they took the trouble to look for the cause of this "dullness," they would find it in the want of some definite plan of life, and some vigorous aim or object. Of course any aim implies limitation, but limitation implies both virtue and pleasure. Without rule and law, not even the games of children could exist, and the stricter the rules of a game are obeyed, the greater the satisfaction. A wife's duty is subject to the same conditions. If aimless plaintive women would make strict laws for their households, and lay out some possible vigorous plan for their own lives, they would find that those who love and work, have no leisure for complaining.

But from whatever cause domestic discontent springs, it makes the home full of idleness, ennui, and vagrant imaginations; or of fierce extravagance, and passionate love of amusement. And as a wife holds the happiness of many in her hands, discontent with her destiny is peculiarly wicked. If it is resented, she gets what she deserves; if it is quietly endured, her shame is the greater. For nothing does so much honor to a wife as her patience; and nothing does her so little honor as the patience of her husband. And however great his patience may be, she will not escape personal injury; since none are to be held innocent, who do harm even to their own soul and body. Besides, it is the inflexible order of things, that voluntary faults are followed by inevitable pain.

Married women, however, are by no means the only complainers. There is a great army of discontents who, having no men to care for them, are clamoring, and with justice, for their share of the world's work and wages. Such women have a perfect right to make a way for themselves, in whatever direction they best can. Brains are of no sex or condition, and at any rate, there is no use arguing either their ability or their right, for necessity has taken the matter beyond the reach of controversy. Thousands of women have now to choose between work, charity, or starvation, for the young man of to-day is not a marrying man. He has but puny passions, and his love is such

a very languid preference that he cannot think of making any sacrifice for it. So women do not marry, they work; and as the world will take good work from whoever will give it, the world's custom is flowing to them by a natural law.

Now, earnest practical women-workers are blessed, and a blessing; but the discontented among them, by much talking and little doing, continually put back the cause they say they wish to advance. No women are in the main so discontented as women-workers. They go into the arena and, fettered by old ideas belonging to a different condition, they are not willing to be subject to the laws of the arena. They want, at the same time, the courtesy claimed by weakness and the honor due to prowess. They complain of the higher wages given to men, forgetting that the first article of equal payment is equal worth and work. They know nothing about what Carlyle calls "the silences"; and the babble of their small beginnings is, to the busy world, irritating and contemptible. It never seems to occur to discontented working-women that the best way to get what they want is to act, and not to talk. One silent woman who quietly calculates her chances and achieves success does more for her sex than any amount of pamphleteering and lecturing. For nothing is more certain than that good work, either from man or woman, will find a market; and that bad work, will be refused by all but those disposed to give charity and pay for it.

The discontent of working women is understandable, but it is a wide jump from the woman discontented about her work or wages to the woman discontented about her political position. Of all the shrill complainers that vex the ears of mortals there are none so foolish as the women who have discovered that the Founders of our Republic left their work half finished, and that the better half remains for them to do. While more practical and sensible women are trying to put their kitchens, nurseries and drawing-rooms in order, and to clothe themselves rationally, this class of Discontents are dabbling in the gravest national and economic questions. Possessed by a restless discontent with their appointed sphere and its duties, and forcing themselves to the front in order to ventilate their theories and show the quality of their brains, they demand the right of suffrage as the symbol and guarantee of all other rights.

This is their cardinal point, though it naturally follows that

the right to elect contains the right to be elected. If this result be gained, even women whose minds are not taken up with the things of the state, but who are simply housewives and mothers, may easily predicate a few of such results as are particularly plain to the feminine intellect and observation. The first of these would be an entirely new set of agitators, who would use means quite foreign to male intelligence. For instance, every favorite priest and preacher would gain enormously in influence and power ; for the ecclesiastical zeal which now expends itself in fairs and testimonials would then expend itself in the securing of votes in whatever direction they were instructed to secure them. It might even end in the introduction of the clerical element into our great political Council Chambers—the Bishops in the House of Lords would be a sufficient precedent—and a great many women would really believe that the charming rhetoric of the pulpit would infuse a higher tone in legislative assemblies.

Again, most women would be in favor of helping any picturesque nationality, without regard to the Monroe doctrine, or the state of finances, or the needs of the market. Most women would think it a good action to sacrifice their party for a friend. Most women would change their politics, if they saw it to be their interest to do so, without a moment's hesitation. Most women would refuse the primary obligation on which all franchises rest—that is, to defend their country by force of arms, if necessary. And if a majority of women passed a law which the majority of men felt themselves justified in resisting by physical force, what would women do ? Such a position in sequence of female suffrage is not beyond probability, and yet if it happened, not only one law, but *all* law would be in danger. No one denies that women have suffered, and do yet suffer, from grave political and social disabilities, but during the last fifty years much has been continually done for their relief, and there is no question but that the future will give all that can be reasonably desired. Time and Justice are friends, though there are many moments that are opposed to Justice. But all such innovations should imitate Time, which does not wrench and tear, but detaches and wears slowly away. Development, growth, completion, is the natural and best advancement. We do not progress by going over precipices, nor re-model and improve our houses by digging under the foundations.

Finally, women cannot get behind or beyond their nature, and their nature is to substitute sentiment for reason—a sweet and not unlovely characteristic in womanly ways and places; yet reason, on the whole, is considered a desirable necessity in politics. At the Chicago Fair, and at other convocations, it has been proven that the strongest-minded women, though familiar with platforms, and deep in the "dismal science" of political economy, when it came to disputing, were no more philosophical than the simplest housewife. Tears and hysteria came just as naturally to them, as if the whole world wagged by impulse only; yet a public meeting in which feeling and tears superseded reason and argument, would in no event inspire either confidence or respect. Women may cease to be women, but they can never learn to be men, and feminine softness and grace can never do the work of the virile virtues of men. Very fortunately this class of discontented women have not yet been able to endanger existing conditions by combinations analagous to trades-unions; nor is it likely they ever will; because it is doubtful if women, under any circumstances, could combine at all. Certain qualities are necessary for combination, and these qualities are represented in women by their opposites.

Considering discontented women of all kinds individually, it is evident that they must be dull women. They see only the dull side of things, and naturally fall into a monotonous way of expressing themselves. They have also the habit of complaining, a habit which quickens only the lower intellect. Where is there a more discontented creature than a good watch dog? He is forever looking for some infringement of his rights; and an approaching step, or a distant bark, drives him into a fury of protest. Discontented women are always egotists; they view everything in regard to themselves, and have therefore the defective sympathies that belong to low organizations. They never win confidence, for their discontent breeds distrust and doubt, and however clever they may naturally be, an obtrusive self, with its train of likings and dislikings, obscures their judgment, and they take false views of people and things. For this reason, it is almost a hopeless effort to show them how little people generally care about their grievances; for they have thought about themselves so long, and so much that they cannot conceive of any other subject interesting the rest of the world. We may even admit, that

the women discontented on public subjects are often women of great intelligence, clever women with plenty of brains. Is that the best? Who does not love far more than mere cleverness, that sweetness of temper, that sunny contented disposition, which goes through the world with a smile and a kind word for every one? It is one of the richest gifts of heaven; it is, according to Bishop Wilson, "nine-tenths of Christianity."

Fortunately, the vast majority of women have been loyal to their sex and their vocation. In every community the makers and keepers of homes are the dominant power; and these strictures can apply only to two classes—first, the married women who neglect husband, children and homes, for the foolish *eclât* of the club and the platform, or for any assumed obligation, social, intellectual or political, which conflicts with their domestic duties: secondly, the unmarried women who, having comfortable homes and loving protectors, are discontented with their happy secluded security and rush into weak art or feeble literature, or dubious singing and acting, because their vanity and restless immorality lead them into the market place, or on to the stage. Not one of such women has been driven afield by indisputable genius. Any work they have done would have been better done by some unprotected experienced woman already in the fields they have invaded. And the indifference of this class to the money value of their labor has made it difficult for the women working because they must work or starve, to get a fair price for their work. It is the baldest effrontery for this class of rich discontents to affect sympathy with Woman's Progress. Nothing can excuse their intrusion into the labor market but unquestioned genius and super-excellence of work; and this has not yet been shown in any single case.

The one unanswerable excuse for woman's entrance into active public life of any kind, is *need*, and alas! need is growing daily, as marriage becomes continually rarer, and more women are left adrift in the world without helpers and protectors. But this is a subject too large to enter on here, though in the beginning it sprung from discontented women, preferring the work and duties of men to their own work and duties. Have they found the battle of life any more ennobling in masculine professions, than in their old feminine household ways? Is work done in the world for strangers, any less tiresome and monotonous, than work

done in the house for father and mother, husband and children? If they answer truly, they will reply "the home duties were the easiest, the safest, and the happiest."

Of course all discontented women will be indignant at any criticism of their conduct. They expect every one to consider their feelings without examining their motives. Paddling in the turbid maelstrom of life, and dabbling in politics and the most unsavory social questions, they still think men, at least, ought to regard them as the Sacred Sex. But women are not sacred by grace of sex, if they voluntarily abdicate its limitations and its modesties, and make a public display of unsexed sensibilities, and unabashed familiarity with subjects they have nothing to do with. If men criticize such women with asperity it is not to be wondered at; they have so long idealized women, that they find it hard to speak moderately. They excuse them too much, or else they are too indignant at their follies, and unjust and angry in their denunciation. Women must be criticized by women; then they will hear the bare uncompromizing truth, and be the better for it.

In conclusion, it must be conceded that some of the modern discontent of women must be laid to unconscious influence. In every age there is a kind of atmosphere which we call "the spirit of the times," and which, while it lasts, deceives as to the importance and truth of its dominant opinions. Many women have doubtless thus caught the fever of discontent by mere contact, but such have only to reflect a little, and discover that, on the whole, they have done quite as well in life as they have any right to expect. Then those who are married will find marriage and the care of it, and the love of it, quite able to satisfy all their desires; and such as really need to work will perceive that the great secret of Content abides in the unconscious acceptance of life and the fulfillment of its duties—a happiness serious and universal, but full of comfort and help. Thus, they will cease to vary from the kindly race of women, and through the doors of Love, Hope and Labor, join that happy multitude who have never discovered that Life is a thing to be discontented with.

AMELIA E. BARR.

DOES THE IDEAL HUSBAND EXIST?

BY MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE.

UNTIL within a few years the world has been ruled by brute force. Everybody has been welcome to whatever he could win and hold by brawn and muscle. There has been little whimpering about it, and the weaker have yielded to the dominion of the stronger, as we, to-day, respect the decision of the courts. The history of woman through these ages is painful reading. Her physical weakness, and not alone her mental inferiority, has made her the subject of man. Toiling patiently for him, asking little for herself and everything for him, cheerfully sharing with him all his perils and hardships, the unappreciated mother of his children, she has been bought and sold, petted or tortured, according to the whim of her brutal owner, the victim everywhere of pillage, lust, war and servitude. And this statement includes all races and peoples of the earth from the date of their historic existence.

Among the Hindoos, woman was the abject slave of man. She was bought, sold, lent, gambled away, and taken for debt, with the power of life and death held over her by some irresponsible husband, father or other man. Throughout the entire Orient her condition has been, and is largely to-day, one of such compulsory servitude that the phrase "Oriental degradation" of woman is the synonym of the lowest and most cruel debasement woman has ever known. Under the old Roman law, the husband was the sole tribunal of the wife. He controlled her person, property, earnings and religion. She was allowed no rights in her children, and could invoke no law against her husband's tyranny and barbarities. The Greek law regarded woman as a child, and held her in everlasting tutelage from her cradle to her gray-

haired old age. Aristotle, and they of his school, called her a "monster," and an "accidental production." The Hebrews pronounced her an "afterthought of the Deity," and "the mother of all evil."

The Councils of the mediæval church forbade the education of women, and declared them "unfit for instruction." And the kind-hearted nuns who defied this decision and established schools for girls, were publicly stoned on the streets. The early Christian fathers denounced women as "noxious animals," "painted temptresses," "necessary evils," "desirable calamities," and "domestic perils." The law proclaimed the wife to be "in all cases, and under all circumstances, her husband's creature, servant and slave," and it maintained this status as rightfully hers from the Heptarchy to the English Reformation. Herbert Spencer in his "Descriptive Sociology of England," says: "Our laws are based on the all-sufficiency of man's rights, so that society exists to day for woman, only as she is in the keeping of some man."

Here and there along the ages there have been exceptional peoples, whose civilization lifted women for a time to an equality with men, and forbade their subordination. Chief among these were the Egyptians. Nevertheless, it is true that woman's subjection to man in the long past has been almost universal and very extreme until a recent period. The hereditary effects of these ages of servitude are very apparent to-day in both men and women.

It has retarded woman's development in normal ways; has broken down her self-respect and self-appreciation. Living under constant restriction and hindrance, she became cowardly, both physically and morally. Denied the rights and privileges common to humanity, she gained them by cunning and fawning, stratagem and intrigue. Eager for her own sake to win the favor of her husband, father, or any other man who held her fate in his hands, she resorted to inordinate efforts to please and cajole him, so that she is to-day overweighted with love of approbation, which sometimes effaces all moral distinctions. It has rarely been possible for women to rise above the arbitrary standards of womanly inferiority persistently set before them. It is amazing that they held their own during these ages of degradation. And as "the inheritance of traits of character is persistent

in proportion to the length of time they have been inherited," women are conservative, and progress slowly wih halting step.

The exercise of irresponsible dominion over women has also acted unfavorably upon men, as the use of irresponsible power always does. It has created in their minds immense self-complacency, a contemptuous opinion of women, which runs through the literature and legislation of all nations. It has induced them to formulate different codes of morals for the sexes, more rigorous for women than men, to enact unjust laws for them which disgrace the statute books, to affix severer penalties for crimes committed when women are the criminals, and they have arranged the relations of the government so that while women help to bear its burdens, its benefits are mostly conferred upon men. The husband is given legal control of the wife's person, in most instances he has ownership of her earnings, and except in seven of the States of the Union, he denies her to-day legal ownership in her minor children. The father is their sole legal owner. Rarely do men pay women the same wages, when they do the same work as men, and they allow women to stand on an equality with them only when punishment and the payment of taxes are in question. All these unjust inequalities are survivals of the long ages of servitude through which women have passed, and which have not yet entirely ceased to exist.

"We are wont," says Emerson, "to think that we are at the meridian of civilization. We are only at the cock-crowing and the morning star." Neither men nor women have out-grown the low conditions of society which obtained when the doctrine of male superiority was universally accepted. And we have not yet reached the time when we can boast of the "ideal husband" or the "ideal wife." Now and then one appears, and is immediately recognized as a being of a high and lovely type, more divine than human. In the minds of those who knew the private life of Wendell Phillips, he stands as the ideal husband of his time. The complete unselfishness of his love for his invalid wife—an invalid when she became his wife—made it a joy to him to lift her burdens to his shoulder, and to subordinate his life to hers when occasions required it. Accepting the work to which he seemed pre-ordained, he entered the lists against American slavery, and put into the unequal combat all the forces of his being. Intellect, culture, eloquence, personal magnetism, re-

morseless moral logic, influence, money—all that he had and was were given to the service of the abolition movement. But he always wrought with his heart leaning towards his wife, and her slightest need of him was answered by his presence at her bedside.

"Do not return to Boston to-night!" entreated his friends in a neighboring town, where he had lectured: "the last train has left, and you will be obliged to take a carriage into the city. It is a sleety November night, cold and raw, and you will have twelve miles of rough riding before you get home!"

"But at the end of them I shall find Anne Phillips!" was the lover-like reply, with a sudden illumination of the face.

They told him he was dying, and that the end was very near. "I am ready to go," was his reply, "and have no preparation to make. But I had hoped to stay with my wife to the end. Who will care for her as I have done?"

"They bore me on a cot into the room where Wendell was dying," said Mrs. Phillips, "for a last interview. I remember little about it for I was in terrible anguish. But I held myself in strong control, and did not groan, nor moan even, for that would have made it so much harder for poor Wendell to die."

There have been, and are to-day, husbands of a like rare type, who regard the wife as the "beloved other half," not in the meaningless sense in which the careless gallantry of the day phrases it, but with the unselfish devotion of a life. They are comparatively few, however, while husbands of another sort are very much in evidence.

My attention was called to three works of art, in a gallery, remarkable alike for their admirable technique, and their unmitigated repulsiveness. One represented in marble, the figure of the drunken god Silenus, astride an ass. The only sober object in the sculpture was the ass, bestrode by the marble god, whose every fibre, muscle and feature drooped in senseless inebriety. Across the gallery was an ivory satyr, with pointed face, short horns, leering eyes, and lolling tongue, the whole expression being one of beastly sensuality. Locked in a glass case to protect it from the curious, was the head of a Bacchante, cut in the pellucid crystal of a gem bluer than God's heaven, the hair dishevelled, the features distorted, the mouth open, the whole face indicating drunken frenzy.

Given time enough, and these works of art will cease to be. The marble god and the ivory satyr will disintegrate into sand and dust. But the drunken husband and father is also an artist. And he sends out into the world a hideous caricature of the living God in the person of his own child, whose life stretches away farther than our imaginations can follow. It is the most serious and widespread evil of our time, the drunkenness of husbands, alike in high life and low life, and it portends the direst consequences to posterity. The woman who dares marry a libertine, or a drunkard, with the hope of reforming him, or the expectation of finding happiness with him, ought to have a chance in a lunatic asylum or a home for imbeciles.

Before all forms of government, all types of civilization, all advance in education, the relations of the husband and wife make the everlasting granite on which the whole world rests. Just so fast and just so far as these relations are what they ought to be, and what God intends they shall be, just so fast and just so far will society be uplifted—no faster, no farther. "How shall we purify public life?" is the great question of the hour. We can purify public life no faster than we purify the private life in the home, for the public life is only the public expression of the private life of a people. The advance of a nation comes only through the improvement of the homes of a nation. As the aggregate of these may be, so will the nation be. For it is in the home, conducted by the harmonious and right-minded husband and wife that the real harmonizing and civilizing are carried forward.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

THE NEWEST TELESCOPE.

BY PROF. C. A. YOUNG.

MANY of our readers doubtless remember the great telescope which loomed up so imposingly at the north end of the central aisle in the main building of the Chicago exhibition, giving a most impressive idea of the magnitude and power of the astronomical artillery with which our modern science assails the heavens and aims to penetrate their mysteries.

One felt justly some stirrings of patriotic pride in the noble instrument as a magnificent triumph of American art, and a fresh example of the enlightened liberality of our men of wealth and affairs. In the foundation and equipment of the great observatory which is to bear his name, Mr. Yerkes has established for himself a place upon the roll of honor along with Lick, Carnegie and others, who by their munificent gifts to learning, science and art have secured a perpetual and grateful remembrance.

The instrument itself, except in one item, is purely American. The mounting and machinery are by Warner & Swasey, of Cleveland, the same firm that made the mounting of the great telescopes in the observatories at Washington and Mt. Hamilton, as well as many smaller ones, and it is not too much to say that in design and workmanship their instruments do not suffer in comparison with the best of foreign make, while in "handiness" they are distinctly superior. There is no longer any necessity for us to go abroad for astronomical instruments which are fully up to the highest standards.

The forty-inch object glass of the Yerkes telescope is by Alvan G. Clark, the sole survivor of the famous firm of Alvan Clark & Sons, which, during the last twenty-five years, has sent out as many great telescope lenses as all other firms to-

gether, among them the thirty-inch objective of the great instrument at Pulkowa, and the still larger thirty-six inch lens of the Lick Observatory, which, since 1887, has maintained an unapproachable supremacy until displaced by this younger brother.*

The one non-American feature in the Yerkes telescope is an important one; the glass from which the lenses were made is foreign, by Mantois, of Paris, the only firm in the world which at present can furnish discs of the size and quality required. A few attempts have been made in this country to introduce the manufacture of optical glass, but thus far with very little success, and our opticians are still compelled to send abroad for their material. It is to be hoped that before very long this disability will disappear, but the difficulties of the manufacture are great, and the demand so limited that the prospect of profit is not encouraging.

To the casual observer at Chicago the instrument seemed practically complete, though really hardly half finished. At that time the object-glass, to which everything else is subordinate, was little more than roughed out, and many of the more delicate portions of the mounting were in the same condition or wholly wanting. It has taken two years of unremitting labor to perfect what was incomplete and to add the indispensable accessories with which the eye and the hand of the observer are most directly to operate, such as the eyepieces, micrometers, spectroscopes, and other minor but essential parts.

Now at last the instrument is finished, and only awaits the completion of the observatory which is to shelter it. The object glass, forty inches in diameter and by far the largest ever made, was finally examined and accepted last October, and pronounced by the committee of experts "entirely satisfactory," fulfilling all the conditions of the contract, and responding to

* It is difficult to realize the progress of the last sixty years in the matter of telescope-making. In 1836 the two most powerful refracting telescopes in the world were the 9½ inch instrument at Dorpat, and the 11-inch at Munich. In the United States the largest instrument was the 5-inch Dollond telescope of Yale College, which in 1840 was supplanted by the 6-inch Munich telescope at the Philadelphia High School. Before 1850 several other German instruments were imported, the most notable being the 11-inch telescope at Cincinnati, the 9½-inch at Washington, and the 15-inch at Cambridge, which, with its twin at Pulkowa (dating from 1839), for many years shared the honor of being the largest in existence. It was in 1846 that Alvan Clark, Sr., made his first telescope, and since 1850 very few telescopes of any importance have been imported, while a number of Clark's lenses have gone abroad. Fitz and Spencer also made a number of large telescopes between 1850 and 1870, and at present Brashear, of Pittsburg, is vigorously competing with the Clarks themselves in the size and excellence of his object-glasses.

every test at least as well as the best of all the other large lenses which have thus far issued from the hands of its makers, fully their equal in the excellence of its figure and corrections, and of course markedly superior to them all in its light-collecting power. It gathers three times as much light as the 23-inch instrument at Princeton; two and three-eighths as much as the 26-inch telescopes at Washington and Charlottesville; one and four-fifths as much as the 30-inch at Pulkowa; and 23 per cent. more than the gigantic, and hitherto unrivalled, 36-inch telescope of the Lick observatory. Possibly in this one quality of "light," the six-foot reflector of Lord Rosse, and the later five-foot reflector of Mr. Common, might compete with or even surpass it, but as an instrument for seeing things it is doubtful whether either of them could hold its own with even the smallest of the instruments named above, because of the reflector's inherent inferiority in distinctness of definition. This is due to the disastrous effects upon its performance which are produced by the slightest differences of temperature in different parts of its massive mirror, and by the infinitesimal flexures consequent on the changes of position required in following a star for any length of time. From these difficulties a lens is practically free.

Still it must not be supposed that the new object-glass is ideally perfect. The best possible two-lens objective, made from such materials as are at present obtainable in discs of any considerable size, sins grievously in not bringing the light rays of different color to any single focus—its "achromatism" is far from absolute. In the case of this 40-inch lens the greenish yellow rays come together at a point nearly six inches nearer to the lens than do the violet; so that the image of a bright star is surrounded by a strong purple halo, which is usually pronounced "perfectly lovely" by a female tyro, but is an abomination to the astronomer. It is particularly annoying in spectroscopic or photographic work, and where such work is specially in hand the fact that the reflector is entirely free from it, treating rays of every color impartially in the matter of focus, goes far to condone its peculiar weaknesses.

This imperfection of the ordinary object-glass is in no respect the fault of the optician, but lies in the material itself. Experiments, subsidized by the German government, have been going on at Jena during the last dozen years for the purpose of remedying the

evil, with special reference, however, to the improvement of the microscope. In that, complete success has been reached, and there is much reason to hope that before very long it may become possible to obtain varieties of glass which in combination will give satisfactory achromatism, and in discs of sufficient size to permit the construction of large telescopic object-glasses as perfect in their way as the new "apochromatic" microscope objectives are in theirs. It will be a step almost as important as was Dollond's invention of the present achromatic lens. Thus far, however, no great success has been attained with telescopes of any considerable magnitude, though an English firm is now offering to make three-lens objectives up to twenty inches in diameter, which are advertised as practically perfect in their achromatism. A six-inch lens of this construction has been very favorably reported on by Dr. Roberts, and it is perhaps not impossible that a new era of telescope-making may open with the new century.

To return from this digression: The crown-glass lens of the great object-glass is double convex, about two and a half inches thick in the middle, though only three-quarters of an inch at the edge, and weighs two hundred pounds. The flint-glass lens is nearly plano-concave, with the flat surface inside, *i. e.*, nearest the eye end of the telescope.

It is about two inches thick at the edge and an inch and a quarter in the centre, and weighs over three hundred pounds. The two lenses are separated by a space of eight and three-eighths inches, and are set upon aluminium bearings in a steel cell itself weighing five hundred pounds; so that the whole mass which has to be carried at the upper end of the telescope tube is nearly half a ton.

The focal length of the object-glass, or rather the distance from the inner surface of the flint-lens to the place where the image of a star is formed (which is not quite the same thing) is stated by Mr. Clark * to be sixty-one feet; so that the total length of the instrument will be between sixty-two and sixty-three feet. This will be increased by at least seven or eight feet when the spectroscope is in place. The image of the sun or moon formed in the focal plane will be nearly seven inches in diameter.

The magnifying power of the telescope can be made by mere

* For much of the information embodied in this article I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Clark, of Warner and Swasey, and especially of Professor Hale, to all of whom my warmest thanks are due.

change of eyepieces to range anywhere from about two hundred to four thousand. This highest power will bring the moon, optically, to within just about sixty miles from the observer's eye; but he will see her surface much more clearly than one can see the details of a terrestrial landscape at that distance from the top of a mountain, because in the latter case the surface is viewed very obliquely, and through the densest and haziest portion of our atmosphere.

Any lunar object five or six hundred feet square would be distinctly visible—a building, for instance, as large as the capitol at Washington. A line much narrower than this, especially if it differed much in color or brightness from the background, would at once attract attention, and so would any brilliant object, even if no larger or brighter than an ordinary arc light.

With very high powers the field of view will be very narrow, hardly including the whole of even such a crater as Tycho or Copernicus; nor can such powers be used advantageously except under very unusual atmospheric conditions: powers between five hundred and two thousand will ordinarily be most useful.

When directed to the zenith the great eye of the instrument will be seventy-five feet above the normal level of the floor, which, however, can be raised and lowered at pleasure through a range of twenty-two feet, to bring the eyepiece within convenient reach of the observer. The centre of motion, or the point where the two axes intersect, is forty-three feet above the floor.

The mass of the whole machine, including its cast-iron pedestal, is seventy-five tons, of which the movable portions—the axis, circles, counterpoises, tube, etc.—weigh thirty. The great tube itself alone weighs six tons; it is sixty-one feet long, and fifty-two inches in diameter at the middle, tapering slightly to each end. It is made of sheet steel, the thickness of which was carefully determined in advance by computation, to give the requisite strength with the minimum weight, and varies gradually from about a quarter of an inch at the middle to an eighth of an inch at the extremities. The whole is so beautifully poised on its anti-friction bearings that a pressure of less than twenty pounds moves it freely. The driving clock is so delicate, and at the same time so powerful, that the enormous tube, once pointed at a star, will follow it exactly for hours, keeping it precisely upon the cross wires all the time, undisturbed by any ordinary

effects of varying friction, or gusts of wind, or inadvertent pushes of the observer.

The skillful makers have embodied in the mechanism many new and ingenious devices which greatly facilitate the observer's control of the gigantic instrument—in fact, a single man, even without an assistant, can point and manage it quite as easily, if not quite as rapidly, as he could one of the old fashioned twelve or fifteen-inch equatorials. Electricity is used to a great extent, not only for the illumination of the circles and micrometers, but for controlling the clock-work and automatically re-winding it when necessary, and for actuating the quick and slow motions by which the telescope is directed upon an object. Hitherto, in the more modern instruments at least, the slow motions have been managed by long, jointed handles, brought down along the tube to the eye end, and transmitting the power of the observer's hand around various corners through a complicated train of wheel work to the screw that was to be turned—a mechanism subject to much "lost motion" and easy derangement. In the new system, little electric motors are attached directly to the different slow motion screws, and the conducting wires are led to various convenient points, so that the observer himself at the eyepiece, or an assistant on the gallery that surrounds the top of the pedestal, or a person standing anywhere on the floor, can control everything by the mere touch of a finger or the sliding of a switch. The old mechanism has not been entirely discarded, however, but has been retained as a measure of precaution in addition to the new, in order that the instrument may never be disabled at some critical moment by the failure of the dynamo or storage battery, or the breaking of a wire.

The great ninety-foot rotating dome which is to shelter the instrument, is relatively as gigantic as the instrument itself, larger by far than anything of the kind ever before constructed. (The domes at Nice and the Lick observatory, which rank next in magnitude, are each about seventy-five feet in diameter.)

It was built by Warner and Swasey—of steel, like the telescope tube itself—and although it weighs nearly a hundred and fifty tons, it will doubtless be turned and handled with perfect ease by the machinery provided for the purpose. It is not yet in place, but is ready to be erected as soon as the masonry tower

which is to carry it is completed, and that was reported as "nearly finished" early in November. It is likely, however, that the severity of the Wisconsin winter will postpone the actual mounting of the dome and instrument until spring, and the formal opening of the observatory is hardly likely to take place much before the end of the summer.

The observatory, though belonging to the University of Chicago, is not in the city, but is situated on the northern shore of Lake Geneva, about seventy-five miles to the northwest and a few miles beyond the State line. It is a hundred and eighty feet above the water, in the midst of a large tract of land that has been given for the purpose. The building has the form of a Roman cross, the longer arm, about four hundred feet over all, running east and west, with the great dome at its western extremity and the meridian room at the eastern. The cross arm, or transept, carries a smaller tower and dome at each end ; in the northern of the two will be mounted the twelve-inch instrument (fitted for both visual and photographic work), which is now in the Kenwood Observatory of Professor Hale, the Director-elect of the new establishment. In the southern dome a sixteen-inch telescope by Brashear (who also made the Kenwood instrument) will be placed. Of course the reader understands that, as a rule, any work that is well within the reach of a moderate-sized instrument can be done by it much more conveniently and rapidly than by a very large one : a cannon is a poor weapon for snipe shooting, and an observatory equipped with one great telescope only is much like a warship with no rapid-fire guns.

The transept is occupied by a long heliostat gallery for certain solar work, and the main building, between the great tower and the meridian room, is taken up with rooms for the observers, offices, computing rooms, library, lecture room, photographic rooms, physical laboratory, etc.

The meridian room is planned to receive at some time a first-class meridian circle, but for the present will be occupied only by a small transit instrument, since the work of the establishment, for a while at least, will be directed almost entirely along the lines of the "New Astronomy."

A small building at some distance from the observatory contains the boilers, engines, dynamos, and workshops for the construction and repair of instruments.

The selection of a site appears to be the best possible under the circumstances; far enough from the city to avoid its smoke and dust, and the glare of its electric lights, as well as the interruption of too numerous curious visitors; and yet near enough to permit of quick and easy communication. The atmospheric conditions are undoubtedly better than nearer Lake Michigan, and are probably fully as good as those that prevail at the majority of American observatories. But "the Prince of the Power of the Air" is everywhere the most malignant enemy of the observational astronomer, and it remains to be seen just how serious are the limitations which his malice will impose in this case. We can hardly hope for the exceptional excellence of the "seeing" which prevails at Mt. Hamilton, Nice, and Arequipa, but there is no reason to look for anything exceptionally bad.

And now, of course, comes the question of utility. What is the real use of the whole great expenditure? It may be admitted at once that, so far as now appears, the advancement of astronomy will contribute *directly* very little to the material welfare of mankind. It is an "unselfish science," not a "bread and butter" one, and has no such immediate bearing upon human sustenance and comfort as most of the other physical sciences. Its benefits are for the most part purely intellectual; in the widening of the range of thought; in the stimulus of grapling with problems that tax to the utmost our highest faculties; in the power that knowledge fairly won always brings to its possessor,—by the process of acquisition even more than by its actual possession; for usually it happens that the struggle of attainment counts for more in the development of the individual and of the human race than the victory and the prize it brings.

But granting the value of astronomical research and progress, the further question arises whether in the real interest of the science such expenditure for new observatories and gigantic telescopes is justifiable; and there are some who deny it, even among those whose opinion is entitled to respectful consideration. They are more interested in other, older, and, in their view, more important branches of the science than those to which the new institution is to be devoted, and they feel a very natural jealousy at what seems to them neglect of the fundamental investigations of mathematical astronomy in favor of the

apparently easier, more showy and more popular work of mere telescopic, spectroscopic and physical observation.

The more reasonable view, however, is unquestionably that both lines of work are valuable, and essential to the growth and perfection of the science; neither should be neglected. It may be true that there can never be any astronomical work of a higher order than that of Newton, Laplace, Gauss, Bessel and Leverrier, not to mention the great names of others who still live, and keep up gloriously the old traditions. But a new era has opened, and now with our present instruments and methods we are able to attack problems and undertake researches which were utterly impossible twenty-five years ago. As Miss Clerke tersely expreses it: "Modern sidereal astronomy *lives on light*. Large telescopic apertures are a *sine quâ non* for its growth and activity." Whether we work with eye or photographic plate, with spectroscope or bolometer, the cry is still "more light," whenever we attempt to carry our studies beyond the scanty material furnished by the first hundred or so of the brightest stars and nebulæ.

There is reason therefore to hope, and to expect, that the new observatory will soon justify its foundation by the rapid accumulation of valuable data which are beyond the reach of smaller instruments, and by the deduction of important and significant results: perhaps also, but by no means certainly, by some brilliant and sensational discovery.

Its work, according to the provisional programme already laid out by the Director, will be various. During the day the great telescope will be mainly used in the study of the sun, chiefly spectroscopic, the observations being made both visually and photographically; to some extent also by the bolometer, with which it is hoped to reach the solar corona somewhat as the prominences are reached by the ordinary spectroscopic method. In work of this sort, the great size of the image of the sun formed by the forty-inch object-glass gives an immense advantage, and it is worth noting that in the *daytime* the atmospheric conditions at the Yerkes observatory will probably be much better than they are at Mt. Hamilton, though at night the case is different.

Two nights in the week are reserved for spectroscopic studies of stars and nebulæ, in which a wide field is opening, especially as regards the spectroscopy of variable stars and the motions of

the sidereal system. Other nights will be devoted to visual observations of planets, comets, etc., and others to the measurement of the more difficult double stars, work for which Messrs. Burnham and Barnard, formerly on the staff of the Lick observatory, have already been secured.

It seems almost a pity that no provision has been made to utilize the power of the great instrument in stellar photography; but this would require a heavy expense for an additional "photographic corrector" to be put on outside of the object-glass, and its use would occupy the instrument at times when it could ill be spared from other work. The subject is being well followed up, too, at several other observatories. At some future time it is quite possible that the deficiency may be supplied. It is mainly a question of money.

The smaller instruments will find an abundance of work that is fairly within their reach, and of course the computing rooms and the physical laboratory will be kept more than busy in the reduction of the material accumulated by the observations, and the researches required for their interpretation.

C. A. YOUNG.

THE MYSTERIOUS WRECK OF NEMI.

BY PROFESSOR RODOLFO LANCIANI, LL. D., PH. D., F. A. S., ETC.

THE lake of Nemi lies at the bottom of one of the craters of the Alban range, which measures six miles in circumference at the top of the cliffs and four at the water's edge. Its altitude above the sea is 191 metres, the depth in the center 168 metres. When the worship of Diana was first established on its shores, and all through the classic period of Roman history, the aspect of the place was very different from what it looks now. No villages teeming with life, no fields yielding the choicest produce of the earth, no villas, no farms, nothing but primeval forests casting their shadows over the silent waters.

The lake was formed many centuries before the extinction of the volcano of the Alban range (Monte Pila). We may easily imagine what an awe-inspiring place it must have appeared when the mountains around were shaken from their foundations by outbursts of incandescent lava, the skies heavy with ashes and smoke, and the thundering of the "*boati*" reverberating from cliff to cliff, from mountain to mountain, as far as Rome. *Vox ingens*, Livy calls it, *vox ingens e luco et summo montis cacumine!* No wonder that such a frightful recess should have been selected for the seat of a mysterious worship, that of the Scythian Diana, the origins of which are variously explained by Strabo (v., 3, 12), by Servius *Aenead.* (VI.), and by Pausanias (II., 27). The worship seems to have been imported from the *Chersonesus Taurica* (Crimea), the abode of rude, savage tribes, addicted to piracy as well as to the veneration of Artemis, or, according to their own statement, of Iphigenia*. The principal rule of the sanctuary by the Lake of Nemi was, in fact, truly barbaric and worthy of the Scythians; no one could be elected high priest, unless he had

*Euripides. *Iphig. in Taur*, 85. Callimakos, *Hymn in Dian.*, 176.

slain with his own hands the one who, by a similar deed, had obtained the dignity before him. It is evident, therefore, that the thoughts of the unfortunate priest must have been directed more to the preservation of his life than to the service of the goddess. This extraordinary rite was still flourishing at the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, but the duels were generally confined to runaway slaves, one of whom would escape, for the time being, the fate to which at all events he was doomed.

In the palace of the Conde de Montenegro at Palma, Majorca, there is a bas-relief three and a half feet long, two feet high, of archaic workmanship, discovered in 1791 by Cardinal Desping near the mouth of the *emissarium* of the Lake of Nemi, at the Mole di Vallericcia ; and reproduced by Sir William Gelt in his *Topography of Rome* (page 327). It represents the issue of one of these duels : the high priest, wounded to death by his rival, lies on the ground holding with the right hand the intestines which drop out of the cruel gash. The successful antagonist, brandishing the bloody poniard, is surrounded by four female attendants of the Artemisium, in the most excited attitudes. The prohibitory laws of Valentinian II. and Theodosius must have put an end to the practice in 393.

The temple of the Scythian Diana, to which human sacrifices were originally offered, rose in the midst of the great forest on the north side of the lake, at the foot of the craggy boulder on which the village of Nemi is now perched. Judging from her figure, as given upon an ancient vase, the statue of the goddess seems to have been an almost shapeless stone, with a rude head, and the arm held up with a sword. Before the temple, expanded the lonely lake fed by the same springs which are now forced up to fill the reservoirs of Albano. The temple stands not very much higher than the lake, and could have been easily flooded, or permanently submerged, but for the help of a wonderful *emissarium* by which the waters were maintained at a fixed level. The *emissarium*, therefore, must be a work of prehistoric, or at least of traditional, times, and this explains why no mention of it is to be found in ancient authors. The tunnel is 1,649 yards long, irregular in shape and direction. It is not impossible that the temple should have been built on the newly claimed land in commemoration of the conquest and of the almost prodigious drainage of the lake.

Though nothing in the present day can exceed the beauty and loveliness of this "*speculum Dianæ*," where fragrant strawberry fields have succeeded the ancient forest, and life and thrift the wilderness of old days, its chief celebrity has arisen from the discovery at the bottom of the lake of what was proclaimed to be a ship five hundred feet in length, and as rich and beautiful as an enchanted palace.

Besides insignificant attempts made frequently by local boatmen and fishermen, a regular search for the mysterious wreck has been undertaken four times, the first by Leone Battista Alberti, at the time of Eugenius IV. (1431-1439); the second by Francesco de Marchi in 1535; the third by Annesio Fusconi in 1827; the last by Eliséo Borghi in 1895, which has not yet been brought to a close.

Flavio Biondo da Forti, in his *Italia Illustrata* (f. 71), relates that Cardinal Prospero Colonna, who counted among the fiefs of the family both Nemi and Genzano, had often heard from his tenants and fishermen the story of two immense ships sunk deep in the water, so strong and well preserved as to resist all attempt made to float them or to demolish them piece by piece. Prospero being a learned prelate for his days and very studious of history and ancient remains, determined to find out why two such large crafts should have been launched on a narrow sheet of water, enclosed by mountains on every side, and to what causes their wreck should be attributed. He sought the help of the "Vitruvio Fiorentino," the engineer and mechanician, Leone Battista Alberti, who built a raft of beams and empty barrels to support the machinery by means of which the explorations could be made. Skillful smiths prepared hooks, like four-pointed anchors, hung to chains, to be wound up by capstans, and seamen from Genoa, "who looked more like fish than men," were called to adjust the hooks on and around the prow of the first ship. The immense weight of the wreck baffled their efforts; the chains broke; many of the hooks were lost, and the few that were successfully hauled up brought to the surface fragments, which filled the assistants with marvel and admiration. It was seen that the framework of the vessel, ribs and decks, was of larchwood; that the sides were made of boards three inches thick, caulked with tar and pieces of sail, and protected by sheets of lead fastened with copper nails. Alberti's description of the

inside is rather obscure. He says the decks were built more to resist fire and violence of men than to withstand the rain and whatever waves there were in the lake. He speaks of an iron framework supporting a floor of *opus signinum*, and of other less comprehensible details. The last object discovered was a lead water pipe nine inches in diameter, upon which the name of Tiberius Cæsar was supposed to be engraved.

About a century later, in July, 1535, the attempt was renewed by Guillaume de Lorraine and Francesco de Marchi from Bologna, the famous military architect who was the master and the inspirer of Vauban. Guillaume had just invented a diving bell, or something like it, the secret of which de Marchi promised to maintain, and was trying experiments on the wreck at Nemi, keeping under water from one hour to one hour and a half. De Marchi went down the first time on July 15th, and looking through the glass of the spy-holes, which acted like lenses, was horrified at the sight of thousands of fish three feet long and as big around as his arms. They were nothing but *lattarini*, or "white-bait," sixty or seventy of which are required to make up a pound. De Marchi had taken down with him four ounces of bread and one of cheese. The crumbs that fell from his mouth while eating caused a still larger multitude of those tiny creatures to assemble, which, finding no more food to share, began to prick and bite the diver around the loins. "I wore no bathing trousers," says the hero himself, "for fear of meeting with the same fate that had befallen a fisherman near Florence at the time of Duke Alessandro de Medici. I saw him dive in the Arno one day and never reappear, because his trousers had been caught by a dead branch at the bottom of the river. I had also refused to follow the advice of Maestro Guglielmo, to stop my ears with cotton saturated with musk and other scents; but as soon as I reached the wreck I felt as if a steel blade was piercing my head from ear to ear, while the blood was pouring out of the nose and mouth."

At his second descent de Marchi remained one hour in the diving bell. His operations and doings are described in Book II., chapter 82, of the *Architettura Militare*, as follows:

"I tied to a stout rope part of the upper works, and dragged them to the surface with the help of a capstan. There was enough wood to load two mules, larch, pine, and cypress, and

certain pegs of *quercus robur*, as black as ebony. We found also nails of iron, once as thick as a thumb, but reduced by the rust to the size of a quill pen. The nails, of pure copper and brass, were of all sizes and length, some two palms long, others of the size of my little finger. Their shining heads were cut like stars. The small ones held in place the lead sheets by which the lower works of the ship were bound. Between the lead sheets and the woodwork there were sheets of sails and a coating of tar, which would catch fire very easily and give a pleasant smell. The planks fitted into ribs which had a groove on either side to receive them, and their thickness increased towards the keel.

"The decks of the ship were paved with *tegulæ bipedales* (bricks 0.59 metre square) of reddish hue, and also with slabs of red enamel, one of which measured 1.78 by 1.12 metres. We saw some dark recesses, which were rooms, but I did not dare to enter them for fear of losing sight of the diving bell. I tried the experiment but once, holding tight to a guide-rope, but I nearly lost my life, having rolled down one of the ship's stairs. Maestro Guglielmo assured me that the decks were supported by copper beams, but I have not seen them. At last my partner decided to cut the wreck to pieces from the outside. We began with one of the main crossbeams, which was secured to a rope, and the rope to a capstan manœuvered by sixteen men from Genzano. The effort proved fruitless. The last thing to do was to measure the size of the ship. . . . I found it to be seventy *canne* in length, thirty-five in breadth, eight in depth." These measures correspond to a length of one hundred and fifty-six metres, to a breadth of seventy-eight, to a depth of seventeen and four-fifths. It is not necessary to dwell on the absurdity of applying such figures to a ship; they are genuine, but they belong to an altogether different object.

The third attempt was made in 1827 by Annesio Fusconi, who has left an account of it in a rare pamphlet.* Fusconi spent about $6,000 on the experiment: half the amount being wasted on a theatrical *mise en scène* for the accommodation of diplomatists, noblemen and prelates, who were to witness the beginning of the operations on September 10th of that year. He says in his report that the ship is lying on the steep bottom of

* *Memoria archeologico-idraulica sulla nave dell' imperator Tiberio, dedicata a S. M. Michele I., re di Portogallo.* Roma, 1839.

the lake, eleven metres and a half from the shore, with the stern 16.72 metres, and the prow 30 metres below the level of the water, the direction of the wreck being from north to south. The objects brought ashore by his divers were:—the capital of a brass column, discs of porphyry and serpentine belonging to a pavement, *tegulæ bipedales*, or bricks, two feet square, cased in an iron grating, on which the letters TIB. CAES. (?) were engraved; terra cotta pipes for the distribution of water, copper and iron nails half a metre long, larch and pine beams, some of which measured 15 61 metres; planks of larch and pine 4.90 metres long, 0.38 metre wide. Many of the beams were studded with nails of copper, having gilt heads. Fusconi speaks also of marble fragments of various kinds of enamel and mosaic floors, of slabs of porphyry and serpentine which were brought to the surface, and also of statues, columns and beams of metal seen by the divers, but not recovered. It is curious to know what the fate of these spoils was.

One of the beams, with twenty big nails driven through it, was purchased by the Jesuit Fathers for the Kircherian Museum, where it is still to be seen. Forty tiles were used by the late Prince Alessandro Torlonia for paving a boudoir in his palace, in the Piazza di Venezia; he also bought the seventy planks to make pieces of furniture. Out of other portions of wood, Fusconi himself made snuff-boxes, walking-sticks, smoking-pipes, *nécessaires de voyage*, etc., which, after being polished, took the color of acajou. The rest of the spoils was bought by the Vatican Museum. It seems, however, that no importance was attached to them; they were never exhibited, and only the other day they were rediscovered in a store-room by the *Cortile del Bramante*. I hear that the most essential piece, the would-be iron grating inscribed with the name of Tiberius, is missing.

Before coming to the latest discoveries, I must quote the opinion of a celebrated archæologist and competent judge, Antonio Nibby, who witnessed Fusconi's search, and speaks of it in the following terms:

"Having examined most carefully the objects brought ashore, and having collected and sifted the evidence of Fusconi's divers about what they had seen at the bottom of the lake, I have satisfied myself that the supposed ship is nothing else but the framework and the foundation (on piles) of a building which pro-

jected into the water at a considerable distance from the shore. The beams are of larch and pine wood, fastened with great metal nails ; the floors, formed of large tiles, rest on an iron grating, on which the name CAISAR is impressed in letters of ancient shape. This name brings back to our memory the passage of Suetonius, in chapter 46 of the life of Julius Cæsar : *Villam in Nemorensi a fundamentis inchoatam, magnoque sumptu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei responderat, totam diruisse, quamquam tenuem adhuc et obaeratum.* Cæsar began building on the shores of the lake of Nemi a costly and magnificent villa, but destroyed it when nearly finished, as it did not quite suit his taste nor answer his expectations. The stamp CAISAR, with the *cognomen* alone, is special to the dictator, and I can vouch that there was no *praenomen* TI(*berius*), much less any trace of letters that could be attributed to Trajan. I think, therefore, that the supposed great ship is nothing but the foundation, on piles, of a terrace of Cæsar's villa projecting into the lake, upon which a building of some kind was raised. The spot where the remains are found lies just opposite the sanctuary of the goddess."*

The present search was undertaken in October last by three private gentlemen, with the consent of Prince Filippo Orsini, the owner of Nemi and its lake, to whom one-third of the eventual profits will belong. The exploration has been entrusted to a couple of divers, who have already shown their skill in submarine or sub-fluvial work. At first they were allowed to avail themselves of the crowbar and of the saw and hatchet, but the State officials having objected to the use of such instruments, and to the dismembering of the wreck piece by piece, as had been done on former occasions, the divers are now reduced to the help of their hands alone, and will soon be obliged to strike work for want of movable and light objects to recover. Those already brought to the surface are:

A. Fragments of marble and enamel incrustation of a surface which must be that of a wall more than of a pavement, because the crusts are so thin and at the same time so perfect that they cannot have been much walked or trampled upon. These incrustations, the most exquisite I have ever seen, are made of discs of porphyry and serpentine, not thicker than a silver dollar, sur-

*Antonio Nibby ; *Diutorni di Roma* Vol. II., p. 395.

rounded with segments and lines of "*pasta vitrea*" or enamel, white and gold, white and red, and red, white and green. The colors are perfectly brilliant.

B. Six great mooring-rings; another exquisite product of the Greco-Roman art of the first century after Christ. They are cast in bronze, and represent heads of lions, wolves, tigers and one of Medusa: this last without a ring in the mouth. The back of these "*mascheroni*" is made like a socket, so as to fit to the head of a beam, like a thimble to the finger. Five sockets are square, one round. The head of Medusa is perfectly beautiful: not a trace of the monstrous details which appear in archaic types, except the serpentine arrangement of the hair. The wings, which complete her toilet, are light and feathery and the coils of the snakes, graceful and artistic. To the mooring-rings from the lake of Nemi a prominent place will surely be given in the history of ancient art.

C. A panel from the railing which formed the parapet of the wreck, cast in solid copper. The design of its open work resembles that of a *transenna*, which the Romans used in their *maeniana* and early Christians in the enclosure of their *presbyteria*. The railing was probably gilt. There are also bronze bases of the pilasters to which the panels were fixed.

D. Two or three dozen bronze rollers, some cylindrical, some spherical, the axles of which fitted into rings or round holes. It is not easy to tell what they were used for: perhaps the wreck had movable partitions of wood or metal, the sliding of which was made easier by the rollers.

E. Fragments from the lower works of the wreck, absolutely identical with those described by Alberti, de Marchi, and Fusconi. There are the ribs and the thick boards nailed to them, and there is the triple coating of tar, of pieces of sails, and of sheets of lead. I have seen also two sheets of copper, the edges of which fit into each other like the *tuiles à la Marseillaise* of a modern roof. Probably they answered to the same purposes.

F. Pieces of the same lead waterpipe, nine inches in diameter, on which the *cinquecento* archæologists fancied to have seen cast the name of Tiberius Cæsar. The section now recovered—many feet in length—bears the legend,

. CAESARIS - AVGVSTI - GERMANICI.

The dot which precedes the first letter proves that something is

missing at the beginning of the legend. With the help of photography and of casts it has been ascertained that there was but one letter before the dot, and that the letter was either a C or a G. In both cases there is no doubt that the Emperor, at whose expense the pipe was laid out, is Caius or Gaius *Caligula*, the Germanicus *par excellence*.

G. A pavement of *tegulæ bipedales* of which five or six hundred have been put aside. Many of them bear the stamp of the *figulinae Marcianae*, brick kilns of a Marcius . . . . which flourished in the second half of the first century. The pavement rests on a bed of *opus signinum*, a mixture of cement and broken tiles.

H. I can mention in the last place the discovery of some of the anchor-shaped hooks used by Leon Battista Alberti nearly four and a half centuries ago, much reduced in size, and consumed by rust.

What are the conclusions to be drawn from these discoveries? Archæologists have divided themselves into two camps; one favoring the theory of a sunken ship, one supporting the idea of a landing pier with a construction of some kind upon it. As in many other cases each opinion rests on a foundation of truth. One thing does not exclude the other: there was a landing pier, there was a building of some kind upon it, and there was a ship of modest size, which has followed the fate of the landing, and lies alongside of it at the bottom of the lake.

I do not know whether the measures given by de Marchi, of 156 metres in length and 78 in breadth, deserve blind faith; and yet the method which he followed in taking them (described in book II. of the *Architettura Militare*) seems to be most rational of all. One of the gentlemen engaged in the present search has had floaters tied around the edge of the wreck, and he assures me that de Marchi's figures are not far from right. Now, an object which is half as broad as it is long cannot be a ship. Imagine the "Marblehead" or the "Charleston," of the U. S. Navy, to be 230 feet wide! The difficulty has been met by substituting the name of a raft or a pontoon for that of a ship; but the idea of a floating and movable object cannot be accepted, even in this modified form. The Lake of Nemi is hardly 2,000 metres across in its smallest diameter, so that the pontoon would have covered one-thirteenth of that distance! Then comes the difficulty of the water-

pipe, which must have been connected directly with the spring or the reservoir on shore. Adding to this the pavement of tiles resting on a bed of concrete, the marble and enamel incrustations of walls, the architectural fragments seen and collected by former explorers, and, above all, the mooring-rings, it is evident that the wreck of the Lake of Nemi was solidly and firmly built on or near the shore; and that we must identify it with a pier, or jetty, or landing-place, resting on piles, lined with mooring-rings for the accommodation of the small boats plying on the *speculum Dianæ*, and supporting a construction of some kind—a boat house, or a bathing or fishing establishment. When the pier sank, through the collapsing of the piles on which it was founded, the whole platform slid down the steep incline of the bottom to a distance of about 150 feet from the shore.

There is no doubt that a large boat must have shared the same fate at the same time, because some of the pieces recovered on the present and on former occasions, like the ribs, the boards coated with tar and canvas, the curved beams, etc., admit no other explanation.

I am inclined to believe that the great sanctuary owned a small fleet on the lake, which was used for the conveyance of pilgrims from shore to shore as well as for religious ceremonies. The *Artemisium Nemorense* ranked among the famous pilgrimages of the Roman world, not only as a place of worship and devotion, but also as a hydro-therapeutic resort. Diana was also worshipped here as Lucina. The multitudes approached the sanctuary from the station of *Cynthianum* (Gensano) of the Appian Way, by a branch road which reaches the shore exactly at the place where the remains of the landing pier have been found.

I am informed at the last moment that the wreck of another boat has been discovered five hundred yards northeast of the pier. It lies in deep water, and seems not so well preserved as the other. The only object brought to the surface as yet, is a large bronze hand of the kind called *pantheæ*, from the superstitious symbols αποτρόπαια which usually cover them. These hands were considered to keep away the evil eye, like the horn of the Neapolitans of the present day. I suppose that one of these protecting emblems was hoisted at the prow of this second boat.

RODOLFO LANCIANI.

THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE CONDITION OF MAN THEREIN.—II.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE W. E. GLADSTONE.

I.—OF A FUTURE LIFE (*Continued*).

We are not to suppose that those who maintain the natural immortality of the human soul, of necessity intend thereby a life so conditioned that it is beyond the power of the Almighty to put an end to it. Clarke, in answer to Collins, points out that God may have more ways of disposing of His creatures after death "than we are let into the secret of."

He may, indeed, if He please annihilate them at the dissolution of their bodies (and so He might, if He thought fit, annihilate the souls of men; and yet it would be nevertheless true that they are in their own nature immortal).*

When we speak, then, of the natural immortality of the soul, what is the idea that we have in view? Is it an immortality like that of God Himself, and is it such that a soul, having been introduced into the universe, becomes inseparable from it, or must under all conditions continue to form part of it? It is scarcely possible to suppose this to be seriously held.

There is another conception, which Clarke includes under the phrase of natural immortality, and which is radically different from this. It is that the soul is framed (so to speak) upon the lines of immortality, as the destination alone appropriate to its nature, and to the consummation of that nature; and, further, that it will continue to exist unless it shall please God to impose upon it a doom which will put an end to that existence. As the

* Clarke's Defence of an argument made use of in his Reply to Dodwell, page 103.

body is framed to die, so the soul is framed to live. This would seem to be Clarke's conception.

Then there is a third conception which in so far agrees with the second that it regards the soul as qualified by its nature to attain to immortality; but varies from it in so much as it does not hold the soul to be endowed with that gift at birth, but conceives of it as a gift derived from the Incarnation of our Lord, and the renovating powers which it provided, to be put in exercise on behalf of our fallen nature. It inverts a portion of the last-named idea. The one says, "the soul may live, but it will be by the reception of a special gift." The other says, "the soul may die, but it will be by the infliction of a special doom"; and if that doom shall prove to be the natural consequence of inveterate sin, spread like a canker over and within its entire substance, the question which remains is practical rather than merely theoretical. It is whether God will allow sin, as a deadly disease, to accomplish its perfect work in the destruction or cessation of the sinner; or whether sin, in the person of the wicked, will continue, under all conditions, and as indefeasibly as the immortal righteous shall adorn it, to deface the aspect of creation.

Then there remains the further question: how much, on this mysterious and solemn subject, has the Almighty Wisdom deemed it meet to reveal to us?

There is, of course, a fourth mode of dealing with the question which regards the soul as subject, like the body, to dissolution, which is for both of them without hope of revocation. But with this view, that of the pure negationist, and the converse of the first-named conception, we have here nothing to do.

The difference between the second and the third of these schemes does not appear to be great in the abstract, for the first of them allows that the soul may be smitten by a doom of annihilation, while the second involves the belief that it may receive immortality by gift, and that it is appointed so to do in the normal course of its existence. But room is left for practical differences of the most important kind. For if, while the doom of annihilation is admitted to be possible in the abstract, it is also held that the idea of such a doom is excluded from the counsels of Providence, then the immortality of all human souls is absolute for every practical purpose, whereas under the other hypothesis it remains an entirely open question except for such

souls as may attain to immortality through union with the Divine nature.

So much with respect to the subject itself. Now with regard to the evidence which seemingly caused Butler to stop short of affirming for himself the tenet of natural immortality. We may consider it as derivable from reasoning, from consent, or from authority.

With regard to the first head, Butler had before him all the remarkable achievements of those among the ancient philosophers who contended for the immortality of the human soul. This conception rose to its climax with Pindar among the poets, and with Plato in the Groves of the Academy. We habitually suppose and with reason that this great performance was achieved mainly by reasoning in the abstract and of a metaphysical character. But in a remarkable passage of the Timæus,* Plato represents the Supreme God as charging the inferior gods, whom he had produced, to construct men in imitation of his example. And he will himself sow the seed in these beings of the part which is worthy of the name immortal, and will hand it over to them for completion.† Plato may have founded this ascription to the Deity on the conviction which he had worked out for himself by his abstract argument. He was not well supported by the rival schools of philosophy. The powerful mind of Aristotle did not embrace the conception of a personal and practical immortality for man.‡ "The really human in the soul, that which has come into being, must also pass away." This is taken by Döllinger as the sum of his doctrine. And the Stoics "viewed the soul as destined to immediate reabsorption into the great world-soul after death," or, as surviving only for a time.§ Then came the school of deliberate extinctionists headed by Epicurus; and it seems probable that his following among men of the world was greater than among philosophers. The doctrine of immortality has impressed but slight footprints upon the Roman literature. The letters and poetry of consolation, which antiquity has bequeathed to us, are especially instructive in this respect. Nor did matters improve with the lapse of time: and the grave Juvenal informs us

* Plat. Tim. 10, 1. The words describing the productive operation of the Supreme God are ὁ τόδε τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας; rendered by Jowett "the Creator of the Universe."

† See Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, page 151.

‡ Döllinger. *Heidenthum und Judenthum.*

§ Salmond, *Ibid.* and Grote's Plato, II., 204.

that none in his day believed in the survival of the soul, unless such as had not yet emerged from boyhood.* The language of Cicero, partially quoted by John Smith, is highly inconsistent. Grote declares that Plato settled nothing, and agrees with Lord Macaulay that the philosophers from Plato to Franklin who attempted to prove immortality without the aid of revelation, failed deplorably.†

And Butler could not but be well aware that the question of the soul's immortality, open to so much abstract discussion, had been incurably apt to wander into entanglement with the pre-existence and transmigration of souls, and that desperate battles had to be fought both against terminability and on behalf of individuality. Nor was the abstract argument altogether on one side. Is it not contrary to all the analogies of present experience, we are asked, to suppose that I, who lately began to be, shall never cease to be, or that I shall not be refunded into unconscious existence as in the centuries before I was born? Whatever is generable must surely be perishable. My soul if immortal must have existed before my birth: and if its existence then no way concerns me now, as little will its existence after death.‡

This portion of the field, the portion depending upon argument, was open, I conceive, to Bishop Butler as it is to us. On the argument from the general consent of mankind he had not the sources of information that we possess. The religions of Egypt, China, Persia, India, Chaldea, with Assyria, had not been laid open to the world. The religions of the uncivilized races had not been so largely elucidated by knowledge obtained upon the paths of travel. The roads open to him were principally those which led to an acquaintance with the sentiments of two races, the Greek and the Roman, the most powerful ever known in the world, one in the world of thought, and the other in the world of action.

The first and also the fullest record supplied to us on the thought of the Greeks concerning an unseen and future world is that which we find in the poems of Homer. The largest mass of such information continuously given is that contained in the eleventh book of the Odyssey; but much is also to be gathered from notices dispersed throughout both the poems.

* Juv. Sat. II., 149.
† Grote's Plato, II., 203-5.
‡ Campbell Fraser, *Philosophic Theism*, page 16. (Gifford Lectures for 1894-5.)

The most important of the affirmative propositions which the evidence will warrant is that everywhere there seems to be a protest of nature, a shrinking from the idea of simple extinction at death; nowhere is it mentioned or in any manner entertained at a very early date. The life or soul is as distinct from the bodily organization as is the body of one man from the body of another. The entire man is at death severed into parts, but the nature of the division made, the question where lay the true self, is open to dispute. Twice Homer speaks of what has happened to the αὐτός, or *ego*, after that last earthly crisis: once at the beginning of the Iliad, where he says the wrath of Achilles prematurely dispatched many souls of heroes to the under-world, but they, the αὐτόι, remain to be the prey of dogs and birds;* the other where at the close of the eleventh Odyssey we are introduced to Heracles in Hades as a shade or εἴδωλον only, for he himself (αὐτός) has been admitted to the banquets of the Immortals, and then has Hebe for his mate.† But Heracles was a favored mortal. The glimpses of future happiness are extremely rare.

Again; the whole apparatus, so to speak, of the Homeric Under-world is foreign: as much so as the frame-work and picture of the supernal world is Hellenic. Olympus is within Achaian limits; the entrance to Hades is by the Ocean River at the remotest border of the earth. The Egyptian Amenti reappears in the name of Rhadamanthos, but this name is not placed in connection with any judicial function. True, we have Minos introduced as a judge in Hades, but he has nothing to do with awarding destinies based upon earthly conduct: he is a police magistrate, hearing the complaints and ordering the controversies of the ghostly community.‡ The questions of pre-existence and transmigration are nowhere touched in Homer for whom the ψυχή is indeed not so much the soul in its proper sense, as the living being or living agent treated of in Butler's works. If we are asked whether the shades of the Homeric poems were immortal, we have no means of providing a full answer to the question. Except in a single passage, where he refers to the rapidity with which thought (νόος) traverses or neutralizes space in dealing with its proper subjects,§ he never seems to have thought of the human spirit apart from its experiences in the flesh: much less would he, whose grasp of numbers, except within narrow limits,

* Il. I., 2. † Od. XI., 601-3.
‡ Od. XI., 568-71. § Il. XV., 80, 1.

was totally indeterminate, endeavor to realize to himself that idea of absolutely deathless existence, which is indeed altogether beyond the reach of human faculty, and the idea of which is only and very faintly approached by the largest use of numeration. I reserve for another place what relates to the condition of man in another world. We are here concerned only with duration : and as to duration, we may safely say that the early or Achaian Greeks believed in survival, that their detailed embodiment of it was not indigenous, but imported, and that the conception is not broad enough to comprise the idea implied by natural immortality.

In the great historic ages of Greece, the old Achaian or Homeric conception of the future life tended rather to dwindle than to grow. It nowhere assumed the character of a force operative through personal expectations upon life. Yet the idea of extinction and death, while it was argued for and against in the philosophic schools, had no place in the mind or heart of humanity at large. Grote, who has formed so low an estimate of the upshot of the great labors of Plato, nevertheless writes as follows: "The popular orthodoxy recognized some sort of posthumous existence as a part of its creed, and the uninquiring multitude continued in the teaching and traditions of their youth."* If, however, we wish to appreciate the practical attitude of the public mind with reference to the world of shadows, we must look, not so much to tragedians who had to deal with Archaic traditions and ideals of life, as to Aristophanes, who bodied forth the true form and pressure of his time, and who leaves upon us the impression that the prevailing conception of the future life had been effectually stripped of all that could make it either venerable in theory or operative upon life. The early part of the "Frogs" of Aristophanes appears to supply conclusive evidence that the under-world and the future life could safely be made the theme of ridicule before the most cultivated and popular audience in Greece or in the world.

The thought of Greece was directed to affirming the sufficiency of the earthly life ; but its freedom left ample room for speculation on the future. The Latins were little disposed to formulate either in the one direction or the other, and practically made no addition to the materials which Butler had before him.

*Grote's Plato, II., 204.

The most important part of those materials has still to be considered, the part which could claim the authority of a Divine Revelation. Butler could not admit such a claim into the argument of his first chapter. But neither could he fail to consider for himself what bearing the state of ideas disclosed in the Old Testament might have on the question of the natural immortality of the soul. In Genesis I., 26, we read thus : "And God said, let us make man in our image after our likeness"; and much thought has been bestowed on the great question wherein did this image of God consist? We are guided up to the meaning in part by the place which the passage holds in the narrative of the first chapter. It is a narrative of ascension ; and thus we see at once that the being introduced in this manner was differentiated from the last previously named order of creation by a higher intelligence. So much, however, we should have inferred from the general arrangement, even in the absence of the very marked introduction, and of the descriptive phrase. So that interpreters have reasonably looked for meanings which would convey the idea of a true likeness to God, though not one commensurable with God, nor pushing us into His province. These they have found in purity and integrity of the moral nature ; in freedom of the will ; and in immortality—all this not perfect, yet in training for perfection, and put in a probation which was guarded by the penalties that were to follow upon sin.

St. Augustine has dealt largely with the case of Adam, and appears to have felt the subject to be difficult ; for he says of his own work, *plura quaesita quam inventa sunt ; et eorum quae inventa sunt, pauciora firmata; caetera non ita posita, velut adhuc requirenda sint.** In his work on Genesis he says that the body of Adam in his innocence was mortal, because it might die ; immortal, because it might escape death. It was not an immortal nature like some others, *sicut quasdam naturas immortales creavit Deus ;* but it had a capacity of immortality through the tree of life ; *quod ei praestabatur de ligno vitae, non de constitutione naturae.* For nothing is immortal except the spiritual (body) which is only promised to us at the resurrection. *Neque enim immortale quod mori omnino non possit, erit nisi spirituale, quod nobis futurum in resurrectione promittitur.* But by the Fall it became no longer mortal

* Lib. II. *Retractationum*, c. 24.

only, but dead. *Factum est propter peccatum non mortale . . . sed mortuum.**

Besides the tree of knowledge which was forbidden to Adam there was set in the garden the tree of life, on which, in his state of innocence, he was permitted to feed. According to the plain reading of the text, this tree (as the other would have given knowledge) was so endowed as to give immortality. "And now lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever; therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden."† It is said that this may be an allegory. But, allegory or no allegory, in this view it is all the same. By the tree of life is signified something which had lain open to the access and use of man, and which would, by the ordinance of God, have enabled him to live forever. St. Augustine accepts this teaching in all its breadth, and elsewhere he says man was created an *anima vivens;* his body was a *corpus animale,* a body with an *anima.* He was not immortal by the necessity of nature, but would have become immortal by the tree of life had he not sinned, *nisi in Dei praedicentis minantisque sententiam deliquendo corruisset.*‡ There is nothing in these passages to show a survival of the *anima* after the death of the body, which was *animale.*

Elsewhere, however, St. Augustine teaches explicitly the immortality of the soul. After having felt his way upon the subject, he wrote a treatise, *De Immortalitate Animae,* and with this doctrine his name is prominently associated. To the last-named work is subjoined another, *De Animae Quantitate,* the argument of which, as might be expected, is far more of a metaphysical than of a theological character. But he did not estimate highly what had been achieved on this subject by human means. The immortality of the soul had been discovered only by a very few, under the most favorable circumstances. And even these either thought that the souls would after a term return to the miseries of this life, or else believed in the eternity of the world *a parte ante,* that is to say disbelieved in creation.§ When we come down to the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, we find the principle of natural immortality laid down broadly and without hesitation. *Forma autem hominis est anima*

* *De Genesi ad literam,* B. VI., c. 36. † Genesis III., 22, 23.
‡ *De Civ. Dei.* XIII., 23. § *De Trinitate,* XIII., 12.

rationalis, quae est de se immortalis: meaning apparently with a proper and indefeasible immortality ordained of God. This appears to indicate a great clearing and hardening of opinion since the time of St. Augustine. But there was as yet no declaration proceeding from an authority competent to bind either the Universal or the Western Church; and it may be that Butler did not take great account of what may be regarded as no more than a current of ecclesiastical opinion, philosophical rather than theological in its ultimate grounds. But, without doubt, he would take account of the facts presented to him by the Scriptures of the Old Testament. In his mind a future state was an article of natural religion; and natural religion was due to primitive revelation, for the traces of which he might consistently and reasonably search.

The indications there afforded when co-ordinated one with another bear no marks of the idea of natural immortality either as distinctly revealed or as prevalent among mankind at large, but are on the other hand as far as possible from giving countenance to the idea of extinction, either at the moment of death or upon the lapse of any assumed period after it. Some see in them a gradual ripening and development of the belief as we pass down the centuries.* I have not been able to discover it: the survival of the soul presents itself to me as generally held and in the abstract unquestioned from the earliest date, but as so indeterminate that it sometimes appears to border on, though it never enters, the region of negation. The scriptural tradition offers its contribution to a consent general as against extinction, but refusing submission to any formal statement.

The date of Enoch, the father of Methuselah, is even according to the Hebrew chronology as far back as nearly the middle of the fourth millennium before the Advent. The account of his translation is therefore by far the oldest of scriptural records indicative of the accepted belief. There can be none more beautiful; and it seems to me as if there could not be a more forcible proof that the idea of survival beyond the grave was accepted and familiar among the race for whom the book of Genesis was compiled, and that the happy destinies of the righteous could appropriately be presented to them in terms which upon any other supposition could hardly have taken this

* Salmond.

simple and summary form. But it relates only to a person of distinguished righteousness.

I do not dwell on Deuteronomy xxxii., 22, which threatens that the divine wrath shall "burn unto the lowest hell"; for the context appears to connect the sentiment with temporal judgments.* The absence of all considerations belonging to a future state from the Mosaic legislation is however a fact not less remarkable than any of the notices of that state contained in the Old Testament. It has been common to believe that no scheme of religion, no system of duty and obedience for man towards God could be constructed on any other system than the belief in a future state: and Warburton founded himself on its absence from the Mosaic system to draw contrast between Moses and other legislators; and argued that as he was able to dispense with what they had found essential he must have possessed a mainstay which they had not, namely the revealed authority of God.

Moses had brought the children of Israel out of a land where religion and life were closely bound up with the expectation of retribution in the unseen world. But it was essential to keep the Hebrew worship far removed from contact with Egyptian polytheism. On this account we can readily suppose the Hebrew legislator to have avoided a great danger by dispensing with this form of sanction for his laws. But this avoidance in no way indicates the substantive means which allowed him to draw adequate strength from other quarters, in lieu of that to which he was unable to repair. These elements of strength, whatever their nature, were such as empowered him not only to take his place among legislators, but also to construct a scheme of astonishing durability, which, after three thousand years and upwards of the most searching and violent experiences, is still alive and at work within our view among many millions of our fellow men; which is associated in them with many remarkable gifts, and which does not exhibit the smallest likelihood of disappearance from the face of human things.

These elements of strength are not difficult to discern.

In the first place the unity of God was a pure and profound conception engrained in the heart and mind of the race, tested by the servitude in Egypt on the one hand, and by the signal events of the great deliverance on the other. It is true that even this

* So Pool *in loc.* and references in the Speaker's Commentary.

race was not always firm in its resistance to temptation ; yet many suppose that the worship of the Golden Calf was not the conscious setting up of a separate and rival power, but only the sign of a lust for the symbol supplied by a visible form. And the same may, I suppose, be said of Jeroboam* with more obvious support from the narrative, since he made not one calf like Aaron but two, and placed them at opposite extremities of the northern kingdom with a view to convenience of access. And his motive was on political grounds to supply the people with a substitute for the journey to Jerusalem. What is the power which this doctrine of the Divine Unity can exercise, even in conjunction with most faulty elements, over man, we may judge from the immense development of force displayed at a later period of history in conjunction with the Mahometan propaganda.

Moreover, this one God, as a covenanted God, was placed in a special relation to the people. "I have sworn once by my holiness that I will not fail David." This brought the Deity nearer to them ; and in so doing gave them a greater conscious nearness to Him. All this was sustained by the powerful three-fold combination of a ritual divinely ordered and privileged, of miracle, and of prophecy. And the religious machinery of the Hebrew system was enforced by the alternate experiences of prosperity and misfortune in association with national conduct, and in accordance with the promises and threats of the great Law-giver.†

Yet there is one vital element still to be noted in connection with this unparalleled case of a religious system founded exclusively on temporal considerations. The Mosaic revelation was not the oldest in the world, nor was that older revelation, which had descended along the line of the patriarchs, become extinct. On the contrary it was upheld and transmitted in warm vitality among such of the community as were of spiritual minds, and asserted itself with an extraordinary splendor in the Psalms. The Mosaic narrative itself gives us glimpses of the under world ; for in various passages when our authorized text speaks of passing into the grave, this is not the mere earthly grave, but Sheol, the insatiable, undiscriminating receptacle of the dead.‡ The indication of a world beyond the present one, to be inhabited by man, is perfectly distinct ; but that world is pointed to as something which is wholly extraneous to the Mosaic precinct properly so

* Ex. xxxii. 4. 1 Kings xii., 28. 29. † As in Deut., xxx., xxxi.
‡ Genesis xxxvii., 35; xlii., 38; xliv., 31.

called. But the book of Job which nowhere refers to the Mosaic law or to the history of the Israelites may seem to represent the human tradition beyond the limit of the chosen people, and at a period, as appears to be generally held, of great but uncertain antiquity. For these reasons its repeated references to an unseen world and a future state are of special interest,* most of all the remarkable anticipation of a great Messianic day. The translation of Elijah affords a most imposing testimony to the general acceptance of belief in another world, as from a very different point of view does the episode of the Witch of Endor.† Then we have the marvellous anticipations found in a variety of Psalms, qualified it is true in their recording evidence by such passages as represent a transitory drooping of the soul in the face of its trials and of the formidable incidents of death. This seems, however, never to be without an upward gaze which always involves the idea of possible deliverance, as in Psalm lxxix., 9–12, even though it is not invariably followed by an instant reappearance of the sun from behind the clouds. Thus we have in Psalm xxx. (9, 11), "Shall the dust give thanks unto Thee, or shall it declare Thy truth?" followed and relieved forthwith by "Thou hast turned my heaviness into joy, Thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness." I will not follow the testimony through Ecclesiastes and the Prophets. Unless in the remarkable picture of the final issue of divine government and retribution presented by the book of Daniel,‡ the witness is upon the whole consistent to a general belief in survival, in Sheol or an under world shadowy and sad, with no developed conception of immortality (in the strict sense now attaching to the word) for the human soul or references of that gift to its nature, but with occasional glimpses of the blessed condition of the righteous and their vision of God after death to which no idea of further change is appended.

It was conformable to the general tone of Butler's mind and sustains our high conception of his judgment, that on the one hand he should have mistrusted the abstract reasonings by which it had been attempted through so many ages down to the time of Clarke, to enlarge the idea of survival into that of immortality, and to lift it from the region of hope into that of formulated dogma; that he should have found the evidence before him, large and weighty as it was, yet wanting in the precision necessary for

* Job xviii., 14; *et al.* especially xix., 25-27. † 2 Kings ii., 11; 1. Sam. xxviii., 7.
‡ XII., 2, 3.

a creed; that he should have been content with the modest presumptions he could draw first from indications attendant upon death and then from the surer inferences supplied by the experience of moral government in the world, and above all by the authoritative declarations of the Christian Revelation.

Since the time of Butler, there has been a great enlargement of knowledge on the subject of the traditions of a future life, though nothing to alter the fundamental conditions of the problems which they present. This enlargement has been due to three causes at least: The study of the sacred books of the ancient religions outside the Hebrew pale; the wonderful revelations of linguistic skill and archæological research in Egypt and Assyria; and the multiplication of the opportunities found by travellers for ascertaining the ideas which prevailed among the outlying fractions of the human race.

The result, as far as I can collect it, has been as follows:

(1.) Greatly to enlarge the proof of a belief in some existence for man beyond the grave, which may fairly be called primitive and universal, even if it leave room for a somewhat feeble doubt with respect to this belief among a few of the waifs and strays of mankind, and for a melancholy exception among a very small fraction of educated and civilized mankind.

(2.) The conception of the state of the dead in general was wholly indeterminate as to particulars, but as a whole was shrouded in melancholy and gloom.

(3.) The duration of the new existence in the unseen world came little into view except among those capable of speculation; and not only is there hardly a trace of formulated immortality, but the whole argument continues all along a matter of controversy, and no scheme obtains general concurrence or ascendancy.

(4.) It was this question of duration which may have led men to perplex and load their idea of the future life with the doctrines of transmigration, pre-existence, and absorption, all of which tended to displace those corner stones of the true doctrine, individuality and responsibility, without which the whole conception woefully abates its dignity and interest.

(5.) Some think that the idea of a future state exhibited advance and development with the lapse of time. And those who educe religion out of an original fetishism are in a manner compelled to sustain their theory with this sister belief. Apart from

Christianity, the evidence of history appears to me to teach an opposite lesson, and to present a picture of religious decline in this order of ideas with no clear or certain advance in philosophical clearness or consistency. The declarations (*a*) in the case of Enoch, (*b*) in the case of Elijah, (*c*) in the book of Job, and (*d*) in the public worship of Israel through the Psalter, seem to supply a larger mass of evidence as to positive and popular belief than can be gathered from the testimonies available for the period which divided the Exile from the Advent.

(6.) The state of ideas subsisting among the Jews during the lifetime of our Lord gives no conclusive evidence of advance, and even supplies indications which may seem to tend in another direction. Suppose it granted that the Pharisees were the party dominant among educated Jews. Their general belief in a future state is placed beyond dispute by Acts xxiii., 6-8. But we cannot infer their having mastered the resurrection or embraced the doctrine of a future judgment according to the prophecy of Daniel xii. On the other hand, let us observe that in the parable of Dives, which opened to the Jews the idea of future retribution, the subject is not handled as if any such idea were planted in the general belief, but the prayer of the suffering spirit is that one may be sent from the dead in order to reveal it, and the reply of Abraham is not that it is already familiar, but that it might, and ought to be, known from the ancient Scriptures.* This seems to limit the received opinion to that vague and undefined expectation of survival to which we have such redundant testimony at early dates. There is this alike to be remarked. For the first time in Hebrew history the Sadducees present to us an instance of formulated opinion adverse to survival. Sheltering themselves under a professed regard to the Mosaic law, they hold that ground as a recognized party, and appear to take common ground with the Pharisees, and to be admitted by them as coadjutors in attempts to oppose or baffle our Blessed Lord.

I have dwelt thus at length on the opinion of natural immortality, and on the absence of evidence in its favor as distinguished from simple survival, because it seems to have played a most important part in stirring and fomenting the controversies which are now so rife as to the condition of man in a future state.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

(*To be continued.*)

* Luke xvi., 27-31.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

OUR "UNCLE SAMUEL" AND HIS I. O. U.'S.

It used to be said and sung, with quite literal truth, that "Our Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm"; and our expectancy, as his heirs, is not less valuable now than it was in the more bucolic days when his landed estate consisted in larger degree of virgin pastures. Still, it must be confessed that, presently, our Uncle is financially a little "hard up."

There is no reason, in reason, why he should be in such a condition—neither why he should have come to it, or remain in it, but the fact is he has not managed very well. His credit has been too good and he has "run his face" with altogether too much freedom—particularly for call loans, in which form he has scattered far and wide hundreds of millions of dollars of his I. O. U.'s—notes promising to pay the bearers, on demand, varying amounts, from one dollar to ten thousand dollars.

In this rather reckless way he has gone on for years; but his general business has hitherto been so good and profitable, that he has always had plenty of money on hand for current needs; and as, until recently, everybody has had such perfect confidence in his solvency and honesty that seldom any one asked him to pay any of his obligations, it is perhaps not very surprising that "Uncle Samuel" has not heretofore fully realized the unwisdom, if not serious danger, of permitting the continued outstanding of so large an amount of overdue indebtedness.

In fact, his credit has been so good that his notes—his paper promises to pay dollars—have circulated generally in the place of and just like actual money, until, indeed, a large portion of the people have come to think of them as really being money, instead of the obligations, that they simply are, for its payment.

It is probable that such popular delusion is most largely responsible for our Uncle's present embarrassment, for the readiness with which the public received his notes and the facility with which they have been used to perform the functions of money, coupled with a generous desire to help some of his silver-mining nephews sustain the market for their product, latterly led him into very rash speculations in silver bullion. He practically undertook to "corner the market" for silver, and in the operation bought enormous quantities of the white metal, which has so steadily depreciated in salable value that even he recognizes now that he is in for a heavy final loss on the investment. But that is not the worst of it—presently, at least. He easily can stand the actual direct loss which his silver finally must make him. The greater trouble is that he did not pay for the silver, but bought

it on credit, giving therefor his demand notes to a vast amount, and which it was generally understood, as he in practice has recognized, are payable in gold, if so desired by their holders. To be sure, the notes do not in terms so state—it would have been well if they had—but clearly they were paid out and have passed into circulation upon that theory, and good faith and all-sufficient selfish considerations require that they be treated as obligations redeemable in gold. And like reasons apply with equal force to all outstanding obligations of our "Uncle Samuel." Whatever their literal terms of payment, they have been given currency at a valuation predicated upon the gold standard, and under circumstances of such expressed or fairly implied assurance that he would sustain them at such valuation, that he cannot now, with either honor or business wisdom, permit any doubts to exist in the public mind as to his intention faithfully to meet his liabilities according to their established spirit.

And right here is the key to the embarrassing financial "condition which confronts" our "Uncle Samuel." His present impecuniosity is of small moment, although it has, of course, aggravated and directed attention (but with usefulness) to his more serious difficulty. That he is just now short of cash—a little troubled "to make both ends meet"—need not greatly disturb him. He can and should restore quickly the equilibrium between his income and expenses, by moderately increasing his tariff of business charges. His more serious embarrassments also need be but temporary, if he will awake to the importance of restoring his credit—which, with his resources, should be of the best at all times. For him that is the present concern of prime consequence. It is not so much more money that he needs—that is, it is not really necessary for him immediately to have more money for present wants, in any considerable amount; it is mainly good credit that is required to extricate him from his ominously impending business troubles. And firmly to re-establish his credit involves no demonstration of his ability finally to pay his debts. His abundant resources are well known; what his credit requires is moral restoration—public confidence, not only in his perfect solvency, but in his absolute honesty.

Ethical honesty is, of course, the best of all, and the safest guide; but there is also a vast usefulness, simply as a business tool, in that old saw, that "Honesty is the best policy."

Now, as indicated, no guaranty is needed that "Uncle Sam" can and will pay his debts; the one assurance lacking is simply that he will *faithfully* pay them, according to his creditors' justified expectations, in gold coin, and will not attempt to "dodge" or claim a technical right to satisfy his obligations with depreciated and depreciating silver dollars.

That point made affirmatively clear, and "Uncle Sam" can have the purses of the world, upon his own terms. All that will then be necessary permanently to avert the threatened financial crisis in his affairs, and which would spread ruin throughout the families of his nephews—whose credit inseparably depends upon his—is to provide for the gradual funding of his floating debt in reasonably low-rate-of-interest bonds, payable at a definite future date, or at his pleasure, and specifically, both principal and interest, in gold coin. The operation should not be stimulated, or hastened; simply provide that holders of his demand obligations, on presentation, shall receive therefor either gold coin, or, if mutually agreeable, the said gold bonds. With such continuing assurance, the funding process would progress slowly, without serious disturbance to his general business, and his current receipts

of gold coin would undoubtedly meet all requirements for actual redemptions.

Dropping metaphor, it must be recognized that objections have been and will be made to the funding into interest-bearing debt, of the currency obligations of the government of the United States, upon the ground that such increased interest-charge is unnecessary—the fact being cited, with superficial force, that the government has long carried a large portion of the public debt in the form of non-interest bearing currency, and thus far has successfully maintained the same at par with gold. Such objectors, however, mistakenly count as clear gain the interest thus apparently saved, without making due allowance for, or duly understanding, the far greater pecuniary injury, which the continued outstanding of so great a volume of inelastic and unredeemable currency works directly and indirectly to the business interests of the people at large—who, in ultimate analysis, are the government.

There is also a not unworthy strong sentimental affection for the old "greenbacks," which were such a helpful and almost indispensable resource for the government in its great struggle for existence, in the late civil war. Such sentiment and its sustaining facts, if informed and interpreted by wisdom, should alone make it clear to broad-minded statesmanship that the power thus to raise money—or create an available substitute—in desperate emergencies, is one that should be carefully reserved in the fullness of its strength for such occasions. It is as important, in time of peace, to husband such powers, as it is to accumulate the other needed munitions of war.

And perhaps it must be expected that the less thoughtful of those whose interests and faith are bound up in "free silver" will be unwilling to have the government absolutely committed to the payment of all of its existing indebtedness in United States gold coin, or an equivalent satisfactory to its creditors.

But the true friends of silver should not object to a binding legislative affirmation of such purpose by the government. It would do nothing more than honestly acknowledge, in terms, what, in practice, the government now recognizes as the just measure of its liability to its creditors. It would place no added obstacle in the way of future enlarged use of silver. All the questions relating thereto would still remain open for such solution as hereafter may be possible. This, however, is not silver's day in court. The future of silver, either as a money metal or as a mine product, has quite as much at stake as any business interest in maintaining at the highest the credit and solvency of this government. If, in the near future, silver shall ever be restored to a purchasing power equal to 16 to 1 of gold, it will be only because and after the United States government has fully demonstrated its ability and fixed determination to sustain all of its mediums of exchange upon a parity with the gold standard of values. Our golden eagles will need all encouragement and their fullest powers of flight if they shall succeed in sustaining on a level with themselves, in the upper business air, their kindred bird who now sits with clipped and feeble wings on the back of our silver dollar.

The advocates of a larger use of silver (and the writer thinks it both possible and desirable) should not forget for a moment that whatever in any degree cripples the financial strength of the United States weakens in so much the most effective existing prop to bimetallism—which at present means a *forced* sustaining in use of silver, as money, at a parity, in pur-

chasing power, with gold coin; and that failure of such bimetallism now means either entire disuse of silver, as money, or its exclusive use therefor —a change to the silver standard of values. There may be those of the debtor class who would welcome such a change. Even to them the general result would be loss rather than gain; and it certainly could not profit silver producers, for in that event silver, as a purchasing medium, would inevitably sink to its own commercial level, and the value of silver money would be only that of so much of the white metal in the merchants' scales.

If for naught but pure selfishness, all interests should wish to anchor the business of this country to assured gold specie payments and absolute good faith, and thereby draw to us the capital of the world, with its best brains and brawn, which then would regard our favored land as the most promising of all for their employment, and whose industries and enterprises would fructify all of our business interests.

Again, from the outcome, would we learn, with reinvigorated faith in proverbial wisdom, that "Honesty is the best policy."

PLINY T. SEXTON.

A WOMAN'S VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY'S MILLSTONE.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, in his article on "Christianity's Millstone," has placed in a very deliberate manner a most plausible and powerful argument in the hands of Christianity's opponents. He claims that the Old Testament, which has been considered the very bulwark of Christianity, must be laid aside, because the book as a whole can not be proven to be historically correct. Christianity embraces many grades and shades of belief, from Catholicism with its doctrine of Immaculate Conception, transubstantiation, Papal infallibility, confession and absolution to Unitarianism, which denies the divinity of Christ and the resurrection of his body, and is not shackled by what Matthew Arnold calls the "fairy tales" of the Christian Religion. Yet taking Professor Smith's paper as a basis of my argument, I can show that from any Christian point of view the New Testament is bound to fall the moment the Old Testament,—the rock upon which it was built—is taken away.

The Catholics and many Protestant sects believe and point to the Gospel as their authority—that Christ came in fulfillment of the prophecies in the Old Testament, but Mr. Smith says: "No real and specific prediction of the advent of Jesus or of any event in his life can be produced from the books of the Old Testament." This has always been the contention of those who refused to accept Jesus as the Messiah! Yet, in order to try to prove that he *was* the Messiah, the New Testament states (St. Matthew, Chap. i.) that Jesus was descended from the House of David, through *Joseph*, who, it was claimed, was *not* his father, and this notwithstanding that he was God and born of a Virgin! Christianity bases its claims to recognition either on the fulfillment of the prophecies or on its code of ethics. The first claim, according to many scholars—including Professor Smith—has no *raison d'être*, and since Jesus preached wholly from the Old Testament, and his precepts and principles were derived entirely from the Bible and the sayings of the Sages, which were later compiled in the Talmud, the second claim cannot be one of superiority. Even the Sermon on the Mount, which is considered the cream of the Christian spirit, was proven years ago by the Rev. Dr. Zipser to be drawn from these sources and to contain no new sentiments. The myths

and fairy tales which are Christianity's true *millstones* come from the Buddhist legends which were carried into Palestine by the Essenes and others, and were made use of by the Evangelists to adorn the Gospel narrative. A brief survey and comparison of the similarity of their leading features will prove this:

Immaculate Conception of Maya, mother of Buddha.	Immaculate Conception of Mary, mother of Jesus.
Vision of Suddhodana, father of Buddha, in which it is announced to him that the Queen, his wife, shall conceive miraculously.	Vision of Joseph (supposed) father of Jesus in which it is announced Mary, his wife, shall conceive miraculously.
Buddha at his birth was adored by the gods and the great Kings of the four cardinal points.	Jesus at his birth was adored and received homage from the Magi.
Buddha discoursed with the Rishis.	Jesus discoursed with the doctors in the temple.
Buddha was tempted by the demon Mara.	Jesus was tempted by the demon Satan.
Buddha was baptized in the Nairanjana.	Jesus was baptized in the Jordan.
The incident of the Chandala woman at the well.	The incident of the Samaritan woman at the well.
The Courtesan Ambapali.	The Courtesan Magdalena.
The traitor Devadatta.	The traitor Judas.
The triumphal entry of Buddha into Rajagriha.	The triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem.
Adoration of the Rice Cake.	Adoration of the Eucharist.

Mr. Smith says: "It is a rule of criticism that we cannot by any critical alembic extract materials for history out of fable. If the details of a story are fabulous, so is the whole. If the details of Abraham's story are plainly unhistorical, the whole story must be relegated to the domain of tribal fancy."* The whole story of the birth and life of Jesus should therefore according to Mr. Smith, "be relegated to the domain of fancy," and no longer be "allowed to cloud the vision of free inquiry"—is it less difficult to believe that a son was born to a virgin than that a son was born to Sarah when she was ninety years of age?

Professor Smith states that the Old Testament is the entire body of Hebrew literature, philosophy, history and poetry and as such he objects to binding it as a single book and objects still more strenuously to binding it to the New Testament. Instead of seeing any objections to binding the history and theology of a people in one book, I consider it an admirable method, and would suggest that the Christian Church collect and bind together with the New Testament the record of the persecutions, massacres and wars carried on under its banner during the past eighteen hundred years, as exemplifying Jesus's mission: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father and the daughter against her mother and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." (St. Matthew x., 34-35.) Why Jesus should be termed the Prince of Peace, after such a statement, is beyond my comprehension! Mr. Smith maintains that

* That Abraham did live, however, and that the Biblical account of some of the events in his life are true is proven by Mr. Pinche's recent Assyrian Archæological discoveries.

Judaism did not rise higher than "tribal monotheism," but the Psalms abound with the sentiment that the Lord God of Israel is the Lord who reigns over all the earth, and Moses proclaimed Jehovah to be the God of the spirit of all flesh. Mr. Smith claims that "Christianity is the denial of Jewish tribalism, proclaiming that all nations have been made of one blood to dwell together on the earth, and are sharers alike in the care of Providence." Yet in St. Mark, Chap. xvi. we find, "He that believeth and *is baptised* shall be saved, but he that believeth not *shall be damned*." And in order to carry out these teachings the history of The Inquisition with the massacre of three hundred thousand souls is written in flame and the story of the crusades painted in blood!

To show that Jesus merely preached Judaism, notwithstanding the perversions of the disciples and of the church, let me give Jesus's own testimony when he was asked which was the greatest commandment (Matthew xxii.). He quoted Deuteronomy, vi., and Leviticus, xix. The first of these commandments is the most important of all the Jewish prayers, is said daily by observant Jews and at the bedside of the dying. The Jews—who do not believe that conversion, whether obtained by exhortation, execration, or social excommunication, is necessary for the salvation of their neighbor's souls—follow the second command more faithfully than those who call themselves Christ's followers, typified by such representatives as the Czar of Russia, head of the Greek Church, Mr. Pobiedonostseff, procurator of the Holy Synod, Pope Leo XIII. (avowed enemy of his neighbor at the Quirinal) on through the gamut to Drumont and Rector Ahlwardt, the anti-Semites, enemies of what Professor Smith calls the "financial Jew."

"Of a belief in the immortality of the soul," continues Mr. Smith, "no evidence can be found in the Old Testament." Yet Mr. Bethune English—a Christian divine who became a convert to Judaism claims that in Daniel xii., 2, Isaiah xvi. and Ezekiel xxxvii. are found plainer accounts of a resurrection than were ever preached by Jesus. Furthermore, the New Testament itself represents the resurrection of the dead being perfectly well known to the Jews and describes Jesus himself as proving it to the Sadducees out of the Old Testament!

"It is but useless and it is but paltering with the truth," pursues Mr. Smith, "to set up the figment of a semi-inspiration. An inspiration which errs, which contradicts itself, which dictates manifest incredibilities, such as the stopping of the sun, Balaam's speaking ass, Elisha's avenging bears, or the transformation of Nebuchadnezzar, is no inspiration at all."* In replying to this I would like to assert my Yankee prerogative by asking why these miracles are any more difficult to believe than those cited in the New Testament? There we read that Jesus fed four thousand people with seven loaves, that he walked on the surface of the waters, that the Holy Ghost descended on him in the bodily shape of a dove and a voice was heard from heaven, proclaiming: "Thou art my beloved son; in thee I am well pleased." It is also related that he turned water to wine, healed lepers by touching them and raised the dead, and after he was crucified, he ascended to heaven in bodily form! If Christians accept these statements as truths, they need have no scruples about accepting all the statements in the Old Testament as

* Many modern minds regard the story of the sun standing still as poetical, and certain ancient Hebrew Sages of repute hold that the episode of Balaam's ass speaking was a vision of Balaam.

well! If, however, they agree with Matthew Arnold in believing they are justified in discarding as untrustworthy all the reports of miracles and if they believe, as he points out, that the disciples misunderstood and distorted in many instances what Jesus really said, then to quote Mr. Smith's words in regard to the Old Testament: "The time has surely come when as a supernatural revelation, the *New* Testament should be frankly, though reverently laid aside, and no more allowed to cloud the vision of free inquiry." Thus disposed of, the New Testament—laid aside as a book of supernatural revelation, its miracles proven to spring from Buddhist legend, its central idea (the redemption of mankind) not fulfilled—can rest only on its moral and ethical teachings which are proven to be all gleaned from the Old Testament and the teachings of the Hebrew Sages. Therefore, I appeal to the candid reader to decide if what is, after all, the true foundation and spirit of Christianity, can be justly called its Millstone.

MAUD NATHAN.

NEW YORK'S OPPORTUNITY FOR 1900.

THE century that is approaching its close is the most important one in the world's history. Why should not its close be marked with record and thanks? Why should not that celebration take the obvious and gratifying shape of a world's fair? Why should not the place of that fair be the city of New York?

There is no doubt in the minds of all who saw the Columbian exhibition that Chicago gave a better fair to the world than New York would have prepared in the same time, had both of the cities built and exhibited in competition. Chicago is the more active and adventurous of the two, the more liberal and the more indigenous—this must be conceded even by those who dislike the smoke, noise, crowd, and scenic ugliness of the city by the lake.

But Chicago has had her fair. She has compelled the astonishment, the respect, the admiration of the world. Now, let New York make good her promises and show us a thing of equal magnificence and beauty. There would be a fitness in this division of honors. Chicago is American; New York is cosmopolite. It was proper that the quadri-centennial of the discovery of this continent should be observed in a city that is peculiarly a native growth. The city itself is an achievement, an exhibit of purely American courage, energy and taste. It has no history; it has accepted less from older nations than any other of our important towns.

New York, on the contrary, is a complex development. It was Dutch, English and American before it became Irish, and there are hopeful indications that in a little while it will become American again, or at least German. As the gate of incoming population, its own citizenry has become more diverse than that of any other commercial capital in the world; it is more Irish than Dublin, more Hebrew than Jerusalem, nearly as German as Berlin, and the French, Italians, Spaniards, Scandinavians, Japanese, Poles, Hungarians, Russians, Chinese, negroes, even Syrians and Turks are in such numbers as to give racial character to their quarters, which are extensive enough to constitute towns in themselves. There is an obvious fitness in choosing such a city as the seat of an exposition designed to mark an era of progress that concerns America not more than the whole world, especially as it is more available to the world beyond the sea than Chicago was.

A proposition has been made to hold a great religious festival at the end

of the century. Let those who are concerned with observances of that kind attend it, by all means; but a world's fair ought to have more than a sectarian significance—more than a religious significance. The progress of the race since the beginning of the century has been moral, intellectual and material rather than religious.

The world is richer than it used to be, and also better. There has been much political thievery in New York and Brooklyn, but consider the world at large and there is less pocket picking, burglary and cheating, as there is less drunkenness and savagery. Within fifty years we have seen a continent peopled, a "great American desert" wiped from the map, the last of the crowns struck from the head of an American and the last of the shackles loosed from the ankle of a slave. Greenland has been crossed and bounded, Africa and Australia have no longer a geographic mystery, the train, the ship, the trolley car move humanity whither it will, cheaply, quickly, comfortably; we get the London news of noon on the same morning and the man in Boston converses with the man in Omaha through a piece of wire. Arts have advanced, creature comforts are so increased that the shopkeeper of to-day lives better and more healthfully than a king in the last century, and has more appliances for pleasure and information. Ideas as well as advantages are multiplying. Men are more tolerant than they were and are working more for each other. Monarchy is doomed everywhere, and liberty will be established in the United States in the course of another generation. These beatitudes signify enough to deserve the memorial of an exhibition.

If such a fair is to be, preparations for it should begin at once. Chicago does things while New York talks, therefore the talk part of it should be got over as quickly as possible—say, in about three years. The two political sects will then have settled how much there is in it for each of them, and the real work can go forward from that time. Favorable sites are not plenty, but surely the Hudson or the East River should be brought into the landscape effect. There is room at Inwood and special tracks could be laid that would afford room for the operation of as quick and frequent trains as those on the lake front by which the Chicago exhibition was fed from the town.

New York claims to want such a fair. It has the money, the executive ability, the talent; it has landscape gardeners, artists, architects and organizers. Has it the public spirit?

CHARLES M. SKINNER.

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AMERICA'S INTEREST IN EASTERN ASIA.

BY THE HON. JOHN BARRETT, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM.

THERE are few if any questions pertaining to the foreign interests of the United States which are to-day more important than the question: What is or what shall be its material policy in Eastern Asia?

In other terms, shall the Great Republic be a strong or weak factor, a known or an unknown quantity, in working out the complex problem that presents itself in the development of Japan, Korea, China and Siam?

The apparent absence of positive American commercial influence and direct concern in the present *post-bellum* situation, and the seeming neglect of rare opportunity, are sufficient ground for proposing the question; the possibilities of the future, with their inevitable bearing upon our own prosperity, are ample reason for its discussion and answer.

It is not my privilege to examine the merits of our general diplomatic policy towards these Eastern nations, nor does the scope of the article require it. From the days of Caleb Cushing, Edmund Roberts, Townsend Harris, Anson Burlingame, and Commodore Perry to the present, the record is an honorable one; and I may be pardoned for expressing the selfish belief that

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the representatives of the United States now in the Orient are doing all in their limited power to legitimately enhance the prestige of their land and flag. But they ask for that co-operation and assistance which can be rendered specifically by Congress and our commercial and maritime interests, and generally by the awakened sentiment of the American people. While it is our traditional policy not to achieve territorial aggrandizement by martial conquest, there is no precedent which says we shall not undertake commercial extension by peaceable conquest, and shape not only our foreign relations, but our home enterprises, with that purpose in view.

Frankly and truthfully stated—though not pleasing to our national pride—our country is not regarded by the Oriental people in their practical knowledge and relations as a Great Power in the common acceptance of the term ; it is not placed in the same category with Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia. Theoretically only do they class it with these ; they think of it with a vague, undefined conception—powerful perhaps but distant, grand in its home influence but having little concern in foreign affairs. To both the traveller and the permanent resident in the Orient this is constantly in evidence whether he be at a seaport or in the interior. A study of its cause finds speedy solution in our small and neglected maritime and trade interests. "Old Glory" is more of a curio to the Oriental than an emblem of progress and power. When the beautiful steam yacht of one of our millionaires anchored in Bangkok's harbor, the natives learned from what country it came by comparing its ensign with the flag that floated over the United States Legation ! But this is not surprising in view of the fact that not one of the 517 merchant vessels that entered this busy port last year was American.

Yet in the light of results to be attained and of effects upon the ultimate standing of the races and nations of the world, it is not unreasonable to affirm that the United States has as great interest in the development of Eastern Asia as in that of South and Central America. It would be well if a fair share of the attention given to the latter countries and the energy exerted in exploiting them were diverted to that wonderful coast which reaches from Japan and Siberia to Java and Siam. Japan alone has more inhabitants than all of South America ; while the Nic-

aragua canal finds a greater argument for its construction in facilitating trade with the Orient than facilitating that with Western South America.

Get a map and look at that trans-Pacific coast; get reliable authorities and study its history, resources and conditions; get a ticket to cross the seas and travel from one end of it to the other; get acquainted with it thoroughly and not superficially; and then its possibilities as a powerful agent in shaping the history of men will be fully appreciated.

Extending right away for over 4,000 miles from Hakodate and Vladivostock to Bangkok and Singapore; peopled with 400,000,000 restless beings; busy with a great and growing commercial exchange; provided with capacious harbors and thriving *entrepots* of trade; intersected by mighty rivers and canals; possessed of uplands in which are found every mineral the earth produces, and of lowlands that are gardens of prodigal fertility; densely populated in certain sections; with vast resourceful areas unimproved; presenting the extremes of progress and retrogression, of energy and sloth, of advanced civilization and lowest barbarism; having histories and boasting of philosophies that antedate those of Christian nations; and possibly at this very hour on the verge of momentous events which may necessitate the remaking of the maps of the world; this section of Asia with all its phases and questions, indeed fascinates alike the diplomat and the tradesman, the politician and the economist, the conqueror and the peacemaker, the optimist and the pessimist.

What better indication can there be of what these countries can do than what they are doing? What better proof of the value of this field is wanted than the business it already possesses? What plainer evidence is at hand that the opportunity is not appreciated and improved by our own country than the comparison of its efforts and results with those of other lands? Statistics and figures are usually dry and uninteresting, except when they bring important facts to light. They are quoted here to answer the questions just asked.

The total foreign trade of Japan, Korea, China, and Siam in 1894, roughly stated, was $725,000,000,* of which the share of Japan and China was $665,000,000; of Siam and Korea,

*The figures given are silver dollars. All calculations and transactions of the Asiatic coast are in silver, and with the fluctuating value of the same in gold it would be unsatisfactory to give the returns in the latter coin.

$60,000,000. Were the trade of European colonies of the coast added to the above total it would reach the grand sum of nearly $1,000,000,000.

Japan's foreign trade shows a remarkable increase from $64,400,000 in 1885 to $230,700,000 in 1894; that of China from $229,809,000 in 1885 to $435,300,000 in 1894; that of Siam, from $19,400,000 in 1892 to $42,000,000 in 1894.

In both Japan and China the imports from foreign countries exceed the exports, and show a greater increase than the latter from 1885 to 1894. Japanese imports increased from only $28,300,000 in 1885 to $117,400,000 in 1894, and her exports from $36,100,000 to $113,200,000 in 1894; China's imports developed in the same years from $132,300,000 to $243,150,000 and her exports from $97,500,000 to $192,150,000.

The excess of China over Japan is not large in view of the fact that China has eight times the population of Japan and her customs returns are made from 24 ports, against only six in Japan.

We have now seen how great is the volume of the trade of these countries and how extensively they purchase from other lands. The share of the United States in this commercial exchange is next to be noted. Japan's imports from the United States in 1894 amounted to $11,000,000 approximately, but imports from England were over $42,000,000, and yet Japan is almost 9,000 miles nearer San Francisco than London. Imports from other European countries reached nearly $16,000,000. In short, Japan's imports from all Europe were $58,000,000, or five times in excess of her American imports. A careful examination of the schedule of imports, however, shows that the United States can produce and manufacture fully 60 per cent. of the goods represented by that $58,000,000.

In the matter of exports from Japan the showing is still more remarkable. Her exports to the United States in 1894 were over $43,000,000, or a balance against us of $32,000,000! Contrast this with England. Her purchases from Japan were only $6,000,000, or a splendid balance in her favor of $34,000,000! The United States provides Japan with her best market. The nearest approach is France with purchases of $19,000,000, which are largely silk remanufactured, and then sold perhaps as extensively in the United States as in other lands.

The moral from these figures is plain. If the exporters of the United States wishing to trade with Japan would show as much energy and interest as their brother importers who have their best men stationed in the Mikado's realm to buy the first qualities of teas, silks, and curios, they could develop a greater market, and either make the balance in favor of America or at least equalize the exchange.

In China is another object lesson of American opportunity neglected, another illustration of an unfavorable balance. China's imports from the United States in 1894 approximated $10,000,000, her exports $25,000,000, or a debit balance for the United States of $15,000,000. From England her imports were $45,000,000 against exports of $36,000,000, or a credit balance in favor of that kingdom of $9,000,000. A minute study of the schedule of China's imports from England and other European countries permits the same conclusion that obtains in a like inspection of Japan's imports; there is no valid reason in the nature of the goods themselves why a major per cent. of them should not come from the United States. Were this paper merely a technical one, I would quote liberally from the specific customs' returns of China, Japan, and Siam, to substantiate more fully this assertion, but this is the work of trade reports. Not only could a large proportion of these articles be exported from America, but an investigation of both wholesale and retail prices proves that the American products could be sold at a reasonable profit.

Whatever may be the exact hindrances, there is no question that the decadence and threatened extinction of our merchant marine is a mill-stone around the neck of our foreign commerce. Let American shipping interests, fostered by the helping hand of Congress, regain their hold of former days in these waters, and our trade with the Orient will increase with a pace that will warm the heart of the coldest blooded misanthrope.

The shipping returns of Japan well nigh impel the patriotic American to hide his face in shame. Into the ports of that little kingdom, just over the sea from California, Oregon and Washington, there entered in 1894 only 32 steamers flying the Stars and Stripes out of a total of 1,788, and this paltry number showed a decrease of five from 37 in 1893! Out of a total tonnage of 2,539,951, the steamers of that nation whose fleet once ruled the ocean wide could muster only 83,350. Along with our

lonely 32 steamers were 850 British and 370 German. In sailing vessels our showing was somewhat better, but there we were outnumbered again by the British.

I hesitate to speak of our shipping in China lest I be accused of misrepresentation, but as it is the purpose of this article to tell the truth and awaken interest in the hunt for the Golden Fleece of far Cathay, I must make no exceptions. Shanghai is the most important port of China. In 1894, 2,844 merchant steamers with a tonnage of 3,304,918 entered that port but not one was American! Not one American trading steamer came to Newchwang out of 348; not one to Tientsin of 645; not one to Cheefoo of 1,031; not one to Chinkiang of 1,493; not one to Foochow of 294; not one to Canton of 2,250. Kind Amoy only breaks the mournful record, where four lone steamers out of 822 found a haven in her quiet waters. Hong Kong of course is the terminal point of our few trans-Pacific steamer lines, but that is not strictly a Chinese port. A small number of sailing ships wandering up and down the coast, and a few men-of-war cruising here and there, alone carried our flag into China's waters. I have already mentioned how lonesome the Legation ensign is in Siam.

In face of all these facts and conditions it is as palpable as the sun in the sky that American maritime and trade interests in this part of the world are not only grossly neglected, but afford an opportunity for vigorous development that it is ludicrous and inconsistent to deny.

Who is to blame? If Congress, let it proceed to legislate the remedy. If shippers and exporters, manufacturers and merchants, let them enter upon a campaign of education and development. If the American people at large, let them awake to the fact that the principle of the survival of the fittest must apply to nations, that commerce is their life-giving energy, and that without such life blood the United States cannot be numbered among the fittest.

To the Nicaragua canal reference has already been made, but it is of sufficient importance to invite more consideration. Were any man who is now opposed to its construction to thoroughly study its bearing on our commercial relations with Eastern Asia and all the other countries of the Pacific seas, it is probable that he would be convinced of the error of his position. The best

British trade experts openly state that its completion will place the United States in a position to control the markets of the Pacific. Mr. A. S. Colquhoun, whose life and energies seem to be devoted to the advancement of Great Britain's foreign trade, has recently in an exhaustive discussion shown how completely in the event of its construction can the United States dominate every market north of Hong Kong and south east of Java, that is, Japan, Korea, northern and central China, Australia, and New Zealand and the islands of Australasia. The extent of the present commerce and traffic between Europe and the Pacific is measured to a large extent by the greatly increasing business of the Suez canal. The tonnage passing through the canal in 1894 reached the enormous volume of 11,750,000 tons, and its receipts the astonishing figures of 75,500,000 francs or about 15,100,000 gold dollars. The Nicaragua canal may not show such traffic and revenues at first, but it will not have long to wait. It will enable the South not only to supply the increasing demand for raw cotton in Japan and China which is destined to reach a great figure in the near future, but it will place the manufacturing centres of the Atlantic seaboard and the Central West 1,200 to 2,000 miles nearer the great markets of Japan, Korea, and Northern China. In brief it will give manufacturing and productive America a clear basis of advantage in the matter of water routes and transportation. In 1894, the exports of the United States to all the countries of Eastern Asia did not reach $15,000,000 gold, while those of Europe exceeded $75,000,000. Two years after the Nicaragua canal is opened, I deem it no exaggeration to say that our trans-Pacific trade will exceed $75,000,000 or a sum almost sufficient to construct it.

To enumerate all the conditions, the lack of which have retarded the development of our Asiatic trade in the past, and the presence of which will materially assist it, would consume more space than is at the writer's disposal. That I may not be guilty, however, of diagnosing a disease without naming a remedy, a few suggestions are given as a result of considerable investigation.

Aside from the building up of our merchant marine and the opening of the Nicaragua Canal, are the following: the establishment of reliable branch American houses to handle all classes of American products; the sending of representatives

possessing experience, tact, and thorough knowledge of their lines, both to study the Oriental demand and develop a market; Chambers of Commerce, Boards of Trade, banking and commercial agencies, obtaining full and truthful data on the demands of markets, the most direct and the cheapest routes, and the financial rating of Asiatic buyers; offering inducements similar and equal to those offered by European merchants, such as favorable terms of purchase and credit, opportunity and time to take advantage of advance in exchange; sending consignments on commission; packing and preparing goods with great care, sending only the best quality and at competitive rates, and securing prompt despatch; liberal advertising in the press of the leading ports; the establishment, where feasible, of papers under American control; Americans entering the employ of Asiatic governments, where hundreds of Europeans now have a monopoly and are quiet promoters of European interests; the possible sending of commercial missions, like those sent out by the Chambers of Commerce of French, British, and German manufacturing centres; the reasonable subsidizing of steamship lines, such as is now done with profit by the chief countries of Europe; maintaining an effective naval squadron to "show the flag" and protect American interests; and last, but assuredly not least, increasing the efficiency of legations and consulates by providing a sufficient and competent staff to perform the manifold duties incumbent upon them, proper buildings for offices, and sufficient allowances to maintain the same on an equality with those of other nations. A commercial *attaché* at each legation who could devote his entire time to his work would prove a valuable addition to the usual force, and his appointment a worthy innovation upon the present system.

In regard to the cheap labor of Japan and China, there is no doubt that it presents a grave question, but it is one that time alone can solve. It is not such as to debar or deter American producers and manufacturers from entering the field. The day is yet distant, if it ever comes, when there will not be a great demand for foreign products in Japan, China, Siam and Korea. Our commercial interests must not be kept from the conquest by the reports of retired manufacturers who have made their own fortunes at home and report impressions gained by superficial observations of leisurely travel; by correspondents who come in by

one door, as it were, and go out by the next; or by alarmists who hold the sixpence of European competition and Asiatic cheap labor so near their eye that they cannot see any good beyond.

In conclusion, a word more can be appropriately said concerning what I would term the "Importance of the Asiatic Opportunity." China is on the point of great development. Such a land cannot remain in material darkness. With her rivers, her plains, her plateaux, her mountains, all suggestive of latent power and possibilities, she is now where the United States was sixty years ago before the era of marvellous advancement. The conditions of race and population are different, but the raw material is there. Japan has on foot gigantic schemes for the further improvement of her land and people, while rich and undeveloped Formosa is awaiting her best efforts. Korea has vast unimproved mineral and agricultural resources. Siam is a garden with only the paths laid out and a fringe of flowers along their sides. And yet the same lands are the home of histories, religions, philosophies and peoples that were ancient before the United States were born.

Curzon in his "Problems of the Far East," and Norman in "The Far East," the latest and most exhaustive works on Eastern Asia, after studying these countries long and carefully, have used stronger language than I have employed. Unless all signs fail, a new era is coming in modern history. A "Pacific Question" is developing apace. The Atlantic must share its glories and power with its sister sea. As the latter is mightier in extent than the former, it may yet be the scene of mightier events in shaping the world's history.

In the new adjustment of international relations and the rearrangement of the world's commerce which must inevitably result, it remains for our country to decide whether its hand will be strong or weak.

JOHN BARRETT.

REVIVAL OF OLYMPIAN GAMES.

BY GEORGE HORTON, UNITED STATES CONSUL AT ATHENS.

In the year 393 of our era, the Emperor Theodosius, inspired by a religious zeal which seems mistaken to us to-day, declared the Olympian games forever abolished.

Held on the sacred soil of Elis, they had always been accompanied by solemn offerings to the gods, by processions, sacrifices, and prophecy.

Theodosius had not been able to disconnect athletics from heathenism. The Olympian games are about to be celebrated again on Greek soil, under the auspices of a Christian prince, zealously abetted by a Christian people. For this reason the Panathenaic Stadium is a scene of feverish activity to-day. It is piled with great blocks of Pentelic marble, and its arena is snowy with the fine chips hewn off by an army of chiselers.

The first celebration of the games under the new order will begin on the 24th of March, Old Style, and a programme has been laid out that will consume at least ten days. The excavations carried on in the Stadium in 1873 by his Majesty, King George, paved the way for the present work, and rendered it more easy of speedy accomplishment. Laborers, hired and paid by the King out of his private means, dug away the earth that had washed down from the hills during a thousand years. They laid bare the floor of the spacious amphitheatre, and its sloping sides. The present excavations, necessary for the rebuilding of the Stadium, have resulted in several interesting discoveries.

The amphitheatre in its original state, that is to say, as it came from the hand of nature, was no doubt imperfectly formed for the purpose to which the Athenians adapted it. To begin with, there was simply a long narrow valley between two hills, shallower at one end than at the other. Lycurgus, the orator

and benefactor of Athens, is said to have laid the foundations of the Stadium. Under his direction we can imagine that the farther end of the ravine was closed up with earth, making it continuous with the sides, and that the whole interior was given symmetrical shape, sloping gradually from the summit to the arena.

On the inclining sides of the ravine the people sat or stood, watching the naked athletes struggling below.

A large proportion of the original seats were cut into the earth itself. One cannot help thinking that they must have been more comfortable than the marble benches afterward supplied by Herodes Atticus.

At the edge of the arena have been exhumed the traces of a low marble wall or border. This bounded on three sides the space devoted to the contests, separating it from a walk that ran all the way round, at the foot of the first row of seats.

Where this border is entirely lost, it has been replaced. The old boundary is easily distinguishable from the new, although an effort at exact reproduction has been made.

The former has taken on that soft, brownish tint which age always gives to Pentelic, while the latter is fresh from the chisel.

According to Dr. Dörpfeld, an interesting discovery has been made in connection with this boundary wall. It seems that it formed in no place a straight line, but that both its longer sides bulged outward, giving it the shape of a huge horseshoe. At the open end of the horseshoe the two hills forming the ravine have been cut square off, and a supporting wall has been reared on either side. Ruins of ancient steps have been exhumed leading up the face of these walls to platforms from which one passed into the second tier of seats.

These steps are being renewed. As in the old days many of the seats were of earth, so now a dividing wall will be run around the sloping sides of the amphitheatre, about half way between their top and bottom, and earthen benches will be cut in the space above.

The only exception to this arrangement is at the half-circle cut off by the goal, where it crosses one end of the arena. Here the seats will be of marble from top to bottom.

The entire lowest row of the amphitheatre, also of marble, is finished. The space between it and the wall where the earthen seats begin, is being temporarily covered with wooden benches.

Entrance to the Stadium will, with certain restrictions, be free.

All invited foreigners and distinguished guests will be given places, and sections will be reserved for members of trades and professions that have subscribed toward the support of the games.

In the midst of the semi-circular space before mentioned, in its lowest row, are to be set two great thrones of Pentelic marble, modeled after the chair of the Priest in the Theatre of Dionysus.

In these will sit the King and Queen of Greece.

Two smaller thrones are being prepared for Crown Prince Constantine and Princess Sophia.

At the left of the King and Queen will be other marble chairs for the representatives of foreign powers, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and other important officials.

A seat of honor will also be reserved for George Abéroff, the wealthy Greek of Alexandria, whose munificence has rendered possible the rebuilding of the Stadium. It was he who came to the rescue of the committee with a gift of $600,000 francs at the moment when they found themselves almost reduced to despair for want of funds.

There is no time now to construct marble seats for the entire amphitheatre, but there is a well grounded rumor that Mr. Abéroff does not intend to let his fame rest with the donation already made, but that, after the celebration of the games, he will continue the reconstruction of the Stadium until he leaves it as it was in the time of Herodes Atticus.

What a magnificent sight that will be!

With such a reminder of past glories and prowess continually before them, the Greek youth should again take that interest in athletic sports which has always characterized free and brave peoples.

That the hopes which have been placed in Mr. Abéroff's future intentions are well founded, is proved by the continued interest which he takes in the Stadium and the games. At the last meeting of the committee, held on the 21st of October, the Crown Prince announced that 250,000 francs more had been placed at the committee's disposal by this second Herodes Alticus.

Such munificence is not extraordinary in a modern Greek. Patriotism inspires it, and the Stadium, however magnificent

when completed, will not look at all out of place in Athens. Though Hellas herself is poor, many of her citizens enrich themselves in foreign lands, and these, with the undying instinct of the old Greeks, either themselves return to their native land and build magnificent homes, or else they send back their money to be expended in the erection of hospitals, industrial schools, colleges, etc.

However much he eat the lotus, the true Greek cannot forget his native land.

For this reason, and because Athens is the focus of Hellenic pride, the bright central spot of regenerated Greece, the City of the Violet Crown has become the fairest town on the shores of the Mediterranean.

The saying of Pausanias, so frequently quoted, that Herodes Atticus nearly exhausted the Pentelic quarries when he rebuilt the Stadium, gives but a vague idea of the real truth. A rough calculation by Dr. Dörpfeld as to the amount of marble actually necessary to reconstruct the seats in the amphitheatre, gives a clearer idea.

The Stadium is 200 metres long on its two sides, and, taking the average measure of the semicircle at the end, we have, in all, 500 metres of length. Say there were forty-five rows of seats, we have 22,500 linear metres, which, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, means about 5,625 cubic metres of marble. To this we must add 400 cubic metres used in the arena itself, giving in all about 6,000 cubic metres. The question of the exhaustion of the quarries suggests a trip to Pentelicon from Athens, one of the easiest and pleasantest excursions possible, and one which no visitor to the games should fail to make.

There are trains leaving the city as early as five o'clock in the morning. We must start not later than seven, if we wish to return before nightfall, and must not forget a well filled lunch basket, for donkey riding and mountain climbing are hungry work.

I went the other day in company with a Nebraska college professor and two ladies. We were soon out of the suburbs of Athens, pulling slowly up the gentle incline of the Attic plain. Passing through the highly cultivated fields, we could not help thinking of the impotent rage of those old Attic farmers who were shut up so long in Athens while the Spartans devastated their lands. I

had Strepsiades in my mind's eye more than half the time, and I fell to musing over the temptations and troubles which beset him during his unaccustomed city life.

At our left, for much of the distance, the slender stream of the Kephissos wound in and out among tall reeds. Dry much of the year, it was now a brook, owing to recent rains, flowing in a bed wide enough for a river.

The landscape gave the impression rather of a painter's ideal than of the reality of nature. Terra-cotta plowed lands stretched away until they lost themselves in the violet slopes of Parnes.

The mud fences were dove-colored, and green vines ran along their tops. White houses here and there nestled in silver olive groves, and the Bavarian village founded by King Otho looked idyllically peaceful among its dark green vineyards.

At Amarousi, famous for its cold, clear water, we clambered down from the train to start in search of donkeys. This latter trouble was saved us, for a Greek immediately presented himself, and asked if we were going to the quarries. We had no difficulty in understanding him, for the Greek spoken at Amarousi is exceptionally good.

In about ten minutes four long-faced, silken-eared, mild-eyed little animals were brought us, and we were off: through narrow tumble-down streets with projecting balconies, through shady olive orchards embowering the town, through stretches of fragrant purple heather. Finally, when we struck the ruins of the ancient road we felt that we were indeed on our way to the quarries. The traces of the road are very plain, and every now and then you pass blocks and pieces of partly-hewn marble, dropped, perhaps, from some lumbering car two thousand years ago.

Part way up is a well, curbed with Pentelic, which may have furnished water to the men and animals of Herodes Atticus, or perhaps to those of Pericles.

You take your lunch in the quarry at the end of the road. The high walls of rock that rise round you look exactly as though they had been cut down by a great saw. As you sit there you can hear the continual blasting carried on by the workmen who are getting out stone in another part of the hill for the rebuilding of the Stadium.

The new quarries are between the old ones and the town of Kephissia. In ancient days the archæologists tell us holes were

drilled into the rock, and wooden pegs were driven in. When these were wetted they expanded, and so forced off blocks of the stone. That must have been a slow process. With such means as those the Greeks of to-day would scarcely have been able to get the Stadium ready for the 24th of next March.

The trip to Pentelicon is not complete without an ascent to the summit, which is about two hours distant from the quarries, and must be made on foot. The view thus gained is one of the finest in Greece, but is especially valuable for the glance afforded at the field of Marathon, and its moon-shaped bay in which the Persians drew up their ships. The whole scene of the battle lies below like a panorama.

When we finally left Pentelicon, we were convinced that Pausanias' statement must be taken with a large grain of salt. If this second Herodes Atticus will furnish the money, the old hill may be depended on for marble enough to reconstruct the Stadium.

But the new Stadium will not derive its classic interest alone from Pentelic benches. Traces of the ancient vertical aisles have been found, and the new aisles will be laid upon the foundations of the old.

The statuary used for decoration will be copies of the great masters, with one exception : immediately within the entrance will stand a life-size figure of George Abéroff, done in marble by Broutos, best of modern Greek sculptors. If modesty, therefore, shall keep the new Atticus away from the games, a contingency likely to result from his well-known character, his grateful countrymen will be able to gaze upon a life-like reproduction of his form and features.

Near the goal is the mouth of a tunnel, which pierces the hill and gives exit at its further side. The Committee, following the generally accepted belief as to the ancient use of this tunnel, will make of it a passageway for athletes, judges, etc. The work of cementing its sides and roof is already far advanced. It will be lighted by electricity, and near the exit buildings are to be erected in which the athletes can prepare for the contests, or can bathe and dress after the trial is over.

Finally, on the low wall bounding the arena, an iron railing is to be erected, which will be adorned with Athenian owls.

The preparations which the Committee are making will not be confined to repairs of the Stadium. The beautiful square of

the Constitution is to be paved and embellished, as well as the broad road leading to the Stadium, which thoroughfare will be supplied with electric lights for its whole length.

The bridge over the Ilissos River, which the road crosses, will be widened. The bed of the classic stream is dry most of the year, but in March a small brook usually flows through the ancient water course. Let us hope that the Committee will remove a few of the hen-coops and unsightly buildings which have replaced the shrines of the Muses.

The men who have thus far been most prominent in the revival of the Olympian games are, besides those already mentioned: Crown Prince Constantine, who, as chairman of the local committee, is devoting his days and nights to the work, and is securing the co-operation of many of the crowned heads of Europe; Baron de Coubertin, of France, whose advocacy of combined mental and physical culture has made him famous in the new world as well as the old; our own Professor Sloane, of Princeton, who divides with Coubertin the honor of having championed the idea in its earliest stages; Demetrius Bikélas, the famous author of "Loukas Laras" and "Tales from the Ægean," whose stamp of approval for any enterprise is sufficient to seal it with the confidence of all his fellow countrymen, and who is Chairman of the International Committee.

Timoleon Philemon, secretary of the local committee, and Eben Alexander, the United States Minister to Greece, deserve a word or two of special mention.

Mr. Philemon was for many years editor of the Athens *Century*, and as such distinguished himself as a writer of pure and elegant Greek. During his busy career he has served as Mayor of Athens, and he was master of ceremonies on the occasion of the Crown Prince's marriage to Sophia, sister of the Emperor of Germany. The experience he gained then will assist him now in his more difficult task of putting Athens in order for the Olympian games.

Mr. Alexander is a graduate of Yale, and is an enthusiast on the subject of athletics. Bicycling is his favorite form of sport, and he frequently takes a run to Phalerum or to the field of Marathon and back. A patriotic American, he will use all his influence to see that his country is well represented at Athens this spring; a broad scholar and an ardent Philhellene, his subscrip-

tion heads the list of contributions to the games, and he has offered one of the prizes.

The programme will be more varied than it was in ancient times. It will include long and short distance running, jumping, turning, fencing, wrestling, shooting, rowing and yachting, bicycling, swimming, lawn tennis and cricket. This programme, however, is subject to additions. From present indications there will be an immense throng in attendance at the games. Athletic clubs in all countries have signified their intention of sending representatives. Prominent among these is the New York Athletic Club. As this latter organization has recently distinguished itself by a number of record breaking performances, it should carry home more than one olive crown from the Stadium. Judges for the new games are to be selected from the various nationalities represented, but each committee will have a Greek for chairman. King George himself will place upon the heads of the victors silver crowns, made in imitation of the ancient wreaths of wild olive.

Some of the archæologists will doubtless see an incongruous feature in the introduction of such sports as bicycling and lawn tennis at the Olympian games. Let such draw a moral from the history of the games themselves. Were they not limited at first to mere trials of speed and endurance in footracing? Afterwards chariot racing was introduced, throwing the discus, archery, etc., proving that even in classical times physical training kept abreast of the progress of the world.

Would any of the sticklers for classical purity like to see boxing with the cestus revived? An epigram tells us of one boxer who, after a four-hours' bout, was unrecognizable when he returned home, "not only by his dog, but even by his fellow citizens." There will be no pugilism in the Stadium, as the Greek of to-day does not regard it as a civilized sport.

The King of Macedonia, it is said, was compelled to prove himself of pure Hellenic blood before he was allowed to compete at Olympia. The world is too big now for that sort of thing. All of us who love beauty, who have done no impiety or sacrilege, who believe in fair play, and who have stout hearts, are Greeks in the highest sense.

GEORGE HORTON.

OUR FOREIGN TRADE AND OUR CONSULAR SERVICE.

BY CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.

WHY are we beaten by England and Germany in our competition for the trade of Central and South America, and in other markets where our skill and the quality of our goods should give us better fortunes?

A casual remark in a popular periodical some months ago, which attributed our failure in this respect largely to our inefficient consular service, brought upon me correspondence from consuls and from business men, which induced me to give the subject more serious study, by examining consular reports and consulting manufacturers. Since this correspondence was provoked there has appeared an executive order in regard to the service which puts a new aspect upon the matter, and appears to be a firm step in a radical reform. The subject is of so much importance to our national prosperity that I trust a slight review of it will not be inopportune. This extension of our export trade can conveniently be considered under three heads:

1. The Consular Service.
2. The Action of Manufacturers, Merchants and Exporters.
3. The Active Interest of the Government.

1. The Consular Service. The Executive order of September 20, 1895, provided, in the words of the President's last annual message:

"That after that date any vacancy in a consulate or commercial agency, with an annual salary or compensation from officials of not more than $2,500, or less than $1,000, should be filled either by transfer or promotion from some other position under the Department of State, of a character tending to qualify the incumbent for the position to be filled; or by the appointment of a person not under the Department of State, but having pre

viously served under and shown his capacity and fitness for consular duty: or by the appointment of a person who, having been selected by the President and sent to a board for examination, is found, upon such examination, to be qualified for the position. Posts which pay less than $1,000 being usually, on account of their small compensation, filled by selection from residents of the locality, it was not deemed practicable to put them under the new system. The compensation of $2,500 was adopted as the maximum limit in the classification for the reason that consular officers receiving more than that sum are often charged with functions and duties scarcely inferior in dignity and importance to those of diplomatic agents, and it was, therefore, thought best to continue their selection in the discretion of the executive without subjecting them to examination before a board. Excluding seventy-one places with compensation at present less than $1,000, and fifty-three places above the maximum in compensation, the number of positions remaining within the scope of the order is 196."

A board of examiners is appointed to carry out this order, which it is desired that Congress should supplement and improve by legislation. Consular inspectors are also recommended. This is a brave beginning, and if it is seconded by intelligent public opinion, it may lead to a consistent, organized consular system. It will no doubt be found that permanent appointments to the service, as a rule, with a few outlandish exceptions, should extend to officers paid less than $1,000, because these very offices are training schools in which young men can learn their business; and it is imperative that the offices paying more than $2,500 should be open to the ambition and reward of all in the service, it being a life service with promotion for ability and assignments to the more important posts according to fitness. The question of a permanent systematized service has been often argued, but it will bear restating.

The consul is a business officer, without diplomatic functions except in a few cases; he has nothing to do with politics. That he should be intelligent and patriotic—thoroughly American in sympathy—goes without saying. But to be efficient he must also have business training, experience of consular duties, and special fitness for the locality to which he is sent. It is a business to be learned like any other, and it will not be learned unless it offers a regular career to the aspirants for it. No business man in the world, no corporation, would undertake to carry on enterprises with agents selected on account of political services, and liable to be periodically displaced by other agents selected in like manner. Many good men get consulates through political influence, but in the slight tenure of their office they no sooner get a little fitted

for their work than they are thrown out by an election, turned back into politics to scramble for another place, and their places are filled with green men. The statement of our plan shows its absurdity. That we do not get as good service as other nations get is not due to our want of native ability in our appointees, but to the instability of tenure. If all our present appointees, with some weeding out, were trained into an organized service, with expectation of promotion, and a life career, we should have in ten years an admirable service; that is, if the appointees were compelled to have a business training in their occupation, and to become familiar with the languages of the posts they occupy.

Up to the present time appointments are made very often of men who can neither read, write nor speak the language of the countries to which they are sent. The consequence is that the business of the offices must be done by subordinates who are foreigners, and sometimes by inferior men who will work for small pay. The consuls are compelled to rely upon these foreigners for information upon all subjects and for nearly every official act they perform. There are many American consular offices on the Continent, and doubtless elsewhere, that could not run a day except for the aid of these foreign assistants. These subordinates are commonly permanent, and they practically have control of the offices. They have control because the consuls are ignorant of the local language, and can only get information of our commercial and business relations second hand. It would be interesting to know how many of our statistical consular reports are really the work of foreign clerks. This may or may not be a criticism of them, but it would be more satisfactory to know that our own men were competent to make them.

We have men in the consular service fully as bright and alert and every way competent as consuls in the German, French or English service, and probably they are less liable to get into a rut. But, allowing for this, the service of many other nations is more efficient than ours because it is systemized and permanent, and because promotion depends at every step upon efficiency. And the *esprit de corps* counts for much. But it must be added that no service is really good that is not constantly watched and weeded. The tests of fitness cannot all be applied at the entrance.

Granted the necessity of an organized service, how shall appointments be made? Objection is made to admission by

"examinations." The objection is partly but not altogether political. For it is true that capacities often exist that no examination will show, and that mere book-learning and ability to answer test questions may exist with a poor character and want of practical ability in affairs. But we must have some system. The alternative to examination is political favor. We know how uncertain a test of capacity that is. Examination, a proper examination fitted to the service required, will show at least two things: general intelligence, and knowledge of languages. It will be admitted without argument that a consul should know the language of the country to which he is sent. Admission by examination, as in England, is the democratic method. No class is favored, no game of politics is played. Every poor lad in England who has ability has as good a chance for the service as the rich or the aristocracy. It should be so in America.

Examination, to be sure, is not everything. The candidate should go into a subordinate clerkship on probation to learn his business. If he is incompetent he should be dropped. But if he develops capacity and does good service he should be promoted, and have a tenure during good behavior. And at the end of a life service he should be pensioned. This is a clear perquisite of any moderately paid life service to the state. We should have no difficulty in appending this to our consular service, if we were not now loaded down almost to the sinking point with unnecessary war pensions.

The replies of the consuls in regard to the causes of our lack of foreign trade are various, as will appear in selections from their reports, but they have no doubt that in its *personnel* it is as good as any other. The duty of the consul, it is said, is primarily to see that our government is not cheated in the value of its importations, to take care of the government property, and to relieve distressed seamen and travellers. Incidentally it is to encourage the sale of American products. That success in this last respect is not greater is not the fault of the consuls, but arises from quite other causes, one of them being the strange indifference of American manufacturers and exporters to the specific directions for increasing their trade in different countries conveyed in the consular reports. Another prime cause is one that is also referred to by manufacturers and exporters and that

is lack of sufficient and regular transportation between our ports and those of Central and South America. Other correspondents censure our government for lack of interest in our foreign trade and failure to encourage regular lines of communication. Other governments, it is said, interest themselves in the matter and take active measures to assist the merchants by fostering regular steamship communication. The English and German lines are paid by their respective governments for carrying the mails a sufficient sum to insure their permanence, and the merchants can establish agencies with a certainty that their trade will not languish for want of communication. The policy of our government is exactly the reverse of this; our mail service is conducted with the single idea of cheapness and we have only uncertain communication with our South American neighbors.

It is argued that an attempt should be made to arouse manufacturers and exporters to intelligent, vigorous and united action. It is easy to grumble; it requires study and well-directed enterprise to attack the problem as the inhabitants and governments of England and Germany attack it. The *laissez faire* method will not solve it, any more than that will remove the financial and moral plague-spot in our national life—the greenback and legal-tender monstrosity.

It is true that the stimulation of our exports is only one of the duties of a consul, and an incidental duty, but it has come to be regarded as very important. It is also true that our service has greatly improved in the past fifteen years—that I think is a matter of general observation. The character of the consular reports shows this. The extracts from them published monthly are of great value, full of statistical information, suggestions as to our economic legislation, and in detail instructive to our manufacturers and traders as to the kind of goods wanted in the various markets, and as to the best means of reaching those markets. Given a fair chance of training and system, I believe our service would speedily surpass all others in enterprise and the application of common sense, in inventiveness and shrewdness.

2. The Action of Manufacturers and Exporters. The consuls can give information about markets, about the kind of goods wanted and most likely to sell; they can encourage trade, but they cannot create it. The initiative must be with our own manufacturers and traders. They must understand the market,

they must make the goods suited to it (which may differ from the goods suited to the American market) if they really want the market, and they must have active agents on the ground, and they must find means of sending on their products regularly.

The charge is made that our manufacturers are sluggish, and show lack of intelligent enterprise in this matter. They seem to be waiting for some circumstance, some action of the government may be, to open the way for them. They are ingenious and inventive, they improve processes, and make better and better goods at a lower cost of manufacture, but their energies seem to stop at the point of delivery. The English, on the contrary, understand that a part of their business is to find and create markets. And the government seconds them in this ; its action is even stigmatized as the "Manchester policy." But the manufacturers take the initiative. One of the most notable things in the English Industrial Midland is the thought and the energy spent on getting markets. Goods are made to suit the tastes and traditions of all sorts of civilizations and all sorts of barbarisms. And both these specialties and the regular English goods are pushed upon the world. Agents, travellers, drummers are sent everywhere, the English consuls are made to be active in promoting trade, and steamship lines, established by private enterprise, go regularly to every part of the globe. When these are established the government at once adopts the lines and sustains them by a liberal grant for carrying the mails regularly. The English are not only lively manufacturers, they are resourceful merchants as well. They are pushers in small things as well as great. The London tailors and boot-makers, when they get a foreign customer follow him up, they constantly solicit his orders, they send agents and establish in central points offices to get orders.

Germany, in late years, is scarcely second in this endeavor. The German success, in the exhibit of machinery at Chicago, has stimulated the manufacturers and the leading technical and scientific journals to new efforts. Highly educated agents of manufacturers are to be sent out, to Africa as well as to South America, to study the export question, to report on the wants of special markets, and to drum up trade. This will cost money. No single firm could stand the expense. A multitude of manufacturers, therefore, club together, sharing the responsibility and the

cost, and the profits in case of success. The reports are the common property of the subscribers. It is now a veritable movement. The government at once expressed a lively interest and promised aid. As long ago as 1893 nineteen firms, representing 7,506 workmen, had subscribed. The details of this movement are interesting, but a hint of it ought to be sufficient for our enterprising people, whose ingenuity is always pushing them on to what is called over production. We can make just as good machines as any people in the world, indeed the American machine is, we verily believe, the best in the world. But the point here is that we should make what the markets demand. A consular report from Chemnitz says: "Let us give the South Americans such shapes as they prefer, but finished as we finish. There is nothing made in England or Germany in the machine or tool line that we cannot make as good or better. If the South American prefers plain to polished, heavy to light, rough to smooth, let him have them. It is much easier to sell a man what he thinks he wants than it is to sell him what we think he ought to buy. Our hammers, hatchets, axes, spades, shovels, planes, augers, bits, patent stocks and bits, wringers, sewing and washing machines, hair-cutters, and tools of every profession and description should beat not only Germany's but England's, in every South American city and market. There is no good reason why, with our improved methods and our well-known superior machinery and quicker workmanship, we should not make them as cheap. I know we can produce them better. Let us also, then, send out engineer agents—men trained in mechanics, and able to speak Spanish, French, or other languages. Let them carry catalogues and commissions to sell anything from a paper of pins to a Corliss engine. Let our manufacturers, emulating the Germans, unite to pay the expenses. Let great efforts be concentrated in places offering a market."

In regard to this German movement it is to be noticed that the German government is making an innovation in its consular service. One report from Bamberg says: "There is no doubt that the German consuls by profession—the appointment of honorary consular officers being now gradually on the decline in Germany—are to be regarded as the foremost pioneers in the service of German commerce. However, it must not be forgotten that they are aided in their efforts by the various industrial branches themselves, whereas American consular officers receive

but little support of that nature. As long as American firms whose products would, in all probability, find a ready sale in European markets, fail to secure such territory by means of capable representatives, the unaided efforts of a consular officer would meet with small success."

Take the case of San Salvador. American goods there have the highest reputation; the English and German goods are inferior but they are cheaper. The consuls think that we are at disadvantage owing to our short credit system and our lack of transportation facilities, which produces the anomalous result of cheaper freight rates from European than from American ports. With lower freights our goods could be sold cheaper.

A curious illustration of our unsystematic and careless handling of export goods is in the cotton trade. In comparison with the Egyptian and Indian bales, the American is so badly packed as to cause great loss; the covers burst and the cotton is scattered, or stolen, or badly damaged by rain and mud. The Consul at Chemnitz exhibits photographs of the appearance of bales that arrive there. The Egyptian and Indian are solid and in good order; the American is in a very disorganized condition. This causes just complaint.

In Peru, England, Germany and other European countries walk away with the bulk of the trade that might be ours. Peru has one of the most genial climates in the world, and unlimited resources for producing sugar, cotton, coffee, rice, petroleum, salts, etc., etc. It would be a most profitable country for us to cultivate. Why do we not have its trade? The consul, passing by considerations of our economic policy, says: "The failure of the American people and government to provide easy, cheap and quick transportation for mails, freights and travel must, however, be largely accountable for this condition." Take one illustration: "San Francisco mails are carried to New Orleans in less than five days. As steamships can go from New Orleans to Colon in less than four days, it follows that San Francisco fast mails could be conveyed that way to Panama in nine days. It now takes the San Francisco mails twenty-two days to reach Panama by the Pacific Mail steamers." From Callao to Colon is 1,600 miles, from Colon to New Orleans 1,370, or 2,970 in all. From Callao to Colon 1,600, from Colon to New York 2,026, or 3,626 in all. From Callao to Colon 1,600, from Colon to principal

European ports 5,500, or 7,100 in all. "With an enterprise worthy of imitation, some seventy European steamers ply regularly between European ports and Colon. Among these a Liverpool line has steamers which on their return trip stop at New Orleans to complete cargo, but which, on their way out, do not stop at New Orleans. The effect is obvious. New Orleans, the nearest American seaport—which is the natural outlet of the great valleys of the Missouri, the Mississippi and the Ohio—is left undisturbed in its strange isolation from the South American countries on the Pacific Ocean." The whole report, dated Callao, February, 1894, is worth the attention of all our manufacturers and exporters.

We are at an equal disadvantage in the trade with Uruguay. Here also, the first question to be settled is that of transportation. But there are other considerations. Our manufacturers do not make the effort that the Europeans constantly put forth. "Let the American merchant and manufacturer be just as accommodating as his European competitor in the manufacture and get-up of his goods, in the terms of sale and the way he places his goods before the trade. Let him adopt the *modus operandi*—or rather improve upon it if he can—of his competitors." They have no objection to American raw material, but they unitedly work against American manufactured goods. Another suggestion is that there shall be an American bank in Uruguay. Nearly all the business is done through foreign banks—English chiefly. We are paying England a tribute on the business we are doing in that country.

Attention is called also to Para, a city that commands 50,000 miles of navigable rivers which float and extend her trade, and flow through one of earth's richest valleys. Here is a splendid field for our enterprise. But here again, is almost absolute lack of regular transportation by sea. "The only articles of which we have a monopoly in Para are flour, lumber and kerosene; whereas we should be supplying all the cotton goods, instead of the very small proportion we now send there. The universal cry of men representing American houses at Para is that our manufacturers will not comply with the demands of the market, while English, French and German manufacturers accede to every demand." Greatly needed are wholesale distributing houses and banking facilities.

With friendly Venezuela, better disposed to us than any other power, there is no excuse for the want of energy in our merchants and manufacturers in regard to occupying the inviting field. Here, however, a consular report furnishes an illustration of the effect of the vacillation in our economic legislation. Our exports to Venezuela, the consul testifies, bear a direct relation to our imports of her products. In 1891 she sent us products to the value of $8,000,000 (gold). This was paid for by purchase of merchandise in the United States instead of in Europe. The situation underwent a change when it was announced that duties would be levied on Venezuelan products. Maracaibo coffee—the best in the republic—was unknown in Europe. It all went to the United States, and was paid for by American products. With the change in legislation this coffee was thrown upon European markets, and much of the merchandise heretofore had from the United States was purchased in Europe. Our trade steadily decreased, and when, later, "the duties were finally removed and Venezuelan coffee was again permitted free entry," a tenth only of the Venezuelan berry that we formerly received entered our ports. It will take years to recover our trade lost in this one item. But our traders cannot too soon be on hand to take advantage of the expiration of the European contracts. These examples illustrate the situation. It is not one of which Americans can be proud. In regard to foreign trade, our country seems, in comparison with foreign countries, an inert mass, waiting for something to turn up. If our manufacturers and merchants showed the same energy, the same intelligence, the same adaptability to the market in foreign that they show in domestic trade, we should fear no competition. We go on inventing and making the best goods in the world, but when it comes to delivery we seem to be paralyzed. We seem content with our superior products, hoping that the world will find out how good they are, and come and buy. With our skill and increasing capital, the day has come when we make more goods than the home market can consume. This condition of what we call over-production will be intensified year by year. But we have no right to whine about over-production so long as we are supine in seeking markets for our products. The consuls complain that their reports of the foreign situation are not read or not heeded by our manufacturers and exporters. Some German traders complain that they cannot deal directly

with our manufacturers as they wish to do. They are turned over to miscellaneous commission houses.

It seems to be the opinion of some manufacturers, who do not make an effort to establish means of communication, as the English do, that the South American game is not worth the candle. Their governments and policies are so shifting and uncertain that it is difficult to establish satisfactory relations among them. The Southern dealers require longer credits than are agreeable, and have slack business habits very unprofitable to conform to. Other nations, especially Germany, continually imitate the first-class American goods, produce inferior and cheaper qualities, and counterfeit our trade-marks. The Americans have an honorable reluctance to lower the standard of their products below the American standard. They also complain of want of government encouragement of transportation, but they complain still more of our fluctuating economic and financial policy, of the frequent changes in duties, the establishment and withdrawal of reciprocities, and a general unsettled action in which in the matter of trade and investment of capital and establishment of foreign agencies no foresight will avail. Not English, French or German traders have to contend with such an uncertainty.

3. The Active Interest of the Government. By this I do not refer to its discriminating economic legislation, nor to the complete organization of the consular service. There are other legitimate methods by which the government can encourage and promote trade without going beyond its province. They are modern, to be sure, but they are sanctioned by the most conservative governments in the enterprising nations, by France, England and Germany. A brief description of their nature would be that they bring the governments of the country into close and sympathetic touch with the industries, the trade, and commerce of their countries. This is an industrial age, and in response to this the action of government in its foreign relations must be quite as much concerned with industrial as with diplomatic problems.

It is agreed on all hands, by the testimony of manufacturers, merchants, and consular agents, that a chief cause of our unsatisfactory trade, as has been said, especially with the nations south of us, is a lack of easy, frequent, regular steam communication. It is clearly not the business of the government to run

steamships, any more than it is to build warehouses. Steam communication must come from private initiative. But when any line promoting the business of the country is established, it is quite within the wisdom and duty of the government, touching its customs receipts, its internal revenue, to aid the country in being prosperous by liberal payment to all such lines for carrying the mails. All wise governments do this, whether their general policy be free trade, fair trade, or protection. It is good business.

A second method of aiding our industries and our trade with foreign ports is indicated in a sentence quoted in one of our consular reports from the *Revue de Commerce Exterieur* of October, 1893: "The obligation of the State to give information to merchants as to the methods to be pursued in order to open foreign markets to French products." This would involve the use of our consular service in procuring information, its publication, and its distribution. The Germans are alive to the value of this work, and the government actively co-operates with the manufacturers and traders in it. Our own government is not blind to this. The character of our own consular reports has vastly improved in this respect in the last few years. Besides giving mere statistics, which always need an explanation, the consuls study causes of the lack of trade, tell how it can be improved, and speak of the resources of the country and the tastes of the people they are accredited to. Not all these reports are valuable or trustworthy, because many of those who make them lack training and experience, but month by month our government prints a mass of information of the greatest interest to our business men. So far as a stranger can judge, our bureau of statistics selects wisely and prints judiciously and liberally.

But there is evidence that these reports are unheeded (so some of the consuls complain), and they probably are not widely read, and do not fall into the hands of business men who would profit by them. It needs to establish a more sympathetic connection between the officials at Washington and the business men and interests of the country. As I understand it, our government publishes this information and that ends its concern. The merchants want reports that contain practical information, precise data, as to what can be done and how it can be done, and not dry statistics such as would suit a writer on economics. The consuls can be trained to give these. But how shall the facts

reach business men? Whether it is owing to the neglect or obtuseness of the business public or to the government bureau, there is a defect in the communication of this information. A manufacturer or exporter cannot, or thinks he cannot, keep the run of all the literature on this subject. But every week or every day, he wants precise, definite information on some particular point, as to some port of trade. How can he get it? The *Revue* suggests this plan: "A set of employees constantly occupied in making abstracts of French official and foreign reports and newspapers and in extracting from them whatever would interest our commerce. Another group to inscribe those abstracts or the indication of their origin (the original being carefully classified) upon cards which should be always accessible. Finally, a third group whose duty it should be to answer inquiries, either verbally or in writing. Thanks to the cards these answers could be easy and that which would be furnished would be real information. Extracts from these indications would be forwarded to the chambers of commerce, the syndicate chambers, the exportation companies, and by this means French commerce could be usefully informed."

I am incapable of judging of the value of this as a practical plan. I quote it to emphasize the defect of which we are all conscious. But in considering this whole subject of government aid to trade, it must not be forgotten that the initiative is to come from the people themselves. Given a competent consular service, and legitimate encouragement in transportation, they must work out their own salvation.

CHAS. DUDLEY WARNER.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE EXCISE QUESTION?

BY THE HON. WARNER MILLER.

THE evils of free, or unregulated, trade in alcoholic beverages are universally acknowledged; in every civilized government the traffic is controlled, or regulated, by law. The object of the regulation is to lessen the evils of a trade, which no government has been able to successfully prohibit.

Whether the craving of man for stimulating drinks is natural, or artificial, need not be discussed here. The demand for alcoholic liquors, in some form, is universal, and the laws for its suppression and regulation are greater, in number and variety, than all other laws affecting the social life of man. Such laws have generally taken one of two forms, either that of absolute prohibition, or of regulation and control through excise, or license laws. Prohibition has been tried, and proved a failure, except in a few States in which there are no large cities. I propose to consider, briefly, only the question of the license system, and to inquire what plan will probably produce the best results.

The first question that presents itself is: What form of license will minimize the evils of the trade?

Second. How can such law be most effectually enforced, without trespassing upon the rights of the individual citizen?

Third. What fee, or rate of license, will best advance the end sought, of lessening the evils of the business, and at the same time bring the largest possible returns to the State, or municipality?

In considering these questions, it is not wise to indulge in theories as to what law might prove the most effectual, under imaginary conditions; but rather to confine ourselves to an examination of the laws, which in some of the States have been found to

work well, and, after a trial of a number of years, have received the general approval of the people.

The present law of the State of New York does not seem to meet with the approval of any class of our citizens. It is difficult to understand why it does not meet with the approval of the liquor dealers themselves, because, under it, their numbers are larger, in proportion to the population, than in any other State, and the average fees are less. It certainly does not meet with the approval of any of the people who desire to see the business thoroughly under control, and the law uniformly enforced. The chief fault of the New York law is that it keeps the excise question constantly in politics, both locally and in the State at large. The law does not fix the license fee, but between a very low minimum, and a moderate maximum, it leaves each locality free to make the rate what it likes. This leads to contests at each election of excise commissioners, the voters being divided—some favoring the maximum rate, and some the minimum, and some being opposed to any license at all. The result is the low rate usually wins. The law should fix the rate absolutely, making grades for cities of the first and second class, for the third class, for villages, and for the country districts, leaving no discretion whatever with the Excise Board.

The law fails to make proper provisions for its enforcement. In the cities, the police are required to make arrests for violation of the law, but they do not enforce the law, unless constantly urged to do so by the Police Commissioners, or those in authority. There is a constant temptation for the police to sell protection to the dealers ; in other words to levy blackmail. When the police do perform their duty and make arrests, there is great delay in the courts, and many cases are never tried at all, as the records in the District Attorney's office prove. In the rural districts the enforcement of the law is left, mostly, to the voluntary act of the private citizen in making complaints. The private citizen does not like to incur the danger of acting as a detective, in making complaints against his neighbor ; consequently, few complaints are made, and the law is constantly violated. It frequently happens that a community is aroused at the open and flagrant violation of the law ; then the citizens make common cause, by the organization of law and order leagues, which assume the responsibility of seeking out violators of the law and pun-

ishing them. There should be no necessity of this; the law should furnish adequate means for its enforcement, by making it the duty of certain officers to enforce it, and provide severe penalties for all officers who fail to do their full duty in the matter.

The New York law has resulted in producing from two to four times as many saloons as there is any proper demand for; it has created and encouraged the "dive," the place where criminals of both sexes congregate, to plan and commit crime. These dives are the rendezvous of the most notorious criminals in all our cities; they should be closed, and completely destroyed by the strong arm of the law. The remedy for this condition of affairs is to reduce the number of saloons, by at least one-half, and to close the dives, by making the license fee so large that they cannot exist. This would put the business in the hands of responsible parties, whose own interest will be to obey the law, and to aid the officers of the law in fully enforcing it. I believe that this result can be best obtained by a high license law, limiting the number of places licensed to one for each five hundred, or more, of population. Several of the States have laws of this character, and they have been found to give most satisfactory results. The Laws of Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, contain many provisions which the State of New York might copy with advantage.

The Pennsylvania law is known as the Brooks High License Law. It has been in operation some seven or eight years and has given very general satisfaction. It provides a license fee of one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) in cities of the first and second class, and five hundred dollars ($500.00) in cities of the third class, proportionately reducing the rates for villages and country districts. The granting of licenses, instead of being given to excise or license boards, is confined to the Courts, and the granting of licenses is made with all the formalities of a court proceeding. Notice of application must be filed in advance, and a day fixed for a hearing, when any person opposed to the granting of the license may appear, and be heard. The Court has absolute discretion as to the granting of licenses; it may grant any number, or it may refuse to grant any at all; and it may reject an application upon any ground that seems sufficient to the Court itself. The law does not fix the number of licenses to be granted in proportion to the population; it leaves the matter entirely in the hands of the Court. The result has been that, in Philadel-

phia, the number of licensed places has been reduced by two-thirds. When the law went into effect, the number of licenses in Philadelphia was about six thousand; now it is about seventeen hundred. The police records of the Criminal Courts show a large diminution in the number of arrests for drunkenness, and other crimes growing out of the use of liquor.

Two of the most important provisions of the law relate to its enforcement. All police officers and constables are required to make a thorough examination of their respective districts, and to report to the Court, at least once a month, all places in their jurisdiction which have licenses (whether they have violated their license or not), and also all places found selling liquor without a license. The Court is required to see that these reports are made, and if any officer is found derelict in the performance of his duty he is first suspended from duty by the Court, the District Attorney is notified, and the officer is indicted and tried; if found guilty, he is removed from office, fined and imprisoned. This provision dispenses with the necessity of the private citizen taking action in the matter, and puts the responsibility of the enforcement of the law where it belongs—upon the officers themselves. The law also provides that any licensee convicted of violating this law shall have his license revoked, and shall not again be licensed. The result is that scarcely any complaints are made of the violation of the law by the licensees. The practical workings of this law are such, that the evils of the business have been reduced to a minimum, and it has met with the general approval of the people to such an extent that neither of the two great political parties ventures to recommend its change or repeal.

The Massachusetts law differs from the Pennsylvania law by providing for a vote in each town, as to whether licenses shall be granted or not; and it provides that only one license shall be granted for each one thousand of the population, except in the city of Boston, where one may be granted for each five hundred of the population. It grades licenses to be granted into six classes. The first class is a license to sell liquors of all kinds; the second, to sell malt liquors, cider and light wines; the third, to sell malt liquors and cider only; the fourth, fifth, and sixth classes apply to wholesale dealers and druggists. The fee for licenses of the first class is fixed at not less than one thousand dollars; and for the second and third classes at not less than two

hundred and fifty dollars. Each community is left free to make the fee as much larger than this as it sees fit to do. The penalties, for violating the provisions of the license, include both a fine and imprisonment, and also the forfeiture of the license and the disqualification of the licensee to receive another license within one year's time. This law has given very general satisfaction in Massachusetts, it having taken the place of a former prohibitory law, which it was found impossible to successfully enforce.

I believe a modification of these two systems—first, providing for a high license; second, making a distinction between the selling of spirituous and malt liquors by providing a higher rate for spirituous than malt liquors; and lastly, providing substantially the Pennsylvania method of enforcement by making it the duty of certain officers to constantly watch the traffic and report to the courts, and by providing that all penalties for violation of the license shall carry with it a revocation of the license itself—would give New York the best law possible under present conditions.

WARNER MILLER.

LIQUOR AND LAW.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

HAVING said, under a sense of very strong obligation, some words in regard to the legislation in this State on the subject of excise, I feel bound to make my meaning clearer; the more so, because what I said has attracted larger attention and wider comment than I supposed it would.

The object of my speaking at first, was to impress upon the clergy my deep sense of their duty to deal with the question of temperance on its three sides: first, the frightful sin of excess; secondly, the influence of the liquor traffic in demoralizing and debauching politics and public office; and thirdly, its tendency towards the desecration of the Lord's Day.

The public press has naturally dealt chiefly with what was really incidental, namely, my suggestion as to the abolishing of our present excise system. And, naturally, too, what I said briefly, has been in some instances misunderstood. The suggestion laid no claim to originality, and was not proposed as a panacea to cure the evil of drunkenness; which, as a sin, can only be dealt with, like any other sin, by moral and spiritual forces. When I said that "wine and beer and spirits were articles of commerce just as much as milk and beef and bread," I was speaking merely of their *commercial* side. There is, of course, a moral element in this consideration, which cannot be omitted from any large and thorough view of the subject. There is a moral element, to a degree, in the other articles of food, because gluttony is the same sin as drunkenness. But there is far graver danger attending the *sale*, because there is far greater danger attending the *use*, of liquor. I am convinced that neither excise laws nor prohibitory laws eliminate or even lessen the

danger. It is neither the sale nor the use of the liquor, which is to be prevented or patronized by the State. It is the abuse of it with which the State is concerned; and that ought to be dealt with, as other crimes are dealt with, in the penal code.

Meanwhile, the working of the excise law in my experience is this: The sale of liquor is taken under the peculiar patronage of the State. The State makes money out of it; and the liquor dealers assume a position of peculiar importance, as though they were a privileged class. The State is governed by the Legislature elected by the people; and the Legislature is chosen by and composed of politicians: and here are these two parties, the manufacturers and sellers and drinkers of liquor, with their enormous influence, *and* the makers of the law which must affect the liquor interest under our present system. And men being fallible and weak, it inevitably follows, first, that the liquor-interest will set itself at work to secure the kind of legislators that they want; and secondly, that the legislators, so elected, and so wanting to be re-elected, will gratify the expectations of the people whose influence elected them. The whole thing seems to me a premium on bad legislation. If the liquor dealers had no use for the legislators, and the legislators no use for the liquor dealers, we should get better legislation. I have watched and worked over this question in the New York Legislature for twenty years, and I only give the outcome of my own experience.

The details of what should be done, in the framing of a new law and the adoption of a new system, are beyond my knowledge or my responsibility; but, while I suppose the saloon would remain to a certain extent a power in politics, it would be shorn of some of its power and some of its assumption, if it did not stand in the relation of peculiar privilege to the State.

The question in which I am especially concerned is the question of open saloons on Sunday. If the saloon keepers had not been lifted up on a superior plane, they would not dare to take the attitude they do take now. It has been thought right in the State of New York, since ever it was a State, to close *all* selling places on Sunday, and to allow the sale of actually necessary things only up to 10 o'clock. This is not a religious question; it is a question of humanity. The religious question regards the *holiness* of the day. Quite apart from this is the human question, the question of health, the question of proved necessity, the *rest*

of the day. And the demand comes to violate this, to keep one kind of shop open and one set of men at work; and the kind of shop is the most dangerous kind of shop; the shop where the week's earnings will be wasted; the shop where the tired worker up to Saturday night will unfit himself for the work which is to begin on Monday; the shop out of which proceed the brawls and quarrels which destroy the day of rest and desecrate the day of holiness, and fill the Monday courts and the Monday prisons with criminals. It seems to me an insult to the intelligence of our American civilization. And it seems strange to me that the men who toil with their hands should fail to see that, under the pretense of giving them certain freedom for certain things on Sunday, this is the entering wedge for binding upon them the bondage of seven days work in a week. Once granted that a community has the right to keep one set of men at work, except in cases of recognized necessity, and one kind of shops open, on Sunday, and the first step has been taken toward making Sunday a general working day.

If it is said, "This is an interference with personal liberty," the answer is that personal liberty has to be interfered with if the person is doing wrong to himself or to his neighbor.

If, again, it is said that it makes unfair discrimination among classes, the answer is, that if this refers to clubs, there is no question but that the open bar of the club-house ought to be closed on Sundays, as much as the open bar of the saloon. But if it means to deprive the owners and members of a club of eating and drinking in their club-house on Sunday, then the argument proves too much, because that is in the nature of what a man does in his own house, whether rich or poor, and that the law does not touch.

If it be said that if a community desires to have saloons open they ought to be allowed to vote upon it, the answer is, that this is what is called "local option," and local option is well enough in reference to things about which there is *option*. If a community, for instance, should vote, as it does sometimes, that it will have no saloons, no place where liquor can be bought at retail at any time, it has the right to do it; and another community may vote just the other way. This is a question of expediency and choice. But I submit that no more dangerous theory was ever advanced or advocated, than that of giving a

community the right to vote directly or by indirection on the question of Sunday sales of anything. Here is a principle primæval, immemorial, fundamental. It is not a question of religion merely or mainly. If a community can vote to have liquor sold on Sunday, it can vote to have green-groceries sold, markets open, mechanics compelled to work. The poor man, the man who works with his hands, cannot be blind enough not to see this. He may want his glass of beer badly, but he had better buy it on Saturday night, and drink it stale or go without it, than fall into the fatal error of fancying that it is *only* a glass of beer. It is a question of six days' work or seven days' work in a week. It is a question of breaking down the only barrier that exists between him and the cruel greed of his employer.

Local option on the observance of the Day of Rest, so that one community shall have it and another not? Why not local option on the sacredness of marriage, so that any given community may legalize adultery by a majority at the polls? Why not local option on any one of the plain revelations of God's will, as they are incorporated into the laws of all Christian states? It is most earnestly to be desired that thoughtful people will think this matter *out* to the width of its reaches, and *down* to the depth of its meaning. There are some things about which there is no choice, except the deliberate choosing to disobey the law of God, which underlies all law. No majority vote, no legislation, no interpretation, can make that *law*, which is against Law as God has laid it down. There can be no personal or local option (which means choice) recognized or legalized which violates God's revealed law. So the conclusion of this matter is plain; first, that the law of the one day of rest in seven is broken by the opening of any places of merchandise, except for the necessities of life; and, secondly, that no majority of voters can make lawful that which is against the law of God. It is a base perversion of the words of Christ to make His saying, "The Sabbath was made for man," mean that it was made for man to do with as he pleases, or to do away with it if he pleases. It *was* made for man. It is his divine right, his inalienable heritage, his immemorial privilege; and to palter with it, to barter it for a mess of pottage or a glass of liquor, is to sell the birthright of the "sons of Adam, who are the sons of God."

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE CONDITION OF MAN THEREIN.—III.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE W. E. GLADSTONE.

II.—MAN'S CONDITION IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

I.—The Opinion of Natural Immortality.

THE subject of belief in a future state during the pre-historic and early historic ages affords a spectacle of piteous interest. Mankind, after the lapse into sin, still yearns for the fulfillment of the hopes, once bright and healthful, now impaired and mangled; yet shrinks back in dread from a future which his conscience clothes with terrors, and the prospect beyond the grave is enveloped in such gloom that he clings rather to the brief but often sunny days of his earthly existence.

But the abstract idea of a future life is the mere skeleton of a great subject, which only becomes clothed in flesh and blood, when we introduce into it all the incidents which do or may belong to the condition of man. "Unconditioned possibility" is the description which a powerful writer of our own day has given of the unseen world. The total and sudden rending asunder of the portions of our complex nature, now so closely knit into one another, is a change such that a vast portion of those who have to undergo it never seriously contemplate or mentally apprehend; but when the vision is firmly fixed upon it, there is need, in order to face it, either of profound apathy or of powerful stimulants, or of a great internal strength inherent or acquired. Nature inspires the love of life, cries out against being torn to pieces, and rarely can be brought to accept the idea of pure extinction. The act of dying, which has to be performed by the least among men, is the greatest act in the entire experience of the greatest. The literature of classical antiquity

nowhere makes such piercing calls upon our sympathy as when it laments a beloved object, or mournfully records the inevitable destiny of the race. It is not that the ancients greatly perplex themselves with the ulterior problems, or what we now call eschatology. It is that death is in itself horrible, and old age comes in for a share of horror, because it is death's next neighbor.

But when the greatest of all events in history launched the Gospel into the world a great change was gradually brought about. In the relative importance of the seen and the unseen, the existing and the coming world, a change was wrought amounting to a revolution, and the compromise, which had abated speculation on the future, came spontaneously to an end. On the head and front of the new teaching was written the great doctrine of the Resurrection: and the Resurrection meant an union upon earth with the Life of Christ which was to be perpetuated beyond the grave and consummated by the final resumption of the body. For every redeemed soul a solution of the mystery of death was offered at once immediate and complete; and the aim of the new dispensation was that every soul should be redeemed; that as all had shared in the ruin through sin, so all should share in the redemption. And so at the very first outset it seemed to be. Through the first four chapters of the Acts, in the days of the three thousand and the five thousand,* it appears as though not a single tare had been sown by the hand of the enemy among the wheat. In the New Testament generally, until a cloud of uncertainty envelops the episode of the Seven Churches, the Christian community at large is holy and the disobedient are the rare exception. The indefeasible beatitude of believers is not only the happiest, but is also by far the largest object presented to the view. What was in time to become the reverse of the picture was as yet only a speck almost infinitesimal in the spiritual landscape.

From the first, as might have been expected, the happiness without end of man redeemed in Christ, of the very beings such as we see from day to day walking before us, stood as an universal conviction of the Church, and found its place in all the summaries of her belief. Transmigration of the soul, pre-existence, and its absorption, did not require to be confuted; for Christians they had melted away of themselves as mists before the sun.

* Acts ii., 41; iv., 4.

Within these limits Christianity from the first addressed the world in language which was positive and peremptory.

But this happy state of things could not indefinitely continue. With the progressive extension of the Church, the proportion of the branches that abode not in the Vine continually grew. So early as at the date of the Apocalypse there were churches tainted in belief, and churches paralyzed by the lukewarmness which insults God by owning Him while it disobeys Him. Even while the Christian community had the period of persecution still lying in perspective before it, the world, the flesh, and the devil were actively extending their rule within its borders. While the Canon of the New Testament was assuming its form, the sacred books do not appear to have precipitated the mind of the Church into hasty attempts at solving the entire problem of the future state for the wicked in common with the righteous. We shall find that, outside the great revelation of fixed beatitude for holy souls, the question remained an open one for several generations, indeed for some centuries. It would be hazardous to speak with confidence as to the causes which introduced restraint. In such a case as that of the great Trinitarian controversy, it is known that strictness of definition was resorted to as a weapon of defence (and it has proved to be most effectual) against the activity of erratic ideas. In the case of the immortality of the soul, there was no such morbid activity to provoke the general imposition of restraint, and no corresponding danger to guard against.

The conditions under which we approach the consideration of this great subject are widely different from those which were present to the view of the early Christians. For them the question retained a great simplicity. The positive truth of a future life had indeed received authoritative and final confirmation from the mouth of our Lord. As we see from the writings of the Apostolic Fathers that the redeemed of Christ—that is to say, all Christians who would suffer Christ to redeem them—were thenceforward placed in security from all vicissitude by their vital union with Him. "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and he that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die."* He made no declaration as to the origin or nature of the soul. The disquisitions of Rabbis, the speculations of philosophers, were quietly passed by. They remained whatever they had been before,

*John xi., 25, 26.

in their original impotence or power. Passing by them all as naught, he proclaimed the establishment of his own rule, and he denied that it should not be marvelled at, for was it not so by the establishment of the rule of righteousness? "Marvel not at this; for the hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation."* Large, in proportion to the small volume of his recorded instructions, was the eschatological teaching of our Lord, but it all went straight to the most central and the simplest truths—His mission to draw all men unto Him; the beatitude of those consenting to be drawn, in being one with the Father and the Son; † for those who refuse, a state of darkness, exclusion, weeping and gnashing of teeth, a scene of misery and affliction, on which the curtain of the Gospel drops. That curtain is never lifted: and all that is behind it would seem to be withheld from us and reserved for the counsels of the Most High. And surely if the stony heart of man can be moved, here is enough to move it. On the one hand, rescue from all our evils and all our sins, restoration to a partnership with the Divine nature in the image of which we were originally formed, so that human destinies are in a manner linked to those not of the universe at large, but of the universe at its crown and summit. For this glorious picture, there is of course, a painful and shameful opposite, a Sheol more gloomy than the ancient conception which so largely sufficed to daunt the mind of man before the Advent. By the general declarations of the Gospel, there is open to us for persistent sinners in the future state a wilderness of woe. Yet we cannot say that the fate of the lost is represented to us as an exact counterpart to that of the righteous. So it would have been had the final award been one of pains and pleasures distributed as reward and punishment are administered to school boys and as in a single passage of the gospels future retribution is represented to us under the figure of stripes.‡ But this method of presentation would have thrown into the background the essentially ethical character of Divine government, and especially of its capital exhibition in the Christian scheme. For the essence of salvation consists not in any external possession, but in vital union with God, such as that of a creature with his

*John v., 28, 29. †John xvii., 21. ‡Luke xii., 47, 48.

Creator can be. There is no Ahriman in the scheme of our religion, and no corresponding existence with which the unrighteous are to be similarly united. Hence there arises in the eschatology of the New Testament an almost uniform distinction in the mode of handling for the two. They are not logical opposites like good and evil. The consumption of the chaff with unquenchable fire is not the logical opposite of being gathered into the garner. Repulsion of the five foolish virgins into a void undescribed is not the logical opposite of a place in the procession of the bridegroom, however the one may be contrasted with the other. The weeping and gnashing of teeth in the outer darkness represents suffering which has its seat and source within the person himself, and are not the logical opposite to that feast where the master of the house supplies his chosen ones with food. Union with God is not only a state, but is also a law, of existence. No corresponding law is defined for us in the New Testament in relation to the lost. Whether or how far the duration of their sufferings is described, I do not at this moment enquire; but it is not merely or mainly in measures of time that the blessedness of the children of God is meted out to them. "As thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us."* As they do not marry, so neither need they count. Wherever their union with God is named, their charter is given them anew.

"They which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage, neither can they die any more; for they are equal unto the angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection." † With death they have and can have no more concern, for "if a man keep my saying he shall never see death." ‡ But, on the contrary, in describing the condition of the wicked, death is a familiar image. The wages of sin is death. The motions of sin bear fruit unto death. There is a law of sin and death. Sin, when finished, bringeth forth death. § And the only question which remains is, whether the word "death" in these and like passages retains its ordinary sense as the cessation of existence, or whether it is here modified to signify a prolongation of existence conditioned by misery For, do what we will with that word, we cannot sever from it that idea of finality which in one shape or another inheres in its essence.

* John xvii., 21. † Luke xx., 35, 36. ‡ John viii., 51.
§ Rom. vi., 23; vii., 5; viii., 2; 2 Cor. ii., 16; James i., 15.

The instructions of the Apostles added no new doctrine to the teaching of the Saviour in respect to death and retribution, the inalienable beatitude of the just, the absence of any repeal of the sentence pronounced upon the wicked. The same as has been already pointed out was the case with those early writers termed the Apostolic Fathers.

It is only with some care that we can realize the value of this remarkable abstention from the license of speculation, which indeed continued long after the Apostolic age and its special inspiration. Even at a first glance it is easy to conceive what difficulties are likely to attend human attempts to map out the other world when we consider how imperfectly we succeed in our endeavors to master the conditions of the world in which we live, ascertained for us though they be by no small store of experience. First, we have to deal with the origin and essence of the soul, and their relations to those of the body: a subject of itself opening a wide field of varied controversies. Then, it is not one but two future lives with which we have to deal; the one which precedes the day of judgment, and the other which follows it and reaches out into the infinite. Then there is the difference of the conditions under which the great account is to be met by the generation summoned to it directly from the activities of life, and those other generations who have passed through the natural dissolution of the body and the experiences of the intermediate state. Here the enquirer finds his path crossed by the grave consideration that many pass into the unseen world in infancy and childhood without having reached any such development of the faculties as to attain responsibility, or, in the case of infants, even consciousness. On the borders of this region lie two others yet more vast: What is the condition of those who lived and died before the coming of Christ, and again, of such as dwell beyond the Christian pale and never hear "the word of this salvation?" How are we to encounter the doubts which suggested to the early Christian mind a division between the *peccatores* who fail to a greater or less extent in their endeavors at the fulfilment of the great Christian law, and the *impii* who do not so much as dream of endeavoring to fulfil it, but accomplish the whole work of their earthly careers in neglect or in defiance. How are to be adjusted the million-shaded gradations of penalty and reward, when the books are opened and the dead are judged according to

their works: the All-seeing Eye taking its measure without fail of every act (and words and thoughts are also acts) done in the body by every individual human being? What is the place which birth-sin, the death brought by Adam into the world, will occupy in fixing the conditions of the dread account? Or again. The Christian was not redeemed in loneliness: he had been baptized into a community, and membership in that community established a relation which, under the circumstances of the early Christian Church, went down to the very roots of his being, and appeared sometimes to obtain such a command that the soul, when thoroughly vitalized by Divine grace, appeared to experience an absorption of all personal cares in the depth and intensity of its sympathies? As when St. Paul wrote those wonderful words: "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh."* In these subjects and in others such as these, was open a field for inquiry and for dispute which might almost be called infinite. But the flights of thought were wider and wilder still when two hundred years after the time of our Lord we find ourselves face to face with the controversies of Origenism.

There was there a wise abstention from feverish inquiries which could only tend to the premature and inordinate pursuit of dogma, or the exaltation of mere opinion to a plane on which it acquires the semblance of authority. It was aided by a variety of influences. First the early Christian writers were not generally of a stamp addicted to mere theory, but were eminently practical. Reality and fervor were then the rule of Christian life and not as now the exception; so that the happy consequence of such a state of things was that the contemplation of the coming world, the main object presented to the view was that blessed and happy one which had already received from our Lord such fullness of description as was found amply to satisfy the general mind, and to throw the sadder portion of the question comparatively into the shade. And further, we must take into view the wide prevalence among the early Christians of a belief in the early return of the Saviour to the world for a victorious reign thereover and with His people for a thousand years. It seems evident that as under the Mosaic system the forward place given to temporal inducements and penalties

*Rom. ix., 3.

tended to cast a shade over the entire question of a future life, so the millennial anticipations of a public and general triumph of the Lord in person upon earth together with his church must have operated powerfully in neutralizing the solicitude of Christians for very large solutions of the questions associated with eschatology, and may have caused something approaching to an absorption of the ideas concerning the particulars of individual destiny in the majestic and imposing imagery of expectation thus offered to the spiritual eye. For here it should be observed that the millennarian or chiliastic expectations were calculated to exercise a peculiar force of attraction. The grand expectation of St. Paul in connection with the coming life was "to be with Christ"; but this was the central and cardinal idea of Chiliasm. Again it met the weakness of human nature half way in abating the magnitude of the changes entailed by death; for the Christian would be still in his old home, and if that home was to present an altered, it was also to be a happier and a nobler, aspect. Further this state adjourned the awfulness which it is hard wholly to sever from the great account; for it preceded the Day of Judgment. Along with that great day, the chiliastic expectation adjourned what was to follow it; and by interposing this subject of adequate and indeed absorbing interest between the present life and the ultimate determination of the fate of souls a powerful means was provided for slackening the curiosity of the human mind with respect to that ultimate question. Origen, as we might naturally expect, is found among the opponents of Chiliasm.

Upon the whole and as regards the early church at large, I submit that we may view its mental condition with regard to eschatology as a very happy condition, and as distinguished mainly by the union of these three special notes: a pure faith, a modest self-restraint and a large range of freedom for opinion.

These ideas were in close conformity with all the best of our natural conceptions. Through the deviation of man from his righteousness, there had been a frightful rent established in the web of this earthly dispensation. The teaching of our Lord, and the purpose of His Incarnation, both in His Person, and in His Church which has been described as its continuation, aimed at the reparation of this rent by re-establishing the reign of righteousness; and this reign of righteousness was at once fully,

clearly, and simply expressed in the primitive eschatology which set aside all the flights of metaphysical abstraction, and simply assigned to goodness its reward and to wickedness its proper retribution: with an adequate insistency and precision as to the first, and with a becoming awe, and consequent reserve, as to all the particulars of the latter.

This description will best apply to the period which extends from the Apostolic age down to the time of Origen. With regard to this period, the English speaking student does not, indeed, receive all the help he might desire (so far as I know) from writers in his own tongue. Dr. Salmond's "Christian Doctrine of Immortality"* is an able, truth-loving, and, from many points of view, comprehensive work; but it does not supply any history of the course and variation of Christian opinion during the centuries since the Advent. The still fuller work of Mr. Alger, which in 1878 had gone through ten editions in the United States, is open to graver exception in this respect, that it propounds a "patristic scheme of eschatology," † as representing the teachings of the Church from the first to the tenth century; whereas it is generally recognized and appears indisputable that great changes in the tone of principal writers took place during that lengthened period. The "punishment of the wicked by both physical and spiritual torture" without any respite, without any end,‡ was during the earlier generations denied by many, but was from the first the orthodox doctrine of the patristic Church. The common representations are different and I believe nearer the truth. According to F. Nitzsch, the immortality of the soul was the subject of free discussion among the early Fathers. In Justin Martyr we find it denied (and though the denial be put into the mouth of Trypho, an independent witness, it is inconceivable that this could have been done if Justin himself had believed that question to be closed in a contrary sense by Divine Revelation). Tatian says in express terms, the soul of man in itself is not immortal but mortal; and Theophilus of Antioch that Adam was neither mortal nor immortal, but (δακτικὸς ἀμφοτέρων) capable of either. And according to Irenaeus the soul in its own nature is not life, but receives its life from God, on whom therefore its

* Edinburgh, Clark, 1895.
† Alger, "Doctrine of a Future Life," page 395-8.
‡ Ibid, page 402.

continuance depends. It is subject to the law of death, but will owe persistency of life, as a Divine gift, to God its author. At a later date Lactantius even says that the distinction between the righteous and the wicked would be cancelled if all were immortal* *Ergo immortalitas non sequela naturæ, sed merces præmium qui virtutis est.* On the other hand, Tertullian teaches that the soul is indivisible and imperishable, and has an activity which is not suspended even during sleep. Dodwell in his work on the soul, claims also Rufinus, Arnobius and Athenagoras as supporters of the doctrine of mortality.† Clarke's denials of these are bold, but by no means in all cases absolute or satisfactory.‡ The author of *Problème de l' Immortalité,* an elaborate work§ on behalf of "conditional immortality," includes in his claim Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Hermas, Polycarp, and Clement of Alexandria. Flügge in dealing with the period before Origen points out that there was as yet no dogma of the Church upon the subject; some affirmed punishments to be eternal, others regarded the souls of the wicked as destined to annihilation; in general writers did not go beyond the declarations of the New Testament, nor venture to lift the curtain which hangs over all that follows the Day of Judgment, considering that there is then opened a fresh period in the history of the race which it is beyond the prerogative of mortal man to examine.¶ Enough I think has now been said to sustain my general proposition that this period was one of faith, of freedom, and of personal moderation and reserve: although I have not yet referred to what is the clearest and most indisputable evidence in its support, namely, the language of the Creeds. That language shows that the general characteristics which I have assigned to the writers before the time of Origen extended beyond that period, so far as the authoritative standards of the Church at large are concerned.

The secret of this mental freedom, the condition which made it possible, was the absence from the scene of any doctrine of a natural immortality inherent in the soul. Absent, it may be

* F. Nitzsch, *Grundriss der Christlichen Dogmageschichte*, Berlin, 1870; pp. 352, 3; I. Theil. Quoting respectively Just. Dial. c. 4; Tatian c. Graec. 13; Theophilus ad Antol., II., 27; Iren., II 34, 4; Lactantius *Inst. Div*, vii., 5.

† "The Soul a Principle Naturally Mortal," pp. 55, 67, 76, 79.

‡ Letter to Mr. Dodwell, pp. 24 to 47.

§ *Problème de l'Immortalité*, Vol. ii., p. 286. Paris, 1842.

¶ Flügge, *Geschichte des Glaubens an Unsterblichkeit*, Leipzig, 1799, Theil., III. Abs. I., page 237.

termed, for all practical purposes, until the third century; for, though it was taught by Tertullian in connection with the Platonic ideas, it was not given forth as belonging to the doctrine of Christ or his Apostles. It was held by Tertullian in connection with the contention that the soul was material in its nature, an idea very unlikely to recommend it to the Christian mind. And the association of Tertullian with Montanism could hardly be otherwise than detrimental to his influence; as indeed it seems to have left him through the long course of ages afloat, so to speak, between the opposite characters of patristic honors and the brand of heresy. It seems to me as if it were from the time of Origen that we are to regard the idea of natural, as opposed to that of Christian, immortality as beginning to gain a firm foothold in the Christian Church.

And now, indeed, in connection with that great name, it may be thought that we are no longer entitled to speak of moderation and reserve as characteristics of the prevailing tone of Christian thought. The opinion for which he is now most generally known to have been finally condemned is that which is called Restorationism or Universalism; an opinion which harmonizes with and perhaps presupposes the natural immortality of the soul. But the idea of restoration was only one amidst a crowd of his notions, all of which had the natural immortality of the soul for their common ground.

In the range of his reading, which largely exceeded that of any among his predecessors, Origen became well acquainted with the arguments of Gentile philosophy, and probably with every extant branch of learning. He was a great Apologist of Christianity, and it is supposed that he did not consciously alienate himself from its traditionary teaching. Yet he himself suspected that his eschatology was one dangerous for the multitude, and it is suggested that he cherished the notion of having an exoteric theology for the mass of believers and a esoteric system for the student. A curious passage is cited by Lupus from Saint Jerome: *Ipse Origenes, in epistola quam scribit ad Fabianum, Romanæ Ecclesiæ Episcopum, pœnitentiam agit, cur talia scripserit, et causam temeritatis in Ambrosium refert, quod secreto edita in publicum protulerit.** It was indeed the opening of a flood-gate. I think that the importance of the men who took opposite sides

* Lupus, page 706. Jerom. Epist. lxv., c. 4.

in the long period of Origenistic controversy lends great support to the statement I have ventured that outside the strictly essential there had been a large freedom allowed to eschatological opinion in the early Church. On the other hand, speaking as a remote and ignorant observer, I am struck with astonishment on finding that this great man, so deeply immersed in practical controversy, should have found mental leisure for these far-travelling speculations. They seem, as to many of their subjects, like balloon-voyages undertaken into vacant space by one who found the atmospheric spaces contiguous to the earth insufficient for his expatiating energies. Flügge views him * as governed by a conviction that he could build out of philosophy, especially out of Platonism, buttresses for the Christian faith and proofs of its solidity; a view in marked contrast with that chosen by the most circumspect minds, and by Butler, a prince among them.

The sceptical mind may frame questions as it will: Death sternly refuses to give it any satisfaction. The love of money may heap around us mountains of gold; all this is but to lower the ratio of that which a man is, to that which he possesses. The fever of self-indulgence may multiply our enjoyments: but each new enjoyment is, for the common run of men, a new want, and each new want is a new link in the chain of moral servitude, a new deduction from our high prerogative of freedom. Schemes of negation may each for a while fret and fume upon the stage of human affairs. It is Death, the great auditor of accounts, that reduces them, one and all, to their natural and small dimensions. The present is louder than ever in its imperious demands; but injured nature takes it upon her to reply that the present is the life of animals, and the future is the life of man. In the development of luxury, we are immeasurably ahead of the ancient Greek, and we might have been proportionably more successful in shutting off the questionings of the soul respecting that which is to come, had not a new voice sounded forth in the world to proclaim the word Resurrection: since which it has become impossible, by any process within our resources, to stifle the longings of the human spirit to obtain the command of some instrument for measuring the future which expands before it.

I suppose it to be an acknowledged fact that for the Apostles, and for the first following teachers of Christianity, the doctrine of

* Flügge's *Geschichte*, Theil. III., Abs. v. (iv., 171).

the Resurrection lay at the very threshold of the Gospel. It was a salient proof, of matchless force for the new scheme that, whereas the great enemy to be destroyed, according to the ancient promise, was Death, Death was at once and visibly destroyed by the Resurrection. Moreover, it was the road toward the solution of that cloud of mysterious problems which lay spread all round the idea of our own future life. It might have been imagined, then, that as the Resurrection was the first word of the Gospel, the handling of these mysteries would be the next. But no. The teaching which at once travelled so far into the darkness before us as the Resurrection, forthwith travelled back from it. It came back, in due order, from the Resurrection which lay on the farther side of the grave, to the resurrection which lies on the hither side. Under the Christian system, destinies depend upon character; and it is the character which has to be formed here which will shape the destinies that are to be undergone hereafter. It might almost be said without levity that the early Christians set about the work of character, and left destiny to to take care of itself.

The weight of interest attached to formation of character, immensely exceeded for practical purposes the interest of investigation into the particulars of the future existence, and the Church for some time gave an absorbing attention to the duty which lay nearest hand. Even those who view with least favor the unbounded speculations of Origen must regret that, if his works were to be condemned by binding authority, they should not have been brought to judgment until three centuries after his death (from about A. D. 254 to 553). He was a lover of truth, and if they had been tried in his life-time he might in deference to such high authority have reconsidered his positions, and have found means of greatly narrowing the interval which separated him from the general mind of the Church. While the question may suggest itself whether his opinions might and ought to have been dealt with sooner, it should be remembered on the other hand that during these three hundred years, beginning with the time of Paul of Samosata, the Church had gone through the most perilous and agitated period of its whole existence, and had dealt with and settled once for all the controversies, larger and more vital even than those of eschatology, which concerned the nature of the Object of our worship. The last echoes of those transcendant controversies only died away contemporaneously with the

condemnation of Origenism, and in association with the name of the Roman Pope Vigilius. But the point which I desire to press is this. The immortality of the soul had heretofore been a question open and little agitated. The complex group of opinions termed Origenistic had been founded on it. The opinions were condemned. Of the immortality of the soul there was neither condemnation nor approval. But as in this way notoriety was given to it without censure, the practical effect may have been largely to accredit it, and this may have operated in conjunction with other causes to promote that extension of the opinion which had apparently been in progress from the time of St. Augustine.

It would be out of place were I to present the summaries of Origenistic tenets or hypotheses which may easily be found on reference.* They are set out with authority in the Canons of the Fifth Council from I. to IX., in the last of which he is named † and anathematised. It is enough to say that, besides speculations of a peculiar kind on the nature and redeeming office of our Lord, they included the pre-existence of the soul, and the universal restitution to righteousness and felicity of all mankind, a proposition which with inflexible and fearless logic he carried to its farthest bounds, and included in it Satan and the fallen angels. He was condemned during his lifetime by an Alexandrian synod, and the condemnation was echoed from Rome, but the grounds of it are not known with clear certainty. But his defenders, too, were strong in number, character, and influence, so that the Church exhibited a divided mind. His vast learning and ability, as well as his elevated reputation for sanctity, may have greatly contributed to the amount and vivacity of the support which he received. For some time, after the Council of Chalcedon, there was a lull, but a recrudescence followed, and Origenism became apparently the occasion as well as one of the main subjects of the General Council held at Constantinople in A. D. 553.

Even down to and after the time of Gregory the Great, Flügge finds no approach made towards the formation of a Christian dogma of eschatology. There was a disposition to dwell on the immateriality of the soul, but it was regarded as in its own nature

* For example, in the "Dictionary of Christian Biography," IV., 150 and 154. The article on Origen amounts to a highly developed treatise.

† Lupus *Canones et Decreta*, pages 660, 270.

perishable, and as deriving immortality only from the knowledge of God.* Still he considers, and it seems indisputable, that the materials for such an opinion, whether we call it dogma or hypothesis, were for a long period in course of steady accumulation, but this was not so from the first. After some generations, however, the mental temper and disposition of Christians inclined more and more to its reception were also on the increase. Without these assumptions it would be impossible to account for the wholesale change which has taken place in the mind of Christendom with regard to the subject of natural immortality. It would be difficult, I think to name any other subject connected with religious belief (though not properly belonging to it) on which we can point to so sweeping and absolute a revolution of opinion: from the period before Origen, when the idea of an immortality properly natural was almost unknown, to the centuries of the later middle ages and of the modern age, when, at least in the West, it had become practically undisputed and universal. Let us endeavor to obtain so much of light as we may upon the causes which were auxiliary to this extraordinary change.

I have ventured on referring to Origenism and even to its condemnation as one among them, on the ground that it brought the general mind into familiarity with the idea previously alien or remote. In the wake of Origen came Platonism, of which he was a zealous champion. At the period when Dante sang, Aristotle had long held that unquestioned sway which is commemorated in the line

Vidi il maestro di color che sanno.†

But Plato had been supreme in Alexandria; and Alexandria was the parent of Christian philosophism in the persons of Clement and of Origen. He had also a high place in the mind of St. Augustine, and he probably did more among Christians, than he had ever achieved among pagans, in establishing as a natural endowment that immortality of the soul which was already ineradicably fixed as fact for Christian souls, although upon a ground altogether different in the mind of the Church, so far as it touched the destination of the righteous. In all these ages, Christianity was in the West a rapidly growing religion; the extension of the Christian revelation gave a powerful impetus

* Flügge *Geschichte*, Theil III., Abs. V. (iv. 254-6).
† Dante Inf. IV., 131.

to what I may term the spirit of affirmation; and with the spirit of affirmation, the arguments and the temper of Platonism intimately coincided. The system of Aristotle on the other hand was distinctly negative in the matter of what is now called the Beyond; but the view of immortality congenial to Platonism had, before this rival system became prevalent, so hardened in the Christian mind that it took no damage from the change brought about in philosophy at large.

By an unwarranted assumption, we are too much wont to antedate the transition of the mass of the population of the Empire from heathenism to Christianity. There is of course an utter dearth of sound statistical information on the subject. It is probable that Constantine, when he took the side of Christianity, saw that the balance of the aggregate mental and moral forces had altered in the same direction, but the question of mere numbers is one altogether different. Even in Constantinople, a century after it had been founded "under the inspiration of anti-pagan ideas," Beugnot shows that only one-fourth of the population were Christians.* The Christian policy of the great Emperor was rather an anticipation of the coming time, than an acknowledgment of results already achieved. The world was not yet reconciled to the Church. But that reconciliation was on its way; it travelled fast; and, as it advanced, the powers of the world acquired a growing influence within her borders. The proportion of her thoughtless and godless members to those of serious mind continually and rapidly grew. From the reign of Constantine onwards, says Beugnot, we note the disappearance of those simple and frugal manners, which for three centuries had been the glory of the Church.† So the warfare of the genuine Christian preacher with large numbers of his hearers waxed hotter and hotter. The question of their destiny in the world to come, which had been but infinitesimal in the first Apostolic days, now came to assume grave, and even vast, proportions. And here it was that the new doctrine, as I shall call it, of natural immortality played so material a part. The sinner had to be persuaded. He had also to be threatened; and threatened with what? If the preacher only menaced him with the retribution which was to follow the

* Beugnot, *Destruction du Paganisme en Occident*, II., 195.
† Beugnot I., 87.

Day of Judgment, the force of the instrument he employed materially depended on what he could say as to the duration of that penal term, a subject which, in the earliest teaching of the Church, it had been found unnecessary minutely to explore. But the war was carried on from the pulpit at a great advantage, for the age was an affirming and believing, not a questioning or denying age. At such a period the more long-drawn the vista of the impending punishment, the more powerful the menaces with which the preacher might reckon upon beating down the resistance of the carnal mind. In an age which has reversed the tendencies of thought, the doctrine of natural immortality may have become, for many or some, an impediment or incumbrance. But, in what we term the ages of faith, ideas of a natural immortality, even if rudely and indefinitely conceived, enhanced the power of the leverage at the command of the Christian preacher. It seems also indisputable that it enhanced therewith the influence of the priesthood as a caste; and the sharper the edge which could be given to the configuration (so to speak) of the opinion, the greater was that enhancement: and the larger the increment of a force which in its first inception was evidently one calculated for use in the cause of righteousness, although in its ulterior developments, and in its association with another evolution of ideas concerning the intermediate state and the power of the Church to act upon it, the moral action of the tenet may have come to be of a mixed and questionable character. If, then, the idea of natural immortality was one thus variously adapted for promoting, under the circumstances of the time, both the higher and the more earthy part of the purposes of the Church, we cannot doubt that this doctrinal interest would have a large and efficacious operation in promoting the recognition, acceptance and habitual popular enforcement of that idea.

It seems, however, to be generally felt that the determining epoch in the history of seminal Christian thought upon this subject was the life of St. Augustine, together with that period, following closely upon it, when the Western Church became rapidly imbued with his theology in almost its entire compass.

It would be difficult, I believe, to frame from the writings of this great teacher, the most powerful, the most evangelical, and also the most comprehensive who had adorned the annals of the

Western Church, any entirely self-consistent system of eschatological opinion. Some questions, such as whether suffering in the future will be physical as well as spiritual, he was content to leave open. It has been shown by the language already quoted from the *Retractationes* how he felt the difficulties of such a theme. The views which he expressed in connection with primitive man and with the fall seem to be at variance with the endeavors, doubtless due to his acceptance of the Platonic philosophy, which he made to found the immortality of the soul upon abstract and metaphysical considerations. Probably these arguments supplied the basis of his own conviction. His strong conception, however, of the Divine decrees, of birth-sin, and (in his later days) of the utter impotence of the will to act rightly, may all have tended to give, in his mind, more and more of fixity and permanence to the conditions of human existence. These views did not pass without some mitigation into the general teaching of the Latin Church. But the conclusion as to the soul met with general acceptance and suffered no abatement in its terms. From this time forward we cease to look for the appearance of men who, like Gregory of Nyssa in the fourth century, recalled the memory of Origen with regard to the escape in the future of lost spirits from their condemnation.* For Augustine strongly supported the eternal duration of their punishment. This is not surprising; but it may appear singular that he should have recognized such a parallelism between this opinion and the perpetuity of everlasting happiness, as to suggest that the doctrine touching the redeemed would be endangered unless the other were propounded as its counterpart. The eternal punishment of the wicked in general for the sins of a life not finite only but brief is thought by some to present an aspect of great severity. When this proposition carried with it the notions of inability to escape from sinfulness, and of adverse Divine decrees, and when, further, damnation for original sin was extended to infants, and the heathen were excluded wholesale from salvation, it may be said that a theology so fashioned did indeed hold heavy burdens for the human mind to bear. We are now perhaps suffering, in part, from the reaction which such a scheme might be calculated in the course of time to bring about.

* F. Nitzsch *Dogmageschichte* I., p. 404.

It will not be required to say much more upon the historical growth of this opinion. Flügge regards the ideas of immateriality and immortality of the soul as accepted by St. John of Damascus, but considers that all along the Latin Church led the way in this development.* The history of the formation of the ecclesiastical dogma (of eschatology), he says, closes with the Schoolmen.† To their manipulation of the subject there is no corresponding process among the divines of the Oriental Church, who remained content with the older methods of presentation. It may have been a sign of this distinction between Western and Eastern doctrine that so late as in the *Decretum pro Graecis* (the words accepted by the Council of Florence as a form of union in 1439), it is declared that those who have died *in actuali mortali peccato, vel solo originali* pass into punishments of various degrees, but nothing is said of the duration of those punishments.

We are to regard Peter Lombard, it appears, as the person who gathered together the *disjecta membra;* and even from him the words are quoted, *omnibus questionibus quae de hac re moveri solent, satisfacere non valeo.*‡ With the Schoolmen, the philosophy of Aristotle was established in full authority; but Peter Lombard found the natural immortality of the soul in possession of the field of thought, and, perhaps, accepted it simply as part of the common heritage, without minute investigation of the source from which it was derived. Flügge quotes him as content to set out from the Resurrection, which he proves by the authority of Scripture. It was his business to give regularity and method to the dispersed utterances of former writers; and this he appears to have done with a certain moderation. Following St. Augustine and Gregory the Great, he described the satisfaction which the sufferings of the wicked will supply to the elect; *laetitia satiabuntur, agentes gratias de sua liberatione, vita impiorum ineffabili calamitate.*§ Their utility, therefore, lies in quickening the thankfulness of the blessed for their own relief, though the question remains whether so sad a stimulant can under the circumstances be required, or should be gratuitously presumed.

One historical point only remains.

At length, in the year 1513, in a Bull of Pope Leo X.,

* Flügge, Theil III., Abs. IV. (iv., 214). † *Ibid.* Abs. VII. u. IV.
‡ *Ibid.*, Abs. VIII. (iv., 69). § *Ibid.*, p. 69–79.

which purports to be issued with the assent of a Lateran Council (which, however, has been questioned) we have the following words: *Damnamus et reprobamus omnes asserentes animam intellectivam mortalem esse, aut unicam in cunctis hominibus.**

I do not know how far this Bull is within the prescriptions of the Council of 1870; but whether it binds the Latin communion or not it is of interest as an historical document, and as one which stands in isolation.

But although it was the work of the Schoolmen to supply the Western Church with its formal eschatology, it seems to be generally agreed that the motive force of paramount efficacy in this direction was drawn from the works of St. Augustine. So we find ourselves brought down in substance to the modern ideas, meaning, however, by these the ideas which prevailed from the Reformation onwards, and reserving for a later stage whatever in the way of shock or change is to be ascribed to the sceptical or negative movement of the present day. So the spectacle which we have before us is in brief outline this. The reserve of the early Church has been abandoned. Even the recollection of it has faded from the popular mind. Of the immeasurable field of discussion opened by the future life, not indeed the whole, but a considerable part, had been virtually closed, not by ecclesiastical authority in its most formal sense, but yet by the general drift of the mind of Christendom, long before the judgment of Leo X. was promulgated. The Western tone had prevailed over the Eastern; for the East had hardly refreshed its theology by reproductions since the time of John of Damascus. With the departure of the ancient reserve there had come a great practical limitation of the liberty of thought possessed by the individual Christian. The doctrine of natural as distinguished from Christian immortality had not been subjected to the severe tests of wide publicity and resolute controversy, but had crept into the Church by a back door as it were, by a silent though effective process, and was in course of obtaining a title by tacit prescription.

The evidence of the change may perhaps be most readily supplied to us by observing that when arguments are offered for the immortality of the soul they are rarely derived from Scripture.†

*From the *Bullarium* of Sixtus V., Romae, 1586, p. 171.
† Flügge, Theil III. Abs. I., Abs. V., (IV., 3 ii).

For it will be borne in mind that logically viewed resurrection is one thing and immortality another. The duration of the sufferings of the wicked was universally deemed to be co-extensive with the beatitude of the righteous. But there remained one distinction on which we may have to dwell at a later stage. The human mind had become familiar with the name of eternity, but had dived little into the idea itself. There had not yet been, in conjunction with the acceptance and enforcement of the phrase, any corresponding attempt by arithmetical calculation or otherwise to give it with any fullness the character which it bears in recent thought.

It remains to consider with some fullness the effect of these grave changes, and especially of the substitution in our eschatology on a larger scale of assertion for reserve.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

(*To be continued.*)

OUR DEFENCELESS COASTS.

BY REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE N. SOUTHWICK, OF NEW YORK.

AMONG the statesmanlike utterances of Samuel J. Tilden, for which his name should be honored and cherished, the most notable was his appeal for a proper defence of the coasts of the United States. With Mr. Tilden the idea of the urgent necessity for coast defences assumed the proportions of a hobby. But his words fell upon deaf ears and he was gathered to his fathers without having witnessed the realization of his day-dream. Indeed, while in the flesh, he was roundly abused for proposing what was termed an endless expenditure of money. I recall from the literature of the times a cartoon in which the venerable Tilden was represented as standing with trembling limbs on the roof of Graystone and gazing anxiously through his telescope, seaward, as if he discerned, hard down on the horizon, black smoke pouring from the funnels of a British man of war.

Truly it was a perverse generation with which Mr. Tilden and other far-sighted men were compelled to deal, in urging the defence of the country's coasts. Let me suggest sample arguments of the times, which satisfied the average American that peculiar conditions and circumstances entered in to relieve the United States from the application of the ancient adage that peace was the proper time in which to prepare for war.

"Surely, do not 3,000 miles of ocean intervene between this country and Europe, isolating us from the only source whence a hostile attack could come?

"And, moreover, did not the great and good Father of his Country caution us against foreign alliances and entanglements, and have we not heeded his warning religiously?

"Then, where is the danger and why sink millions of the people's money in the defence of our coasts?"

Such were some of the popular queries of familiar ring; and the Tilden argument went by the board.

The truth of the matter was that the American people had been surfeited with war and were suffering from a reaction against it and everything pertaining to it. Furthermore, the experiences of the civil conflict had inspired in them a blind confidence in their inventive genius and ability to meet any crisis which might arise.

Whatever the influence at work, the results are known of all men :—coast defences almost entirely lacking; merely the nucleus of a navy; an army insignificant in numbers and organized on a basis which has been discarded by every other civilized nation.

The document which President Cleveland sent to Congress, on the afternoon of December 17, 1895, changed the entire aspect of affairs and brought about a new order of public sentiment on the question of national defence. That Venezuelan message has been well likened to a flash of lightning out of a clear sky at midday; and the thunder which followed startled the American people as had nothing else since Beauregard's opening gun in Charleston harbor, in 1861, proclaimed the war between the sections. The President's declaration was one of defiance—possibly of war—against the most powerful and resourceful nation of Europe. It startled, especially because the practical judgment of Americans told them that they were totally, negligently, and almost criminally, unprepared for war; unprepared even for defence on land, much less aggression on the ocean.

Britannia ruled the waves as in the days of Drake and Nelson, while her military outposts extended along our northern border; and hostilities meant the immediate advent of flying squadrons off the harbors of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, New Orleans, and San Francisco, if not the presence, *via* the Welland canal, of vessels of war before Chicago, Milwaukee, Duluth, Cleveland, and Buffalo.

The situation was humiliating, as well as startling. And what a commentary it was on the prudence and foresight of the wealthiest people on the globe that we were compelled to rely for protection not on formidable earthworks and rifled guns of steel, but rather on the justice of the President's proposition for international arbitration, and the known conservatism of Great Britain in dealing with nations of the first class, growing out of repug-

nance to any conflict which ultimately would involve the loss of commerce and markets, if not of territory and prestige. Then it was poor consolation to Americans to recall that a policy of inaction regarding coast defence had saved to the people a few millions of dollars. And I doubt whether there is under the stars-and-stripes to-day a single intelligent and patriotic citizen who doubts the wisdom, if we shall be so fortunate as to escape from our present dilemma, of putting the coasts of the nation into a proper condition of defence.

Instinctively the public thought, at the first alarm over the Venezuelan question, was directed toward the city and harbor of New York. If our coasts were unprotected, certainly the greatest prize which a foreign foe could hope to secure, and to the possession of which his energies would be directed instantly, was the commercial, industrial, and financial metropolis of the Western hemisphere.

And what a pitiable spectacle was presented! Throughout the length and breadth of the grand harbor and along the magnificent approach from the ocean the vast population and wealth of the city enjoyed the protection of only two great guns of modern make, which might hurl destruction at the invader. As in mockery, antiquated smooth bores alone frowned through the portholes and from the parapets of Forts Wadsworth and Hamilton. Fort Lafayette was a picturesque ruin. A beggarly array of mortars at Sandy Hook did evidence patriotic preparation in the art of national self-defence. True it is that Fort Hancock at the Hook had also been equipped with two twelve-inch guns of modern make—the most formidable type of gun yet manufactured in this country for coast defence. The rest of the armament at the Hook consisted of three dynamite guns—two of fifteen-inch and one of eight-inch calibre. Fort Hamilton, it was boasted, possessed a ten-inch monster of nickel steel, but the gun, it was discovered, lay skidded up on the concrete of the emplacement which had been prepared for it, awaiting a carriage. Fort Wadsworth had been favored with an eight-inch gun, but that also was not in position.

Therein was embraced the entire complement of defences for New York harbor.

At the entrance from Long Island Sound, Fort Schuyler and Willet's Point were armed with what would have been formidable

monsters of iron, if modern naval operations were conducted from behind "wooden walls."

Yet the harbor of New York is in a more advanced stage of defence than any other on two oceans and the Gulf of Mexico. Indeed, there are only two other harbors where the slightest beginning has been made. Boston and San Francisco each have sixteen twelve-inch mortars in position, while a fifteen-inch dynamite gun battery for San Francisco has recently been completed.

All other harbors are absolutely defenceless.

Philadelphia is as helpless against the passage of British war vessels up Delaware Bay as more than a century ago, when Lord Howe was in possession of the Quaker city. No biting shots from shore batteries would delay a Cockburn gayly sailing into Chesapeake Bay. Baltimore might be reduced to ashes, but Fort McHenry would be wrapped in silence rather than the smoke of battle; and a captive Key would peer in vain, amid the glare of rockets and the bursting of bombs, for a sight of the waving stars-and-stripes. The Potomac would be accessible despite Fort Washington; and at Washington no resistance could be made to the second application of fire to the national capital and the destruction of other public buildings containing the invaluable records of the government. Historic Charleston harbor, where the grim Moultrie gallantly planted his colors and replied to British broadsides with even deadlier cannonade, in Revolutionary days, and where Confederate batteries reduced Sumter to submission and baffled every effort of a fleet of Union ironclads to reduce them, in the sixties, would fall a prey to a *Blake* or *Benbow* without the firing of a shot. No British Farragut would need lash himself in the rigging and risk his life in capturing the port of Mobile; for, on steaming up to the wharves, he would be presented, peacefully, with the keys and freedom of the city. Nor would the advance upon New Orleans from the Gulf be obstructed by the batteries of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, as was the case thirty-four years ago.

The coast defences of 1775-'81, 1812-'15, and 1861-'65 were elaborate, when contemporaneous conditions and the stage of development in ordnance and fortifications are considered, compared with the condition of things which obtains to-day. Preceding generations, at least, protected the nation from attack to the extent which their skill and resources permitted.

Gen. Nelson A. Miles, of the United States Army, may be regarded as a competent witness regarding the defenceless condition of our coasts. After returning from a recent tour of inspection through Southern seaport cities, the General said: "As to defences, Savannah has none. The old fortifications have gone to ruin, and what there is left is of no value as a means of defence. Charleston is also without protection, and so is Mobile, New Orleans, and Galveston. . . . From Portland to Galveston there has been little or nothing accomplished toward the defences of the important cities." Then the General proceeded to disillusionize those who fondly imagine that torpedoes and mines can be hastily improvised as a means of defence for our ports. "Torpedoes are all very well," he said, "when they work, but no country can place absolute reliance in one type of destructive instruments. There must always be a combination of heavy guns, mortars, mines, and torpedoes, working together to make great commercial cities on the sea absolutely safe from an enemy's fleet. Submarine mines can be located quickly, and are unquestionably valuable adjuncts to forts and mortars, but there are difficulties in the way of placing them frequently. It would not be impossible for a fleet knowing the location of these mines to approach within a reasonably safe distance and destroy them with its own guns; nor, with light-draught vessels, would it be impracticable to steam over them."

United States Senator John L. Wilson, of Washington, has drawn a graphic picture describing our helplessness on the Pacific Coast. "So far as the northwestern coast is concerned," he says, "we have absolutely no fortifications whatever. The English have a great naval station at Esquimault, upon the Straits of Fuca, and our shores are within the sound of the morning and evening gun of Great Britain. They have their gunboats, torpedoes and a first-class armament in every particular. They could lay tribute in twelve hours upon all the cities of Puget Sound, and take possession and control the coal supply of the Pacific Coast, and we are absolutely defenceless. . . . Not only is the commerce of Puget Sound of great importance, but, as I have above stated, the coal supply of the Sound would be exceedingly valuable in case of war. The growing importance of Alaska and the boundary dispute there give additional strategic importance to that section of the country."

Despite the backwardness of actual preparations, a broad and comprehensive plan for coast defences was laid out more than nine years ago. In December, 1886, President Cleveland, in his annual message to Congress, voiced the Tilden idea, when he declared: "The defenceless condition of our seacoast and lake frontier is perfectly palpable; the examinations made must convince us all that certain of our cities should be fortified and that work on the most important of these fortifications should be commenced at once. The absolute necessity, judged by all standards of prudence and foresight, of our preparation for an effectual resistance against the armored ships and steel guns and mortars of modern construction, which may threaten the cities on our coasts, is so apparent that I hope effective steps will be taken in that direction immediately."

It was from President Cleveland's first Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, that the plan of coast defence took its name. The Endicott plan contemplated the thorough fortification of twenty-seven ports, to which the Puget Sound ports were afterwards added. It involved the construction of 677 guns and 824 mortars, at a cost of over $97,000,000, and floating batteries, also, at a cost of over $28,000,000. The recommendations of the Fortifications Board, in which the plan was devised, called for an immediate appropriation of $21,500,000 and $9,000,000 annually thereafter.

Had the four Congresses since 1886 shown the same zeal and liberality for coast defences as has been manifested in appropriations for pensions, rivers and harbors and public buildings, the year 1895 would have witnessed the complete performance of the great work contemplated under the Endicott plan, provided the Fortification Board judged the proportions of the undertaking and the time required, correctly. But the "watchdogs of the Treasury" and the necessities of "political economy" reduced the official estimates for coast defences, embraced under the head of Fortifications, as for no other branch of national expenditure.

The discriminating policy pursued by Congress may be detected at a glance, when the estimates and appropriations of the last Congress, for the year ending with June 30, 1896, are considered. For Agriculture, Army, Diplomatic and Consular, District of Columbia, Indian, Legislative, Military Academy, Navy, Pension, Post Office, River and Harbor and Sundry Civil appro-

priations, the estimates of the various departments were $376,910,826.68; the actual appropriations, $371,906,964.65—or 98.7 per cent. of the estimates. In the case of Fortifications, however, the estimate of $7,357,703.50 was cut down to an appropriation of $1,904,557.50—or 25.9 per cent. of the estimate. And the present year, comparatively speaking, has been one of Congressional liberality so far as fortification appropriations are concerned.

Where, since 1886, the original Endicott plan called for an expenditure of over $97,000,000, actual appropriations have aggregated only $10,631,000.

The first appropriation for guns was made seven years ago and for emplacements five years ago. For both guns and emplacements the annual appropriations have averaged only $1,500,000, although seven times as large an expenditure was projected.

Secretary of War Lamont has notified the President that if future appropriations for the manufacture of guns, mortars, and carriages be no larger than the average authorized for the purpose since 1888, it will require twenty-two years more to supply the armament of the eighteen important ports for which complete projects are approved, and if the appropriations for the engineer work are to continue at the rate of the annual appropriations since 1890, the Secretary further declares, it will require seventy years to complete the emplacements and platforms for the armament of these ports.

While Congressional parsimony in the matter of coast defence has sadly embarrassed the project, nevertheless real progress has been made, which will henceforth be increasingly apparent. The establishment and preparation of the nation's great gun factory at the Watervliet Arsenal, West Troy, absorbed a large portion of the meagre appropriations for several years. Now the plant is practically completed, and the nation has a complete gun factory, which will compare favorably with the celebrated works of the Krupps at Essen or any other famous gun factory of Europe. Work on the actual construction of guns at the Watervliet factory has now been in progress for seven years. That operations have not been conducted on a scale at all commensurate with the capacity of the works goes without saying, in view of the small appropriations.

The Chief of Ordnance of the War Department, General D.

W. Flagler, before the Senate Committee on Coast Defences, in January, submitted his estimate of what was required to provide the raw materials and other supplies, and operate the Watervliet works at its full capacity of sixteen hours a day, during the next fiscal year beginning with July 1st. His figures were $15,589,877, including $3,198,000 for the expense of operating the gun-factory. They indicate the enormous capacity of the Watervliet works for turning out the instruments of coast defence in the form of guns and mortars. In view of the statement of Secretary Lamont that appropriations not only for guns but also for emplacements have averaged but $1,500,000 annually, since their construction was begun in 1888 and 1890, General Flagler's figures for the coming fiscal year at Watervliet likewise indicate the indifferent manner in which operations at the nation's gun factory have been conducted hitherto, by reason of insufficient appropriations. And as the operation of any great manufacturing establishment at a small percentage of its capacity means expensive operation, it is clearly seen that Congressional parsimony has increased the price of every gun turned out at the Watervliet factory beyond what would have been the case if the factory had been operated at anything like its full capacity. Evidently Congressional "watch-dogs" and "economists" of the Holman variety have overlooked that industrial consideration in annually cutting down appropriations for coast defences. At its full daily capacity, on a sixteen-hour basis, the Watervliet factory can turn out fully 100 guns of eight, ten and twelve-inch calibre in a year. Even with an eight-hour day fifty big guns can be completed annually.

The only evidence of expedition in the matter of coast defence was in the action of Congress, when the long delay in the establishment of the Watervliet factory and in the beginning of gun-making operations, tempted it to enter into a contract with the Bethlehem Iron Works, of Bethlehem, Pa., for the construction of a hundred heavy guns during a series of years. No further contract with any private concern is likely, inasmuch as Secretary Lamont states that the Watervliet gun factory "is capable of producing in ten years the armament required by the present projects." The Secretary might have substituted "five" for "ten," on General Flagler's basis of a sixteen-hour day at Watervliet.

The factory for gun-carriages at the Watertown, N. Y., ar-

senal is about completed and will have a capacity of thirty carriages annually. Twenty were turned out during the past year.

In regard to the employment of mortars, which form the bulk of the existing defences of New York, Boston, and San Francisco, it is well to bear the views of General Miles in mind. Although mortars may be powerful and accurate in their way, they do not dispense with the necessity for eight, ten and twelve-inch guns for long nor short range. A war vessel's hull, down on the horizon, is a small target. A city affords a large target for the vessel's gunners. Army officers declare that British war vessels, with nine-and-two-tenths-inch guns, possessing a range of eleven miles and elevated at an angle of thirty degrees, could quickly reduce Boston to submission with the city's sixteen mortars vainly endeavoring to reach the enemy.

A new feature of the Watervliet factory is a plant for manufacturing sixteen-inch guns, which is being established and is now almost completed. These most formidable monsters have been a subject of scientific controversy as to their efficiency and desirability. But the belief is obtaining wide acceptance among experts on ordnance that they are bound to be a success. General Flagler has strenuously urged provision for their manufacture before the Senate Committee on Coast Defences. The ordnance experts pretty generally agree that the sixteen-inch gun is not intended for long-range fighting. Its operation would be too expensive for that purpose. The shell carried by it weighs 2,370 pounds. But at close range, when the shell could hardly go wide of the mark, the destructive capacity of the sixteen-inch gun is tremendous. Guns of the eight-inch variety are considered a formidable type for long-range work. An officer in the Corps of Engineers of the Government made for me this comprehensive summary regarding sixteen-inch guns: "They are intended to supplement other instruments of defence and provide absolute security for our ports. No armor yet placed upon a vessel of war can withstand a shell from one of these guns. Armor invulnerable to an eight-inch gun is vulnerable to them. They are a last resort, in case the smaller guns, the mortars and the torpedoes and mines fail to restrain the enemy." In that view of the sixteen-inch gun, the officer agrees with the official head of the Ordnance Department.

In his testimony before the Senate Committee on Coast De-

fences, in January, General Miles made an exceedingly effective argument in favor of coast defences when he estimated that the cost of land defences would be much less relatively, than the cost of the navy for the defence of seacoast ports. Although he advocated the maintenance of the navy, he believed that land defences were necessary for the support of the navy, and that one gun on land was worth five guns on a vessel for coast defences, and would cost only one-fifth as much to maintain.

Before the same committee, in February, Admiral John G. Walker made a similar appeal when he presented arguments in favor of the immediate carrying out of plans for efficient coast defences. He urged that the work of building up an invincible navy should go hand in hand with the construction of great defences on land, for only by such a combination could this country, with its enormous coast line, successfully withstand attack by any great maritime power.

Since the first of the year, petitions have been pouring into both branches of Congress, calling for coast defence appropriations. Chambers of commerce, boards of trade and cotton exchanges seem to be awaking to the defenceless condition of our ports; and the essence of their "whereases" is fairly embodied in this excerpt from the memorial of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia:

WHEREAS, The City of Philadelphia, like other seaboard cities of the United States, has no adequate protection from a foreign enemy in the event of war, and

WHEREAS, In the opinion of one of the most eminent military authorities in the United States, "there certainly should be a liberal appropriation each year until the lives of ten million people living near deep water, and their six billions of property, are placed beyond the possibility of being destroyed or plundered, in any controversy between ourselves and a foreign power," etc.

But petitions, however widely circulated and numerously signed, will not necessarily accomplish the desired purpose. The history of the Endicott plan since its inception in 1886, reveals clearly the inherent weakness of the cause of coast defence in Congress. Twenty one of the forty-five states border on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and the Gulf of Mexico, and embrace forty-two, or nearly one-half, of the ninety Senators. But, in the House, the number of sea and gulf districts, within which coast defence operations are contemplated, is comparatively insignificant; and the active, personal interest manifested in coast de-

fence appropriations is correspondingly small. Important as guns and fortifications are at the present juncture, when viewed in a national aspect, they do not appeal to half the Senate and to scarcely as many Representatives as Senators. Compared with the improvement of rivers and harbors, which abound in every Senate state and House district, or with public buildings, the demand for which among Congressmen is universal and unlimited, they are altogether a subordinate matter. Only a patriotic impulse stirred by contemporaneous events or a party policy enforced by the leading spirits in both branches of Congress can carry through a liberal appropriation for guns and fortifications and subordinate internal improvements to external defence. That the Venezuelan war scare has impressed the Congressional leaders that it is "good politics" just now to vote money for patriotic purposes, even if rivers, harbors and public buildings are stinted during the coming year, is sincerely to be hoped. An aroused public sentiment in favor of coast defence manifested in state, county and municipal bodies of a legislative character, in the columns of the press and in political, social and scientific organizations, would assist in influencing Congress. It will be considered "good politics" to favor coast defence, in Congress, when it shall be deemed "bad politics" to trifle with an aroused patriotic sentiment which insists on relief from danger at this crisis and other crises liable to arise in the near future.

That there is a crisis on and that the reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine in the Venezuelan difficulty is a serious departure on the part of the United States is not to be doubted. It logically means foreign entanglements and alliances and, if not accompanied by active preparations to put the nation in a position to treat with its inferiors, at least on the common ground of equality, might better not have been entered upon. An aggressive diplomatic policy without the accompaniment of effective means of coast defence, if not of aggression on the ocean, would be more than a mistake; it would be a calamity; it would be little less than treason on the part of the American people's sworn defenders at Washington.

GEORGE N. SOUTHWICK.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF WARFARE.

BY N. S. SHALER.

THOSE persons who are accustomed to observe the movements of public opinion have had occasion to note of late a curious tide which is setting our nation towards warfare. Although by our happy isolation from the field of European rivalries and by the traditions of our forefathers ours is the one great state the world has ever known which seems to be appointed for the offices of peace, we appear to be driven by a blind impulse into modes of thought and action concerning our neighbors that will, if unchecked, bring us to contests of arms. A trifling fracas with Chili, a mere police court case; an insurrection in Cuba; a matter of fishing in Newfoundland; of sealing in Alaska, or the confused questions of a wilderness boundary in South America, each and all serve to set the dogs of war baying up and down the land. These questions may be settled by the judicious conduct of a few men who are in actual control of our foreign relations, and others as they arise may be thus arranged; but by the next turn of the political wheel we may lose this protection and find in the high places men who, like the others, have eaten of the insane root, and who will welcome the opportunity for this nation to enter, as these madmen phrase it, "on a larger sphere of action."

The most dangerous manifestation of these belligerent people is the talk about national honor in which they are indulging. When a man begins to rave about honor we may be pretty sure that he is about to do some irrational, most likely disreputable, deed. The word is like an oath, serving, with its vague yet large meaning, to intoxicate the fancy. So, too, with states, the things they do for honor's sake are likely to prove very dishonorable. In the distinct modern sense of the word, an honorable

man or state is one that keeps all contracts, guards against offending neighbors, considers the weak, sacrifices personal desires for the good of others. Such an individual, unit or aggregate, never talks or even thinks of this sacred honor, for with right living the consideration does not arise. The advance which the world has made in unselfishness, an advance which is fairly betokened by the passing out of this old notion of a peculiar possession in the way of dignity which had to be guarded by arms, is the key to the moral gain of this century; and when we observe the notion resurging in the minds of men we may reasonably expect to find that it marks one of those temporary reversions in the prevailing on-going of moral development which so often occur in the realm of mind as well as in that of organic forms. Here as elsewhere in the field of human conduct our modern insight into the life of our ancestors in the form of man and brute gives us much which may serve to guide us to the remedies which may be applied to ills such as we are considering. I shall therefore undertake a brief enquiry into the natural history of the combative motive.

The first steps in the way upward from the lowliest stages of existence, steps which our life followed in the ancient time, led the beings to recognize in the world about them means of gratifying their desires. At once, in many and various series of adaptation, the bodies and minds of the creatures were swiftly modified for this task of seizing upon coveted objects, food or mates, as the case might be. For a long period, measured indeed in geologic ages, infinite invention is displayed in providing the forms with the means whereby they might win the coveted things; all the early stages of mental development were accomplished in this rude exercise of the primitive selfishness. The monuments of this struggle are to be found in the vast array of devices which served to ensure swift motion along with the capacity to clutch and rend the enemy. As the males of the species have in general not only to capture food, but also to wrestle with their rivals in sexual combats, they are usually more militant than the females and much better armed for such work. In the ancestry of man we may fairly reckon that there were thousands of species and millions of generations in which this principle of combat was the guide in the advance of life.

Gradually as the ascent in the scale of living is accomplished

there comes in an element of sympathy which is in time to qualify and in later time to overturn the original dominion of selfishness. At first this sympathy arises from the care of the parents, usually the mother alone, for the offspring. The young are recognized, at least for the period of immaturity, as neither rivals nor prey but as objects of a tender solicitude. With this the family is instituted and life enters on the beginnings of the new, the moral, order. Among the higher vertebrates, the birds and mammals, the only creatures in which we recognize a distinct spiritual kinship with ourselves, the family bond readily passes by a widening process to that of the tribe or even to a wider tie which unites all the individuals of the species in a limited sympathetic union, such, for instance, as is shown among our pigs, where the cry of a distressed individual will arouse in all the members of the group, even those of the most diverse varieties, a desire to serve their fellow-being.

The incoming of the sympathetic motive in the species below the level of man in no wise arrests the ancient deep rooted motive of combat. The altruistic tendency is, apart from the mother with her young, very little manifested. It is but a germ, but one that is destined in time to overshadow the ancient lower growth. Still all through the mammalia, which, for the reason that they are direct or relatively near kinsmen of ourselves, especially interest us, we find the body energetically directed towards new devices in the way of arms and the mind varying in its instincts, so that the weapons may be put to the best use. In fact, nowhere else in the animal kingdom, except among certain insects and the predatory birds, are the mental and physical provisions for war so well organized as in the mammalia; it is a class of warriors, and with them battle begins to have something of the splendor it finally assumes in man.

When in the ascending series we attain to the level of the group of the apes and thereby approach nearer to the estate of man, we find the shape of the animals departing in many ways from that of the lower mammalian forms. The creatures are long limbed, usually rather frail bodied; the claws begin to take on the characteristics of our own finger nails, and the only instruments of attack are the teeth which, though sometimes formidable instruments, are not specially adapted for use as weapons in anything like the measure in which they are in many other groups of

this class. Naturalists hold the apparently well founded opinion that the race of man has not been derived from any of the existing *genera* of the monkey tribe; but it is accepted that the gorilla is, though in a collateral branch of the family tree, not far removed from the main stem of our common succession. Although this animal has a reputation, perhaps well deserved, for combative humor and is of considerable strength, his efficiency in assault is not to be compared with that of the true beast of prey. The condition of the lowest savages also indicates clearly that man is derived from a series which for ages had been working on quite other lines of development than those which give success through combat. The gains had been mainly won in the paths of extending sympathies in the enlarging social order, the fact that nearly all the species of monkeys are commonly social or tribal clearly suggests that even before the institution of the human kind the species were winning upward, by the strength due to the developing mind and especially to the sympathetic side of the spirit. The gorilla, though perhaps liker to men than any other infra-human being is in his surly unsocial humor best reckoned as a degradation so far at least as his ways are concerned. The sum of these considerations is that in the last steps on the way to man the brute was already upon other paths of advance than those which are opened by mere assailing powers.

In the lowest forms of man which are now on the earth we find the delicate agile body, the lack of assailing instruments, and the quick sympathies of the monkeys. The creature lives by his wits rather than by his physical power, such strength as he has arises from his sympathetic associations with his fellows and from his mental ability, which makes him an inventor of tools. Among the first of these contrivances are arms. With the possession of arms, even those made of stone, this eminently frail, and, for his weight in combat, singularly incompetent creature, at once became endowed with a capacity for assault which had before no parallel on this earth. The forms of hurled spears, including the arrows and the javelins, gave him the singular capacity of attacking from a distance; the mental ability which enabled him to effect a union with his fellows, and even in the earlier stages of his military art to develop strategic combinations, lifted his hunting and war exploits to a much higher state of efficiency than had been attained by any of the earlier forms of life.

The first and most important effect of this invention of weapons was to change the nature of man's food. In his earlier state, except for an occasional resort to insects and other easily obtainable animal food, he had been a vegetarian; in fact, as before remarked, this weakness of the anthropoid series makes any other kind of life impossible. Missile, weapons, and the primitive contrivances for fishing, by enabling him easily to capture animals, led this creature away from the ancestral habits of subsistence and gave him access to the more profitable because the more nourishing products of the chase.

As all the primitive peoples and many who had attained to the high grade savagery, such as our American Indians, are instinctively cannibals, the motives of the earliest form of war were doubtless mingled with those which animate the hunter. The defeated enemies were not only deprived of their personal property and expelled from valued hunting grounds, but they were eaten. In the frequent extremity of starvation in which all the earlier folk were likely to find themselves once or more each year, the neighboring but normally hostile tribes doubtless afforded an important source of food. In these brutal conditions, when the human population of a country was divided into small tribes or clans, united among themselves by the tie of a recognized common blood, the state of constant warfare doubtless served to bring the process of natural selection into very effective operation. The *gens* which had the most valor, was the most provident, the best organized, which, in a word, had attained the greatest advance, would be the most likely to prevail in the struggle, to dominate the land, and thus to gain a firm place; while the relatively weak clans would receive the curse which in the ancient pre-moral order awaited the incompetent. Here alone in the series of man do we find war making for human advance. So long as the vanquished were utterly destroyed, their bodies eaten and their goods appropriated by the conquerors, the selective effect of war was great and the rude engine worked in certain directions for human advancement.

In the next stage of the upgoing of man, that in which he ceases to be a nomad, becomes a soil tiller and retains only so much of the ways of the hunter as may afford sport, we find war taking on a changed aspect. In the earliest stages battles with men differed little in spirit from those with wild beasts, it was

only one chase with a difference in the quality of the game. The lives of the men were given up to the occupation which in itself bred the humor of war in every member of the tribe. With the pastoral life and yet more with the life of the soil tiller the burthen of men's labor and of their culture passed from the occupations of a warlike to those of a peaceful sort. No longer were their days given up to hunting beasts and men. They were now devoted to labors which led their spirits in a general way from warlike pursuits. In no case, however, so far as we know, was it permitted to any of these early flock carers or soil tillers to give over war; in all important instances these first essayers of a higher lite were surrounded by tribes of a lower estate who hungered for their wealth; the result was that the men of peace needed to retain and develop in a more formal way than their ancestors the spirit and arts of war. In this condition the organization of the higher modern military systems began.

It is not to be supposed that any sedentary people, because of their generally peaceful occupations, ever at once gave up the humor of conquest which had been bred in them for ages of fierce contention. On the contrary, these shepherds and soil tillers were always subjected to the outbreaks of an ancient fury, in the manner of other domesticated animals who have been in a like manner tamed. In this organized state, however, war became occasional. It rests on an accepted basis of pretexts, in which *honor* comes to have an important place, at least in the minds of the more civilized parties of these contests. The subjugated peoples are no longer normally eaten; they are adopted into the nascent state as slaves or tributaries.

It requires no extended argument to show that in this second state of the warlike motives the greater part of the beneficial selection action which was effective in the lower estates of man is lost. If the more civilized of the contestants wins, the lower folk are usually not destroyed; their people may be adopted into the victors' race. If the savage prevail, the extinction of a civilization sets back progress in a way which is often recorded in history or in the monuments of vanquished states. In a certain way the work is selective, but it operates for degradation especially for the reason that all the time, strength, and means that a civilized state spends on war are spent for destructive work and not for the constructive labor which it is its task to do. So

far as the selection is accomplished it is likely to lead to these retrograde developments which are so well recognized in organic forms and which are also manifested in the realm of mental and social organization.

With the further advance of the greater states to their modern aspect, we find the conditions of warfare becoming more complicated; yet the essential characteristics of the business remain the same as those we find in the simpler agricultural communities. The complication is one of methods as shown in the management of the outbreaks and in the conduct of the military operations. No longer can aggrieved borderers set up some private war; the right to begin contests is lodged in a central authority; conquered peoples are not, as of old, eaten, or, as later, enslaved; they are usually taxed to pay the costs of the victor's campaign. Conquered territory, except it be that of the lower races, is rarely annexed by the successful state; when this is done it is usually the excuse of some previous ownership, of consanguinity of folk, or dominating strategic considerations. Private property cannot be taken; the right, dearest to all soldiery, of sacking a town taken by seige, is denied; the enemy's wounded must be tenderly cared for and his prisoners guarded from harm. The cross-bearing flag which guards the hospitals and ambulances must be kept out of fire; surgeons and nurses are deemed sacred. To this preposterous complexion have we come at last.

It is self-evident that with the modern confusion of brutality and beneficence in warfare the struggles between armed hosts has lost all trace of its original selective value and that with this loss has gone the old reason, in the logic of nature, for the contention between human societies. There remain to be examined two arguments for the continuance of war which deserve consideration; these are that war serves to awaken and maintain in individual man qualities of mind which cannot be gained in peaceful pursuits, and that it enables the highly organized, powerful and, therefore, presumably better peoples to extend their influence over the less successful races in a manner in which they could not expect to do so by the arts of peace. We shall briefly examine these propositions.

While it may be granted that valor, *i. e.*, in this case the motive that makes a man willing to kill his neighbor at the risk of being killed himself, is a good thing to have latently abiding in

a state, there is absolutely no reason to believe that its presence there is in any measure a product of warfare. On the other hand, the facts, as well as more general considerations, go to show that affirmed peace affords the best possible school for the type of courage which the military service of modern times demands. Savages with their endless training in war rarely show anything like the fine bravery which is common to the well-bred citizens of a civilized folk, who have never seen, much less taken part in, combats. More trustworthy soldiers have never been known than those of our civil war, when not one in a thousand had slain a man until it became their duty to do so. Moreover, modern warfare calls on troops, not for the rush of battle, but for a steady business-like duty where hot blood counts for little, but where the methodical, painstaking laboriousness of civilization counts for much, is indeed the telling element of the campaign. War has indeed become in our day a *mill* occupation, requiring in its operators all the best qualities of the citizen and none of those of the savage.

The writer has had some opportunity for noting the kind of men who are serviceable in war; so far as his observations go the bully is worthless, for he is pretty certain to be out of the ranks in a crisis. So, too, the rather higher grade fellow who trusts to his physical prowess, who has proved his valor to his own satisfaction in personal difficulties, is likely, when a little out of condition, to evaporate in a fight. The quiet country boy, accustomed to farm labor or, better still, the well trained clerk or student who has had a fancy for out of door sports, is the man for the trials of the march or camp, as well as for the incidental though rare moments of battle. This is the general experience of many soldiers who have had occasion to observe the qualities of men who complete the rank and file of armies. It is a noteworthy fact that the present commander-in-chief of our army was a farm boy, then a clerk, entered on the lowest grade and won his way by soldierly qualities of the highest grade to the head of his corps. The facts thus seem to go dead against the notion derived from the ancient conditions of warfare when personal combats decided the fate of campaigns, that we need to keep up the habit of combat. Granting for argument's sake that war serves to develop the spirit and latent talent for warfare in men who would not otherwise know that they were born soldiers, certain evident questions have to be

met as to the profit of the process, even on the assumption that military capacity is a thing to be sedulously cultivated. In the first place, we may ask what reason there is for believing that these aroused capacities and accomplished trainings will be by inheritance fixed in the blood of a people? The naturalist has to answer that there is no reason why any such result should be accomplished and best founded argument is that the opposite result would be attained. It is now well recognized that acquired characteristics, whether of body or mind, are, with rare if any exceptions, not inherited; therefore any amount of training in military affairs would not be likely to breed capacity for such work in a people. Moreover, as war is certain to bring about a high average of death among those who are successful in the craft, death which usually comes in the reproductive period, the action of this natural (or artificial?) selection is to remove the soldierly strains of blood from the warring folk. It seems not unlikely that the evident decline in the military capacity of France may be due to this incessant sacrifice during the last century of those of her sons who have shown a capacity for warfare. In the next place, the question may be put as to the advantage which may be looked for from the development of martial qualities in a people like our own, who are separated in theory and in fact from the uses of war. If there be anything certain in this world it is that, save for internal strife, no part of our territories will ever know the drums and tramplings of new conquests. Wherefore, then, should we turn the attention of our youth from the duties of production to the brutal purposes of destruction?

It may be allowed to the advocates of war that there is a certain development of military capacity to be won by turning the attention of a people to the task of fighting. The things which the people of a great nation think about are likely to be done, for the reason that hosts of able men have the matter on their minds. But among a business folk like our own the martial effects of war are very temporary, as may be seen by the issue of our civil war. Immediately on the disbandment, the soldiers with joyful alacrity returned to their peaceful vocations. They are fond of reviewing the memories of their campaigns, but a set of men less interested in the military theory it would be hard to find. When we hear a man shouting for conflict, it is tolerably certain that he lacks the experience or the constructive imagina-

tion to tell him the nature of war. Thirty years after the greatest struggle of modern times, the people who waged it are, if anything, less military in spirit than they were before. Therefore, those of our countrymen who are the enemies of peace must not be content with an occasional turn of arms—they must ask that the gates of the temple where they worship shall be always kept open. Their project, for its successful issue, demands that we abandon the gains, both moral and material, which are the product of the theory and situation of our nation, and turn back to the state of affairs in the old world and in other times.

It should not be overlooked that war has a distinct fascination to any normally constituted man; he may detest it as much as the writer does, but the sound of a familiar bugle call, of those notes which have for centuries sung in his blood, will stir him in a strange way with the spirit of action. It should not be assumed that those who protest against it do not fully sympathize with the motives of combat; they are in the position of our ancestors, of earlier times, who set their faces against the degradations which our kind have lived down. Men did not give up private vengeance, or polygamy, or slavery, or the butchering of prisoners on the battle-field, because they disliked these things, but because they knew that the desire for them was wrong. It is for us in this matter to make for good as our ancestors have done. This making will be difficult; for none of the patent evils of man's estate are so inwoven with the texture of society of the civilized world as this of militarism. It has a place in literature which is hardly second to love; it is ingrafted in the systems of all the great states except our own, and in this sole stronghold of peace there is a large and apparently gaining class that desires to revive the one evil to which the sea and the good sense of our ancestors have formed barriers.

The contests with the other evils which have been overcome have been easier than that which is to do away with war; none of them have had such support from that curiously strong motive of our times, the national spirit. All the great states are now possessed with a humor for dominion, the like of which has not been seen since the day when Spain was strong. In all times since nations began to act as coherent bodies, the commercial motive, the desire to extend trade, has had much to do with conquests; but in this age, when business means so much to

people of the ruling classes, the desire for possessions as a basis for commerce has a greater control of governments than ever before. In this way the interests of business, which in the main work for peace, have a certain influence in favor of those courses of national conduct which lead to wars. It is not likely that this disposition to grasp commercial advantages at the risk of conflict will in the end be seriously harmful; in the best sense, business has been the mainstay of civilization, for it represents the assemblage of the motives which lead to the soundest living of which average men are capable: it has made for peace even more effectively than has religion: still we have for the present to reckon with the business interests of the great states as operating in many cases for war. This is shown by the conditions of the Turkish question, where Great Britain is compelled by her relations in the East to retain the Mussulman in Constantinople at the price of enmity with Russia, and is likewise compelled to fasten on Egypt, at the cost of strained relations with France. So, too, in the Venezuelan imbroglio, the contention over territory is due to the fact that it is likely to prove the seat of rich gold mines. Wherever we turn we find the nations grasping for the small remainder of the earth which may be had even at the risk of wars, provided the lands promise a future basis for commerce.

In this modern national motive, shaped as it is by business interests, we find the last stronghold of the war spirit. The desire of conquest for the sake of tribute and for the glory that it might bring to the conqueror, which led to the aggrandizement of Rome, has vanished. So, too, the Spanish humor, wherein the lust for gain was mingled with a curious desire for the extension of a religion has disappeared. It is much to have the complications of actions which lead to war so far reduced. It is even more to have the remainder of the influences in a considerable measure dominated by a spirit of trade. Dr. Johnson's saying that "men are rarely so well employed as in making money" has a wider application than he intended, for it applies to those aggregations of men, the nations, which are now intent on gain in an intense but increasingly rational manner. The true business man avoids litigation, for it limits his trafficking; the sagacious state has already come to something like the same mind and may be expected soon to be dominated by like considerations.

As the national spirit comes more and more under the influences of commerce, we may look for a sound criticism of the waste involved in war and in the endless preparations for conflict. The counting house, the accounting place of our time, will reckon all expenditures on armaments beyond those necessary for the control of the malefactor element, as unprofitable, and take measures to end them. It has evidently come to be the function of trade to lay and affirm the foundations of society; by so doing it will provide not only the basis for moral and spiritual growth of the nations, but it is likely to bring about the substantial unity of mankind. It may be well held that trade is selfish, but such is the nature of man that we must accept some hedonistic foundation for his work, and on that build, as we may, the higher parts of the edifice. A sound commerce is a better foundation for civilization than the glory of individual men, the extension of religions or the vaunting of national importance. It has the advantage that it is the only one of the world-wide motives that makes for peace. Philanthropy may seem to some to afford a better foundation for amity, but it affects too few men; moreover, it does not reckon costs, as needs be done on this sphere.

In the foregoing glance at the history of the war spirit, inadequate though it is, we have seen reasons for believing that the motive is an inheritance from the remote past of our kind in man and brute. That the pre-human stock of the mammalia from which men came was not fitted in mind or body for rapine, but had been directed toward a subsistence on vegetable food. The invention of arms more effective than those given by nature to the lower beasts, turned the actions of these new made men into violent ways. They became rapacious, preying upon the wild beasts and on each other. With the advance in social organization and the consequent resort to agriculture, these *predatores* changed their nature ; the chase of wild beasts became the sport of hunting and that of men formal war. In this elaborated shape the contests between peoples lost all value arising from the process of selection which it had before effected. In the new dispensation on which man had entered the survival of the fittest depended on other agents than combats.

It furthermore appears that the continuation of the motive of warfare among civilized peoples may be regarded as a late survival

of one of the ancient bestial motives which were inherited from the lower estate. Many other of these motives have been stamped out or driven into hiding places, but it happens that this, immediately profitable, as it often is, has been glorified by tale and song, and so preserved from the shame to which the prophets have consigned murder, thieving, licentiousness, and other iniquities. So long as the control of governments was in the uneconomic classes of men who had nothing to lose and much to gain by war, the influences were overwhelming for its continuance; now that the business people are gaining control of the world's affairs there is reason to hope that the cure is about to come to this ancient and enduring ill. While considerations of trade may for a time lead to strife, its reckoning habit, enforced by the enlarged spirit of our time, will be certain to convince business men of the utter unprofitableness of war.

As for the curious and menacing uprisings of the war motive in a nation like ours, it seems most reasonable to class them with others of the resurgences of the primal beasts and beastly men on which the students and managers of society have to reckon. We all know that many civilized men, civilized for the greater part of their lives, occasionally fall back into the state of the savage in his orgies, the old sublated demons of the lower life possess them for a time, it may be for their lives. It will be a help to our "jingo" people if we can convince them of the fact that when they have accesses of this fury, when they dream of battle-fields and of the glory of the flag that floats over them, they are not moved by true patriotism, but are possessed by one of the hideous lusts which keep us ever in fear of the depths from which the better part of our kind has so marvellously won its way. It will be yet more helpful if our people come to see that when a legislator begins the war dance he therefore proves himself seriously unfit for the business for which he was chosen, in that he does not comprehend the nature of civilization or know the blessings which fortune has given our state by exempting it from the curse which afflicts the nations beyond the sea.

N. S. SHALER.

JAMAICA AS A FIELD FOR INVESTMENT.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HENRY A. BLAKE, GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA.

THE destruction of the fruit crop of Florida by the extreme cold of last winter was a cruel blow to those who had invested their time and money in the cultivation of oranges and other fruit in that state. In one short week the results of years of labor were swept away. The unripe fruit was frozen on the tree; the trees themselves were blasted and withered beyond recovery; and cultivators, who had already tasted the sweet savour of success, saw ruin staring them in the face.

Under the circumstances it is but natural that men who have suffered so much should turn their eyes to countries where the knowledge acquired at such a cost might be utilized free from the dread of the treacherous cold snap with which from time to time the Mississippi Valley smites the softer South, and hence it is that letters are now pouring in to the islands of the West Indies, asking for information on every point connected with the cultivation of fruit and vegetables, and inquiring if indeed these islands are like the dwelling place of the golden haired Rhadamanthus, where "the human kind enjoy the easiest life, no snow is there nor biting winter."

A prudent man whose money and whose time are to be adventured requires to be satisfied on certain cardinal points before he puts his hand to the plough. Those points are security of life and property, similarity of language, suitability of soil and climate, acquisition of land on reasonable terms, sufficiency of labor, facility of internal communication and ready access to the great markets of the world. The first two conditions practically confine his choice to the British West Indian Islands. The last is certain to attract him to Jamaica, which stands fully

equipped and ready to return a bounteous and certain harvest to the careful cultivator.

Jamaica lies ninety miles south of Cuba, one of its ports, Montego Bay, being 811 miles from Tampa. It is 144 miles long; varies in breadth from twenty-one to forty-nine miles, and its total area is 4,200 square miles.

Probably these figures will not convey much information to those who want to know. I will put it in another way. Take the map of Florida, and, following the railway from Tampa to Gainesville, draw a line from the latter to Cedar Keys. This will give approximately the area of Jamaica. Now run a range of mountains from Orient, in Hillsborough County, to Johnson's Pond, in Levy, varying in height from 7,500 feet at Orient to 1,800 feet at Johnson's Pond, with many secondary ranges and spurs, so that of the whole only 646 square miles, or 413,440 acres, are flat. Place in this parallelogram 4,000 miles of driving roads; 900 miles of bridle roads; 180 miles of railway connecting the capital, Kingston (which would occupy the position of Hudson in Pasgo County), with a port, Montego Bay, on the northwest, and another, Port Antonio, on the northeast. Tilt the map so that Tampa and Gainesville lie east and west, and you will have a fair idea of Jamaica and her internal communications, to which ought to be added weekly steam communication between port and port round the island.

I will dismiss its natural beauties by saying that, if not the most beautiful island in the world, there is certainly no island of its size on earth more full of exquisite beauties. With such a contour it is evident that there must be great diversity of soil and climate. The flat alluvial plains of the south; the rolling uplands of the north; the rich mountain valleys, and the steep hillsides afford in one place or another a fitting habitat for every tropical and sub-tropical product. The island is singularly healthy, the average death rate being 22 per thousand. In the high hills a fireplace is necessary for the cold evenings, and in the plains the heat is assuaged by the sea breeze, which blows from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M., and the land breeze that sweeps down from the cool hill tops from 7 P. M. to 4 A. M. The rainfall varies from an average of 85 inches in the northeast to 54 inches in the southern district.

Of the island only about one-ninth part is cultivated, or

rather I should say that from that area crops are being raised; for outside the sugar estates cultivation can hardly be said to have advanced beyond the system on which the Indians raised their crops before the visit of Columbus. Then the Indians burnt the forest, stirred the upper surface lightly and planted cocoa, ginger, and maize. To-day the black-population may be said to raise their crops in identically the same manner. As soon as one patch is exhausted they move on to another, leaving behind them an exhausted surface that will no longer respond to the scraping of the hoe, and a virgin subsoil that would amply repay the deep cultivation of more advanced communities.

Nor can the black population fairly be blamed for this backwardness in methods of cultivation. They have not had the benefit of the example of cultivation by trained farmers with capital, and it must be acknowledged that in the hills, where most of the small farms are cultivated, the question of manuring the land has hitherto presented considerable difficulty. There are indications that education is increasing the intelligence of the people, and a general improvement in methods of agriculture may be expected.

But if the black population have not been progressive, neither have the white owners of property, and for them the same excuses cannot be made. In 1774 Long, in his *History of Jamaica,* points out how valuable an export oranges might become if propagated properly. Even then he remarked that while in 1747 North Carolina had exported 296,000 oranges, Jamaica had not yet begun to propagate the fruit properly. "Yet," he adds, "the finest China orange I ever ate in England was not comparable to the worst I have tasted in Jamaica."

Were Long to write to-day he might make the same remark as to the absence of a proper system of cultivation of oranges, lemons, limes, shaddocks and other kindred fruits. They have been planted, but not cultivated; packed in a way unusual in the American market; and sent to compete with fruit, on the selection, cultivation, and preparation for market of which nothing that science could devise and careful attention accomplish has been left untried. Should the experienced orange growers, to whom nature has dealt so hard a measure in Florida, turn their attention to Jamaica as some are doing they will be richly rewarded by a perfect climate and a generous soil.

There is a prevalent idea that there is a rapid decrease in the number of the white population of the West Indies, and an equally prevalent assumption that this supposed decrease is due to the unhealthiness of those islands. That those assumptions are incorrect the following figures will show. In 1861 the white population of Jamaica numbered 13,816. In 1871 it numbered 13,101. In 1881 it was 14,432. In 1891 it was 14,692. Declining prosperity of the sugar industry will account for the slight decrease between 1861 and 1871, and it may be inferred that the recovery and subsequent increase is due to the development of the fruit trade within the last twenty years. There is every indication that the production of all kinds of fruit will increase, and that improved methods will be adopted. This improvement will probably begin with the Florida fruit growers, who propose to try Jamaica, and it will spread after a time among the black population.

There is an opening for the horticultural pioneer that promises even greater success than fruit-growing. Most excellent high-class vegetables can be grown so as to be ready for market between December and March. Jamaica is thus capable of being made the winter market garden of the United States, and vegetables planted in October could reach the American markets in January and February, during which months they would have a monopoly.

Two important factors in considering the pros and cons of a foreign investment must be the price of land and the taxes levied upon it. There is nothing more difficult than to say off-hand what is the average price of cultivable land. It varies from $1 to $100 per acre, depending upon situation, soil, competition, and the relative anxiety of the seller and buyer to deal. Probably for land in every way suitable $7 would not be a bad estimate. It may be assumed that the land purchased would not be farther than ten miles from the railway or the sea, and everywhere there are good roads.

The taxes payable are six cents per acre on cultivated land, three cents per acre on common pasture and one-half cent per acre on "wood and ruinate."

Besides this the following taxes would be payable for a holding of 100 acres with a house assessed at the annual value of one hundred dollars. Poor rate, seven dollars twenty cents; educa-

tion tax, one dollar forty cents ; and holdings tax one dollar sixty cents. All these rates and taxes are devoted to the education of the people, repairs of roads, and care of the poor. As to labor, it is pretty much what the employer makes it. Employers or overseers may be roughly divided into three classes. A supervises his laborers carefully, pays them honestly, and if a man is unsatisfactory, discharges him. B lets them work their own way but on pay day stops an arbitrary amount for bad work. C gets what work he can, does not profess to stop wages, but cheats them in the payments. There is rarely any complaint heard from A of want of labor. B and C reap in due time the fruit of the distrust that they themselves have sown. The actual value of labor is pretty much the same in Jamaica as elsewhere, at the price. The ordinary laborer is slow, and as he does not properly feed himself he is not strong, but his wages are low, not averaging more than 36 cents per day. Probably it would be found that a given amount of earth would be moved at the same cost in Jamaica as in the United States, but the time taken for the work would be double in Jamaica. For light work in the fields there is no reason why European laborers might not be employed, even in the plains, while in the hills white men can labor without discomfort. There is constant communication with the United States, both by the regular lines and by fruit steamers. The postage rates are the same as those between the United States and England. It is only necessary to add that in the purchase of property, and the protection of their interests, aliens have the same rights as British subjects.

Jamaica has gone through a cycle of change. At one time the principal colony of Great Britain and the richest portion of her dominions, into whose capital, Port Royal, was poured the wealth of the Spanish main, the produce of legitimate and illegitimate warfare. Her riches gradually dwindled with the decreasing price of sugar, while her sanitary reputation was smirched by the perennial scourge of yellow fever that more than decimated the troops in the early part of this century, when everything in the clothing, feeding, and surroundings of the army courted the creation and propagation of the dreaded disease.

The manumission of the slaves set free new sources of activity and sugar ceased to be the single staple export of the island.

Some properties were sold, some abandoned, many were subdivided, but a considerable number have been carried on as sugar estates down to the present. Year by year lessening prices of sugar have reduced profits, but Jamaica rum commanded an average price that compensated for the loss on sugar. Now, the latter is beginning to feel the competition from Australia, and the owners of sugar estates take a gloomy view of the future. On many properties the sugar works are what they were a hundred years ago. On almost all, the cultivation of the canes is as primitive as when the Surinam settlers made their first plantations.

In the meantime the cultivation of bananas has been taken up systematically, and with the happiest results. Coffee and cacao are largely cultivated by the people, and it is probable that in a short time the excellent fruits that grow in such profusion in Jamaica will find their way to the American and European markets. It only requires the lead of intelligent cultivators to give an impetus to systematic production, the result of which will be increased facilities of transit and lowered rates. That we are about to enter upon this phase is evident, and those who lead the way will reap the richest harvest.

HENRY A. BLAKE.

FREE SILVER AND THE SAVINGS BANKS.

BY JOHN P. TOWNSEND, PRESIDENT OF THE BOWERY SAVINGS BANK, NEW YORK, AND CHARLES H. SMITH, PRESIDENT OF THE DENVER (COL.) SAVINGS BANK.

I.

According to the statistics of January, 1895, the sums deposited in the Savings Banks of the Eastern and Middle States, in which are located the only true Savings Banks in the country, amount to $1,578,352,728.40. The number of open accounts is 4,296,133. These banks are organized without capital, and the deposits are invested by trustees who have no personal interest in them or their profits; who can neither borrow their funds nor become obligors for the payment of money borrowed; and who do a purely benevolent work in the interest of the plain people, mechanics, artisans, clerks, women and children, and those dependent upon salaries and wages for their maintenance. These savings are invested in U. S. bonds, bonds and mortgages on real estate, stocks and bonds issued by various states of the United States, cities, towns and counties, and to some extent also in railroad bonds and stocks, and bank stocks. The interest received, and the principal when due, is in most cases payable in lawful money of the United States.

The deposits also are returnable in like money, so that it is of vital importance that the quality should be of equal value to that received, and that both should be maintained at the present standard. The free coinage of silver would tend to depreciate the purchasing power of the dollar and reduce its worth to somewhere near the level of the bullion value of silver, which, as represented by the standard silver dollar has a market value of only about 50 cents on the nominal dollar. This would be a great

hardship to the industrious poor, who are the real creditors of the country, who are never able to borrow, but are ready to lend their little savings to their Government for a fair compensation. They have a right, therefore, to expect that this dollar should not be cut in two and returned them without recourse for the loss they would sustain. They have a right to demand that the Government should not interfere to impair the validity of contracts and that their vested rights should be respected.

A depreciation in the quality of money weakens the confidence of the people in their depositories, the Savings Banks, for the basis of their existence is the faith in the minds of all in their soundness, security and perfect safety. This sense of trust once weakened, speedy withdrawals of deposits would commence, at first slowly, increasing by degrees with speed, so that it would soon reach the condition recognized as a "run on the bank." It is a well known fact that a run on a Savings Bank is profitable to the bank *per se*, by reason of the abandonment by the frightened depositors of the interest on money withdrawn between the two dividend periods of the year, so that the scare punishes only the timid ones who yield to the excitement. After having drawn their savings, the fruit of self-denial, they secure hiding places in their homes, or make confidants of their friends and acquaintances, and in too many cases suffer from loss in the many ways which magically spring open to entrap the unwary. The stronghold having been invaded, looting follows, and the volume of theft, robbery and crime which spring upon the community is incalculable. Those of us who have watched with anxiety the course of several monetary crises, remember with pain the sure and certain consequences that overtake the timid ones who, distrustful and panic-stricken, seize their earnings and actually place them in the way of rascals and thieves. Knowing all this from the past, and realizing that it may easily occur again if started by provocation, it is incumbent upon our lawmakers to avoid unhealthy legislation and adopt no new measures of a disquieting tendency. It is not possible by enactment of a law to compel people to believe that a paper dollar or a cheap silver dollar is equal to a gold dollar in value. The people may be compelled to use the paper or the debased silver, but both will find their level, and the losses entailed by the equation of differences between the false and the

true will fall upon those least able to bear it. There is no real money except gold money, and to fix a permanent relative value between the two has always been impossible.

The enormous amount in the aggregate due depositors in Savings Banks raises the thought in one's mind of individual wealth belonging to those quite able to take care of their own interests; but when it is remembered that the capital of each depositor in Savings Banks is but $367.39, belonging to more than four million people, who are directly interested in the quality of the currency represented by these deposits, and that it is in most cases the only reserve they have in the event of accident, sickness, or old age, and that the debasement of its quality signifies suffering among the masses who depend on enlightened legislation to protect their property rights, it would seem to be but little less than a crime if such a law as we have been considering should be forced upon the people. A proper consideration of the helpless state of savings bank depositors should cause Congress to hesitate before perpetrating this crime against them for the benefit of a few. The enactment of a legal tender law at the beginning of 1861 caused an immense loss to this class of people and the suffering for a time was great, from which the country emerged only in 1879 with the resumption of specie payments. The lessons had during that period of eighteen years should not be lost upon us to-day and it seems remarkable that any number of men should be willing to take the risk of enforcing a similar period of distress upon the poor and helpless. It is a well-known fact that when derangements occur in the currency of a country, wages and salaries are the last to advance, while the cost of living is immediately increased. This would force depositors to draw their funds from the Savings Banks in legal tender money which had lost its purchasing power, but which they would be obliged to use to eke out a scanty subsistence, caused by receiving their stipends in money which had lost part of its intrinsic value. If the plea could be established that there is an insufficiency of gold upon which to base our currency, and that silver must be brought in to help us in maintaining an aggregate sufficient for our business interests, there might be some reason for the agitation which is now going on, but statistics demonstrate that the mining of gold is increasing so rapidly that silver should be relegated to its place as a subsidiary metal in the currency and become a legal

tender only for small amounts. The great commercial nations with which we trade use the single standard of gold in paying balances, and this metal only is received in settlement from us. This seems to be then the reason why we should not be required to pay a premium on the gold necessary to pay exchanges against the country. Even if the depreciation should be less than we have contemplated, and the loss in the purchasing power of our currency not as great, the false principle would be established that the law making power has exercised a jurisdiction which was never contemplated by the Constitution, and the results would be somewhat similar to the defunct practises of the autocratic sovereigns who clipped the coin of their country, and indirectly taxed the people in that way whenever they needed funds for their extravagances. Our action, however, would be without the show of reason which the sovereigns had, for the people of this country are always willing to be taxed in any emergency when the wants of their Government require their aid. The lesson in dishonesty which we would teach to Savings Banks depositors would be bad, and would help to counteract the rewards of honesty and thrift which the practice of Savings Banks has striven to inculcate in the minds of the people in the past eighty years.

JOHN P. TOWNSEND.

II.

I AM asked to express an opinion as to "the effect of the passage of any free silver measure on investments in savings banks." The expression conveys the idea that free silver measures are of different sorts and descriptions. To my mind there is and can be but one free silver measure, a law providing for the coinage of that metal on equal terms with gold, and at some fixed ratio therewith. I shall therefore assume the subject of discussion to be the effect of the passage of such a law upon "investments in savings banks."

A currency capable of adequately serving the wants of a nation should be stable in value, sufficient in volume and capable of expansion with the growth of business and population. It should not be subject to sudden or capricious periods of contraction or distention, as the interests of a class or the recklessness of an administration might determine. It should not consist of one

metal whose amount is vastly inferior to the financial requirements of a commercial world, nor yet of a substance unlimited in quantity, and needing only the stamp of authority to make it legal tender. The last generation witnessed some of the evils consequent upon the prevalence of an unredeemable paper circulation. The terrible sufferings of the past three years, the direct outgrowth of the efforts still making to fetter the republic in the golden bands of monometallism, are the best argument I can offer against the adoption of a single standard.

The occurrence in nature of gold and silver in limited quantity, generally difficult to procure, and nearly always associated together, long ago suggested to man their joint use as a medium of exchange, and as a base for the issue of paper notes, redeemable in either. So long as both were endowed with the money function, and each was accessible to the mints at a fixed ratio and without discrimination against either, the world's supply of the two metals sufficed for its practical financial needs, while their annual product furnished a moderate increase commensurate with the growth of industry and population. The dislocation of the t between them, and the closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver, have been the fruitful source of many of the troubles with which we are confronted.

An abundant and stable currency can best be had by the indiscriminate use of gold and silver, with a paper currency redeemable in either. Such a currency system always promotes industry and gives employment to labor. This means prosperity to the people, and that means prosperity and profit to the owners of savings banks. With plenty of work and good wages, the industrial classes are able to put by some portion of their earnings, which, collectively, represent an enormous capital, and enable savings institutions to flourish and expand. The attempted use of gold alone, as primary money, makes its acquisition the object rather than the handmaid of commerce; industry languishes, labor finds but little employment; the savings of other days are withdrawn for sustenance; and financial institutions, whose capital consists of the money of the poor, must largely suffer in consequence. In times like these, investors in savings banks are less concerned about the sort of money they will receive as interest or principal than about the possibility of earning enough to make both ends meet on each recurring Saturday night.

Those who express so much horror at the possible prospect of what they term a silver basis seem to overlook the fact that in spite of all efforts to completely degrade it, all gold-using nations are perforce compelled to use silver more largely than gold. Practically we are, and since the resumption of specie payments have been, upon a silver basis. Ninety-five per cent. of every day transactions are small in their character. They are all made in silver or its equivalent. The wages of labor are all paid in silver. So are merchants' accounts, and butchers' bills, and the innumerable business affairs of daily life. This administration, which in August, 1893, declared compulsory silver coinage (in which I do not believe) to be the cause of the panic then existing, has recently been compelled to resume silver coinage, and the mints are busily engaged in turning out 8,000,000 silver dollars, all demanded by inexorable necessity.

Since bond issues have become fashionable, gold has become an article of purchase and sale; so have greenbacks. The one is wanted to buy bonds with; the others are needed for the purpose of securing gold. Both have disappeared from the channels of trade, and the national bank note and despised silver dollar and its certificate alone remain to perform the monetary work of the nation.

The statistical abstract of the Treasury Department for 1894 states the total of savings banks deposits at $1,777,933,242. This vast sum was for the most part put into the banks in ten, twenty-five and fifty-cent pieces, in silver dollars and silver certificates. No bank officer declined to take them because they were not "sound nor honest." When deposits are drawn out, or interest is paid upon them, the banks tender the same sort of money. No depositor has declined it because dishonest or unsound.

The payment in gold of the vast sum above stated is a sheer impossibility. The pretence that the banks expect to pay it in gold and fear that they will be unable to do so is absurd. All the gold of England, France and the United States would be inadequate for the purpose, and if the logic of gold monometallism be sound, it would be dishonest to pay in gold those who have deposited fifty cent dollars only. It is true that this is precisely the sort of money which savings banks lend to their customers; but since they require the latter to pay their loans in gold, the

transaction is removed from the domain of morals to that of contract.

The authority I have already quoted states the number of savings banks depositors at 4,830,599. A very large percentage of these are voters. Their political influence is needed to rivet the gold policy upon the nation, and that influence may perhaps be secured by arousing their fears as to the safety of their deposits, and directing their prejudices against those who believe in the money of the fathers and of the constitution. A "free silver measure," if pernicious, will not affect a savings bank depositor differently from any other owner of capital, but, then, there are many of the former; so it may be well to convince them of the existence of a danger peculiar to themselves, and thus secure both their votes and their gratitude. The financial evangelist, whose concern for the monetary souls of others is greater than his interest in his own, is not an indigenous product, and his recent advent in such overwhelming numbers makes one sceptical sometimes as to his sincerity. The beneficiaries of an existing abuse or a coveted concession seldom fail to defend the one or to demand the other upon the broad ground of benefit to the people, and to them alone. Such tactics are successful sufficiently often to recommend their constant employment.

If the owners of savings banks earnestly desire to pay their depositors in what they are pleased to term "sound money," and really fear that the spectre of free silver will materialize to absolve them from doing so, the remedy is in their own hands. Let them paraphrase the golden rule by doing unto others what they invariably require others to do unto themselves. As lenders they take obligations payable only in gold. As borrowers they have only to enter into similar agreements with their depositors. This is simple, certain and efficacious. No silver legislation can affect such contracts, and their depositors will be perfectly safe. How many of them will do it?

After all, the question is not what the effect of a free silver measure will be on investments in savings banks, but on the owners of saving banks. The latter fear that such legislation may impair the value of the money they receive from their debtors far more acutely than they apprehend it will injure their depositors. Strange that both should not see their true interest along the lines of a gold and silver currency, equal before the law, each the

helpmeet of the other, and both the medium of exchange for seventy millions of people.

"The simultaneous employment of the precious metals," said Rothschild in 1870, "is satisfactory, and gives rise to no complaint. Whether gold or silver dominates for the time being, it is always true that the two metals concur together in forming the monetary circulation of the world, and it is the general mass of the two metals combined, which serves as the measure of the value of things. The suppression of silver would amount to a veritable destruction of values without any compensation."

These words are as true to-day as they were in 1870, and their truth has been demonstrated by succeeding events. Under the operation of the Bland act, a law which violated every principle of free coinage, administered by unfriendly hands, the nation for twelve years was blessed with unbounded prosperity. Gold accumulated in embarrassing abundance, the treasury was troubled with a surplus, while commerce and industry grew apace. Since the "object lesson" of 1893, and the practical establishment of gold monometallism, we have suffered from calamities unspeakable. To-day our staple products are handicapped in the markets of the world by the bounty which the difference between the exchange value of silver with gold places upon such products in silver-using countries. On the other hand our manufactures are threatened with the overmastering competition of China, Japan and Mexico, whose ability to purchase manufactured goods is paralyzed by the counter operation of the same cause. The volume of currency is contracting through the secretion of gold and the hoarding of greenbacks. We are incurring a vast bonded indebtedness in the effort to secure gold for governmental purposes. The annual product of that metal, great as it is, can supply but a small part of the insatiable demand for it.

Before us, then, are two alternatives, bankruptcy or bimetallism. The first will overwhelm "investors in savings banks" in the common ruin; the other will bring to them the same beneficent measure of prosperity and happiness which it extends to all mankind.

CHARLES H. SMITH.

CONGRESS AND ITS CRITICS.

BY SENATOR H. C. HANSBROUGH; THE HON. NELSON DINGLEY, JR., CHAIRMAN OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE; REPRESENTATIVES W. ELLIOTT (S. C.), GEO. B. M'CLELLAN (N. Y.), AND CHAS. P. TAFT (O.).

I.

THE senator or representative who quails before unjust and undeserved criticism and takes fright at the flash and whiz of editorial pyrotechnics emanating from the metropolitan press, is entirely out of place in the American Congress. A great statesman once said that he "would rather be right than be President." This is sublime enough to be made the motto of every man who is called upon to assist in framing the laws of his country. It is, has been and will continue to be the motto of the great majority of our national legislators.

If this were an era of selfishness, mendacity and venality, as many thoughtful people fear it is, the attitude of the great daily papers toward the Congress of the United States would be in strict keeping with the times. For the sake of the country and its free institutions, let us hope that these publications are, as they claim to be, somewhat in advance of the age, and that they are not soon to be overtaken.

There have been some rapid, even wonderful, changes in journalistic methods and policies from those that existed prior to and during the hazardous days of our civil war, when the double-leaded editorial breathed a deep love of country and the ambition of the foremost writers and publishers was grounded upon a sincere and devoted regard in behalf of a strong spirit of American patriotism. In this age the only real "free press" is the country press, supplemented by the leading magazines. According to

the ethics of the metropolitan press, men and measures are written up or written down not upon their merit, but upon their relationship to the sordid interests of the stockholders of the "great dailies."

The people who rail most at Congress are, first, the thoughtless and irresponsible, and those persons who are making a daily failure of life; and, second, those writers who are obliged to draw inspiration from the business department of their respective publications. No man can, nor is he expected to, write his true convictions while his bondsman's club hangs, like the Damoclean sword, immediately over his head. The writer in greatest demand is the one having the most picturesque vocabulary of effective and effulgent adjectives with which to hurl scorn and contumely upon the heads of public men. This kind of pabulum pleases class one, above mentioned, because it supplies them with new and novel epithets; it also pleases the business management of the paper, because it swells the subscription list.

Congress, as a body, is the main object of attack, by reason of its greater prominence among our other institutions, and because its members have the good sense not to reply in kind. They know that a just public sentiment will ultimately sustain the right, and happily for this republic of ours, public sentiment is not necessarily the monopolized creature of the metropolitan press.

A most remarkable policy was recently inaugurated by some of the daily papers published in New York city. Matters in Washington did not seem to be progressing to suit their tastes, and the cry was raised against the "silver Senate." Certain members of that body were severely arraigned for "misrepresenting their constituencies," and threats were freely indulged in that these obnoxious senators would be promptly defeated for re-election. Samples of the character of the detraction which seems suddenly to have been inspired and given currency in the New York papers about the time of the last gold bond deal may not be out of place here. Referring to the attitude of one prominent senator, whose honesty and integrity are without question among those who know him, it was said that he would

"Disobey the injunctions of his State and invite the fate of a political recusant—if traitor is too harsh a word—if he follows the course he has apparently chosen."

Another New York paper told how the gold senators were being contaminated, socially and otherwise, by the senators who believe in and favor bimetallism :

"There are members of the United States Senate, Democrats and Republicans, who by their habits and past careers are objectionable to honorable and straightforward senators who for an instant would not attempt to betray their constituents on financial legislation or anything else. Yet these conservative and honorable senators are compelled to a certain extent to associate while in the Senate with these delinquent members. As for any social recognition of them, that is and has been entirely out of the question."

It is significant that in connection with these threatening and disparaging criticisms a list of the senators who are under the ban of the metropolitan press was published simultaneously by several journals holding like views on the financial question, showing that the list must have been supplied to all of them from one and the same source. The publication of this list brought forth the following statement from an Illinois newspaper whose editor appears still to be a free man and to be the guardian of his own thoughts and actions :

"The New York bankers have prepared a black list of the United States senators who displease them, and have sent word to the Republican and Democratic committees of eighteen states notifying the committees of their displeasure. The Republican and Democratic conventions hereafter must submit their nominations to Wall Street for confirmation. A better way perhaps would be for Wall Street to furnish the nominations for both parties in the first place."

And so the war of words goes on, class being arrayed against class, section against section, and interest against interest Meantime Congress proceeds to perform its constitutional duties with an ever-watchful eye to the common welfare.

A Washington correspondent draws this comparison between statesmen of years ago and those of to-day :

"It ought to be a great thing to be a senator of the United States. In years gone by it has been the coveted prize of some of the greatest and ablest statesmen in the two ruling parties. In those days there were no sneers for the intelligence and integrity of a large proportion of the senators."

"In those days" there were no degenerate newspapers to do the bidding of men bent upon the acquirement of vast wealth at any hazard. I hope I shall be pardoned the laudation of a body of which I have the very great honor of being a member when I

say that the Senate of to-day is the peer of any of its predecessors. This is conceded by many of the ablest students, historical and political, who are in a position to judge impartially. Senatorial ability is not of mushroom growth ; it comes in consequence of long and faithful service. The statesmanship of the present Senate is to be found in those whose heads are whitened by time and arduous experience. It has been so since the establishment of the body, and will continue to be so. The younger senators, of whom I am one, lay no claim to statesmanship. It is enough for the present if we may absorb it gradually from our senior colleagues ; surely we shall never get it from the metropolitan press.

I trust that I shall not be understood as censuring the individual writers whose bread, we know, depends upon their ability to hold their places. The fault (and this is a mild term) rests elsewhere. As I have stated, it emanates from those persons interested in the financial receipts. It belongs to and is a constituent part of the tyranny that holds the stop-watch in the maddening race for wealth and power. A case in point may better illustrate my proposition. I have a friend who edits a good-sized daily paper in a Western city. This daily, too, has a business office. My friend is personally hostile to the business-blighting gold standard of value that has been foisted upon this country of seventy millions of people by England so that her forty millions may obtain cheap food products. He told me that for several years he had editorially espoused an American system of finance, to the great gratification of his modest and unbiased readers. One day in 1893, just before the convening of the extra session of Congress, the business manager of the paper entered the sanctum occupied by my bimetallic friend, and said, in language that pierced the very vitals of his silver certificate salary, that the policy of the paper must change ; that the banker around the corner had been to see the big dry goods merchant in the next block and notified him that if he (the merchant) continued to advertise in "that fifty-cent dollar paper," he must at once pay his notes held by the bank. The advertisement was discontinued. The banker, under orders, no doubt, from his Eastern creditors, went further : he gave directions that no patronage whatever should go from the bank to the paper until the latter changed its financial policy. "I am now

writing gold editorials," said my friend, "but my heart is not in my work and my patriotism is stifled."

That there are thousands of cases of this kind throughout the country there can be no doubt. When the bond buyers decided to repeal the Sherman law the metropolitan press was with them, and every banker in the United States received from the central bond-buyers' offices in New York and Boston imperative instructions to throttle the local press, if possible, and at once see their senators and representatives and instruct them to vote for repeal. The senators and representatives who refused to be "instructed" are the ones who are now being attacked by the metropolitan press. They are pilloried for the convictions they hold, and are threatened with defeat if they do not change their financial views.

Does any one believe that the hostility of the metropolitan press toward Congress is due primarily to a desire on its part for the prosperity of the substantial interests of the country? Is it not based, without variation, upon conditions in "the street," where the acquirement of wealth has made gambling respectable, and where bond syndicates, with contracts fat enough to afford liberal dividends, are worshipped as were the false deities in the temple of Isis? Of what consequence is the humble senator or representative in Congress who, under his oath of office, strives to determine with impartiality the great questions before him, and to deal with them with a view to the greatest good to the greatest number, in comparison with the man in Wall Street, who has acquired sudden and Crœsian wealth by wrecking a railroad or establishing a new monopoly to oppress his countrymen?

The high calling of the journalist has fallen into disrepute by reason of the business methods employed in the conduct of the modern dailies. It was John Dryden who invoked the help of the Allwise to aid him to "do and live as he believed." This should be the daily prayer of all our "moulders of public opinion."

HENRY C. HANSBROUGH.

II.

THE press of this country represents with a considerable degree of accuracy the varying currents of public opinion. While

every phase of thought finds newspaper advocacy, yet it is never difficult to discover in the utterances of the press a predominant consensus of judgment which clearly indicates the trend of public sentiment.

It is for this reason that the attitude of the press towards the Fifty-fourth Congress may be justly regarded as the attitude of the country, and on that account worthy of careful attention and thoughtful reflection.

The marked difference in the attitude of the press towards the Senate and the House—the two bodies constituting the Congress of the United States—directs attention to the fact that the two Houses are constituted of controlling political elements as wide apart as the poles ; so wide apart that the approval of the work of the one body necessarily implies disapproval of the other.

This wide difference is made possible not simply by the fact that senators are elected for a term of six years, and representatives for a term of only two years, but also by the fact that representation in the House is based on population, while each state is entitled to two senators regardless of the number of inhabitants. Thus it comes to pass that Nevada, with only 45,761 population, has the same power of legislation in the Senate that New York has, with a population of over 5,000,000 ; while in the House New York has 34 representatives and Nevada only one. A suggestive illustration of the diverse results of the workings of these two bases of representation is afforded by the fact that the provision for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one passed the Senate a few weeks ago by the votes of a majority of senators representing only about one-third of the population of the country, while the same measure was defeated in the House, where the representation is on the basis of population, by a vote of more than two to one.

It thus happens that the attitude of the majority of the press, as well as a majority of the people of the United States, is one of favor towards the Republican House and disfavor towards the anti-Republican Senate ; an anti-Republican Senate, not only because of the eighty-nine senators now constituting that body—there being one vacancy in Delaware—thirty-nine are Democrats and six populists, while only forty-four are recorded as Republicans ; but also from the fact that some of the so-called silver Republicans have been ready to unite with Populists and Democrats to

thus far defeat every distinctively Republican measure that has gone from the House.

The prompt action of the Republican House in passing in a single week a bill to increase the revenue about $40,000,000, in order to meet the current expenditures of the Government, and prevent further deficiencies; and another bill not only looking to a reduction of the rate of interest, and to a popular sale of bonds already authorized by the Resumption Act of 1875, but also practically separating the proceeds of such loans from the resources available for current expenditures, received the approval of so large a majority of the newspapers of the country as to make it clear that the people endorsed this action and the promptness which characterized it.

A majority of the press, comprising not simply the papers of Republican tendencies, but also a considerable number of Democratic papers, have clearly pointed out that an increase of revenue is essential to a restoration of the finances of the nation to the sound condition which existed from 1879 to 1893. Before the recent loan was made there had been issued and sold about $163,000,000 of four and five per cent. bonds, from which had been realized about $182,000,000 in gold. All of this gold has been used in redeeming $182,000,000 in greenbacks. Instead of temporarily holding these redeemed legal tender notes in the Treasury and thus promptly stopping the raid by creating a scarcity of greenbacks, the Secretary of the Treasury has been obliged since July 1, 1893, to pay out $135,000,000 of these redeemed legal tender notes, and thus has furnished that amount of new greenbacks to again withdraw an equal amount of gold from the Treasury, thus necessitating an additional sale of bonds. And this performance is still going on, inasmuch as in the first fifteen days of February there was a deficiency of revenue amounting to nearly four millions of dollars, which was met by paying out four millions of redeemed greenbacks, which were undoubtedly again used in the balance of the month to draw four millions more of gold from the Treasury. And this will go on until the revenue is sufficiently increased to meet the expenditures.

While this practical view of the necessity of additional revenue has caused a majority of the press to express approval of the prompt action of the Republican House in passing a bill to temporarily increase the revenue, it has also led them to condemn

the neglect, if not the refusal, of the Senate to promptly concur in a measure to supply the Treasury with the requisite means to meet the current expenses of government.

Notwithstanding, the bill which passed the House, looking to the reduction of the rate of interest and the term of bonds issued under the act of 1875, is of less importance than the bill to provide additional revenue. Yet public opinion, as expressed by a large majority of the newspapers of the country, entertains no doubt that if the Senate had promptly concurred with the House in its passage, and the President had approved it, there would have been no difficulty in disposing of three per cent. bonds at par in lieu of the recent hundred million four per cent. loan, which sold at a premium of more than eight per cent. less than the equivalent of a three per cent. bond at par, thus involving a loss of nearly eight millions on that loan alone.

For this reason, as well as for the further reason that the House bond bill would have practically prevented the use of redeemed greenbacks in paying current expenditures in excess of revenue, the utterances of a large majority of the press of the country have approved of the action of the House and condemned the action of the majority of the Senate in substituting for the House bill a measure providing for the free and unlimited coinage of silver by this country alone at the ratio of sixteen to one.

When the Republican House, by the decided vote of 215 to 90 —183 Republicans and 32 Democrats voting to non-concur and 25 Republicans and 58 Democrats and 7 Populists to concur—refused to agree to the Senate free coinage substitute, the well-nigh universal indorsement which this action received from the Republican and Independent press, and the approval which it received from thousands of Democratic papers, made it clear that the House represents on this question the settled judgment of a large majority of the American people, as well as the nearly unanimous conviction of the business men of the nation.

It is not too much to say that the friendly attitude of a large majority of the press towards the national House indicates an increasing confidence not only in the good sense, statesmanship and conservatism of the popular branch, which has been heretofore supposed to be most influenced by temporary conditions, but also in the Republican party which controls the House by so large a majority.

Even those papers which have criticised the House for not doing more than it has done, after witnessing the proceedings of the anti-Republican Senate, are rapidly reaching the conclusion that the House has done, or is likely to do in essential directions, all that had the slightest chance of securing the approval of an anti-Republican Senate and a Democratic President; indeed, far more than will receive such approval; and that it would have been unwise to go further in proposing Republican measures of vital importance with the certainty that they could not become laws, and with the probability that the hostile reception which such measures would encounter might increase the distrust that already exists in the country.

NELSON DINGLEY, JR.

III.

THE Venezuela question was the first subject of engrossing interest to occupy the attention of the Fifty-fourth Congress. Both Houses have been sharply criticised for what has been called their precipitate action in immediately passing the bill which was carried through the House by unanimous consent on the day following the receipt of the President's message. Undoubtedly the action of Congress was influenced somewhat by party considerations, but, in the main, I think both Republicans and Democrats were guided in their course chiefly by purely patriotic motives. As to the influence of party politics, I think it operated no further than this—the Republicans suspected the President somewhat of precipitating the question upon Congress by his aggressive message for the purpose of bolstering up the waning fortunes of his party and were determined not to be outdone by him in patriotic fervor, while the Democrats naturally felt that it would never do for them to block the course of a Democratic President. It must be borne in mind that the subject had received the most careful consideration of the Executive, that it had been most elaborately discussed with Lord Salisbury, and that negotiations had arrived at such a stage that there seemed no possibility of ending the matter by diplomatic negotiations. The reasons that specially influenced us in our action were that the President simply wanted means for ascertaining the truth in a matter of momentous importance, that, while the course

proposed by him involved most serious hazard how it would be received by Great Britain, yet it seemed to be the only feasible course not necessarily involving war, that it committed Congress to no policy, that it would be simply impossible to refuse the request of the President and that, as there had already been developed a most serious difference between the two countries, we would be weakening our own side by exhibiting to Great Britain a divided front. It is a curious fact that, when the bill was brought into the House and unanimous consent asked for its consideration, the only gentleman who seemed to find much difficulty in suppressing an objection was Mr. Boutelle, of Maine, who, to use his own language, had been "accused in times past of being somewhat of a jingo." Undoubtedly within a very few hours afterwards, when it was seen what intense excitement and what irreparable injury had been wrought by the apparent danger of war, many a member of the House wished that he had had the pluck to do what Mr. Boutelle was so much tempted to do, and call a halt. And this, too, especially on the part of those who felt that there could be no greater public calamity than a war between the United States and Great Britain, that it would be a disaster of unspeakable horrors, and who, moreover, felt a great deal of sympathy in the main reason put forward by Lord Salisbury for declining arbitration, that it involved "the transfer of large numbers of British subjects, who have for many years enjoyed the settled rule of a British colony, to a nation of different race and language, whose political system is subject to frequent disturbance, and whose institutions as yet too often afford very inadequate protection to life and property": a reason which Lord Salisbury suggested would induce the United States to "be equally firm in declining to entertain proposals of such a nature." At least I can speak for myself in this regard. But at last have we not been fully justified by the result? The most serious consideration after the first storm of excitement had passed away was that the British Government would feel compelled to refuse recognition in any way of our Venezuela Commission and in fact might very well consider it as an act of aggression. But this one obstacle to a peaceful solution of the quarrel has disappeared in Lord Salisbury's hearty consent to afford the Commission all the aid that his government can give towards arriving at an ascertainment of the facts.

Right on the heels of the Venezuela matter, and growing out of it, came the Revenue and Bond bills; and here an impartial judge must, we think, decide that the Republican majority in the House immediately dropped the rôle of pure and unadulterated devotion to public interest and lapsed very easily into that of coddling the fortunes of the Republican party. What was the situation that confronted Congress? The President in his annual message, and the Secretary of the Treasury in his report, had set forth in the most emphatic terms the deplorable condition of the Treasury caused by the "endless chain" system; that no sooner was the gold reserve strengthened by the sale of bonds than it would be immediately depleted by the presentation of greenbacks and treasury notes, making another issue of bonds necessary; and they most urgently impressed on Congress the imperative necessity for retiring these demand notes, and thus putting a stop to the drain on the gold reserve and the imposition on the people of additional and unnecessary burdens by the sale of bonds. What they further most pointedly showed was that it was not simply money that was wanted—they had plenty of that; there was then in the Treasury a surplus of over $70,000,000, exclusive of the gold reserve—but it was a particular kind of money, gold, that the protection of the government credit and the national honor demanded. The President had showed that by the "exasperating withdrawals of gold" the gold reserve was substantially in no better condition than when the bond sales were first made. He stated that the conditions were aggravated by the financial crisis then upon us, and brought about by the Venezuela complication, and he almost begged that Congress would make at least a legislative "declaration" in maintenance of the national credit. In hot haste, the Republican majority in the House submitted their remedy for the situation in the shape of a revenue bill to raise by tariff taxation $40,000,000 additional annually. Was there ever before such a performance? The President said that he wanted no additional revenue, that there was already a surplus of over $70,000,000—they gave him $40,000,000 more a year; he showed that it was gold alone that he wanted, and they gave him a revenue bill that notoriously produced not one dollar in gold; he appealed for action that would relieve the people from the burden of further unnecessary taxation, and they immediately put

on the country an additional burden of $40,000,000 a year; he asked for aid "to prevent in a time of fear and apprehension any sacrifice of the people's interests and the public funds or the impairment of our public credit," and they promptly responded with a bill for an increase of the tariff which they well knew his public record would impel him to veto. Again we ask—was there ever such a performance?

While the bond bill, which was introduced in the House the day after the revenue bill was passed, was not as objectionable as that bill, it had some serious defects. It substantially provided for the issue of three per cent. bonds, payable *in coin*, and redeemable by the Government after five years. In February, 1895, when the contract was made with the syndicate for the sale of $62,000,000 of thirty-year four per cent. bonds, payable *in coin*, the President then informed Congress that it was a part of the contract that should Congress authorize the substitution of bonds payable in *gold* such substitution could be made, and that more than $16,000,000 would be thereby saved to the government; and in his late annual message the President had re-stated this fact. Now here was legislation that, unlike the revenue bill, was aimed in the right direction, but could not possibly reach the mark. Why were not the bonds made payable in gold? Has it not been the invariable custom for the government to pay all bonds in gold, although by their terms made payable in silver as well? And why not authorize the issue of gold bonds, and thus get for the government the enormous benefit which would accrue? And what better "legislative declaration" in support of the national credit could have been made than this? But no; the Republican majority did not wish to inject the silver question into the discussion, and so with all these solid inducements leading them in one direction, they purposely took the other. And it must be borne in mind that, as to both these bills, by the rule under which they were considered, no amendments of any kind were permitted—they had to go through just as they were or not go through at all.

What has been the outcome in the Senate on these two bills? The Revenue bill, that was rushed through the House post-haste in order to give the government instant relief, has just been completely side-tracked by a decisive vote of the Senate, refusing even to consider it. As to the Bond bill, all after

the enacting clause was struck out by the Senate and an entirely new bill substituted, providing substantially for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Clearly the judgment of the Senate coincides with the opinion of Senator Teller that it was never intended by the House that either bill should become a law and that they were proposed simply for the purpose of making "political capital."

The Senate free coinage substitute came to a vote in the House on February 14, and was defeated by the extraordinary vote of 215 to 90. If all the power and parliamentary skill of the Republican leaders in the House had been concentrated upon bringing about this result they could not have done a better day's work for the country, and yet it was the very question of all others that they dreaded, and tried their best to evade. They have literally blundered into the right. And what a wonderful commentary all this affords upon the boasted success of political *finesse* and manœuvering. The House, after struggling so hard to get away from the silver question, has, by means of it, achieved a great success, while the silver Senators, bent apparently only on advancing their cause, have invited the heaviest defeat it has ever suffered.

WM. ELLIOTT.

IV.

IF a general election had been held on the first Monday of December, 1895, no politician will deny that the Republican party would have swept the country. The vote for Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fourth Congress fairly indicates the strength of the two great parties on that day. Thomas B. Reed received 239 votes; Charles F. Crisp received 95 votes. The session is less than three months old. The recognized leader of the Republican party is as able a parliamentarian and as brilliant a politician as ever, and yet the tremendous majority of the House of Representatives over which he has had the misfortune to preside has proved itself unmanageable. It has broken away from him. It is divided into cliques ruled by fads and local prejudices. The Republican party likes to be called the party of high moral ideas. If we are to believe the dictionary in use among Republicans, the expression, "high moral ideas,"

exclusively refers to the power of making votes. The majority began the present session bubbling over with patriotic enthusiasm to save the country by making the election of a President in 1896 a certainty, and incidentally capturing the spoils of war. It set itself the task of proving to the people that the Democratic Administration had been a failure.

The Secretary of the Treasury stated in his annual report that, with a rapidly decreasing deficit and increasing revenues, there was an available balance in the Treasury of approximately $172,000,000. In a most able argument in favor of sound money the Secretary implored Congress to relieve the country from the endless chain of irredeemable greenbacks.

On December 17th last the President sent to Congress his Venezuelan message, followed almost immediately by his message on the financial situation, in which he called the attention of Congress, as he has done in almost every message he has ever written, to the dangers of our present financial system

The first message was received in a spirit worthy of the Republican party in the days when it was a party of patriotism and not of petty politics. The second message was answered by the introduction from the Committee on Ways and Means of two bills. The first a revenue bill, answering the statement of the Secretary of the Treasury that no more revenue was needed, by providing for a protective tariff equal to the wildest dreams of Major McKinley. This bill was rushed through the House under the apparent assumption that the Secretary of the Treasury did not know what he was talking about: a cheap campaign trick, to prove the falsity of his statement by denying it without arguments. It showed the country that the Republican party had learned nothing from the lesson taught it by the disasters incident to the McKinley Tariff law.

The second bill introduced by the Committee on Ways and Means was a bond bill. This bill, as originally drawn in its first section, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to sell short term three per cent. bonds for the redemption of the greenbacks. In its second section it authorized the Secretary to issue certificates of indebtedness to supply temporary deficiencies. This latter section was practically unobjectionable. The first section by implication conferred upon the Secretary the power to impound the greenbacks. When the provisions of the first section

of the bill became known, the soft money Republicans revolted. To keep the majority in line the bill, as finally introduced, contained the proviso that nothing in the act should "be construed to repeal or modify an act approved May 31, 1878, entitled 'An act to forbid the further retirement of United States legal tender notes.'" The bill was then passed. The sound money Democrats voted against it on the ground that it did not go far enough in the direction of sound money. The free silver men voted against it because it went too far. The majority had had the opportunity of coming out squarely for sound money, and of making the Republican party the party of the single gold standard and of insuring its success in 1896. It failed to rise to the emergency and straddled the issue. The Democratic party was beaten in 1894 owing to its position on the currency question. The people had every reason to expect some relief from the party they then returned to power. Instead of giving that relief, the majority has gone on record against the retirement of the greenbacks and, by the speeches of its leaders, in favor of international bimetallism, an untried theory, hardly commendable to practical men.

Having made its record in favor of the Republican theory of finance, the party of high moral ideas, impelled by the business-like policy of wasting time and doing nothing, sailed over smooth seas until the appropriation bill for the District of Columbia was reported to the House, and then out of a clear sky came a hurricane. The District of Columbia owns no charitable institutions. Private organizations supported in part by appropriations from the Government perform the work of charity in the District. When the item of "charities" was reached in debate in Committee of the Whole a fierce attack was made upon the principle of government support for private charities. It was claimed that no sectarian animus existed, and yet the appropriations for the G. A. R. Temporary Home, and the Negro Orphan Asylum were allowed to remain in the bill while all appropriations for Roman Catholic institutions were stricken out. Absolute consistency would have required that the G. A. R. Temporary Home and the Negro Orphan Asylum should have met the same fate as the Catholic institutions. The American Protective Association showed its strength; its orders were obeyed when the Catholic institutions were discriminated against, and the G. A. R. and Negro vote were not antagonized. When the bill was reported back to the

House it was beaten on its final passage. A. P. A. Republicans were willing to vote for that organization in committee where no roll is called, but feared to go on record in the House in favor of intolerance. It was the first appropriation bill beaten since the war.

Up to the present time, with the exception of a few unimportant bills, no legislation has been enacted. The House, despite its promises of a business session, has done nothing of good, unless that it has clearly defined the principles of the Republican party. It has shown that the party is ruled by religious bigotry and is not in favor of sound money.

The Senate at least has the courage of its convictions; it is absolutely in control of the advocates of free silver. The House has proved itself unequal to the great emergency of the hour, the financial situation. With everything in its favor, with numbers, with able leadership, and with brains, it has proved itself incompetent to enact legislation; it has no convictions; it has been shifty and cowardly. If its opponents will profit by its mistakes and declare for sound money at Chicago, the next President of the United States will be a Democrat.

GEO. B. MCCLELLAN.

V.

WHEN Congress met last December the political situation discovered a Democratic Executive seeking to maintain the parity between gold and silver on a free-trade platform, a Senate composed of Republicans, Democrats and Populists, without legislative capacity from a party standpoint, and a House with a Republican majority of one hundred and thirty-four members. The question for solution, from a party standpoint, was how to manage each of these branches of government so as to produce the most favorable impression upon the country for the impending Presidential election.

The Republicans, enjoying the tidal wave of success in 1894, believed that a still greater one would come in 1896, giving them control of the White House and of the Senate. Their policy was therefore one of waiting and caution. The Democrats, struggling under the load of defeat, were looking for new questions of issue and new planks for a Presidential platform. The Populists

were a small obstructive element, having the balance of power in the Senate.

Under these circumstances it was generally understood that no economic legislation of a purely partisan character could be carried through Congress and receive the sanction of the President.

The partisan and independent press of the country recognized this condition of affairs. The Republican and Democratic newspapers were not advocating any general line of partisan policy for their respective representatives in Congress, because nothing could be accomplished. The Republican newspapers, however, advised caution in all things, while the Democratic newspapers wanted a change, in fact, anything to relieve the party of the burden which it was carrying. Naturally then newspaper criticism of Congress would develop, not on the line of what ought to be done from a party standpoint, but rather on the line of what is feasible under existing conditions.

The Republican newspapers were generally fearful of the consequences of an overwhelming Republican majority in the House. The last word which each Republican Congressman received from his constituents was: "Beware of your excessive power in the House." This warning was reiterated in all public prints in his district, so that when he reached Washington at the beginning of the session he was loaded with caution. Naturally, Speaker Reed reflected this sentiment in his speech of acceptance. At once it was heralded throughout the country by Democratic newspapers that Mr. Reed had announced a "do-nothing" policy for the House. They alleged that his presidential aspirations would stifle all efforts at legislation. As their hope of party success existed in creating dissensions and ill-feeling in the Republican ranks, they even charged that he would favor this policy or suppress that, according as it benefited his presidential canvass or injured that of a rival. These charges failed in their object. No Republican was deceived by them. How utterly unfounded such insinuations were, has been demonstrated by the course of legislation up to the present time. Indeed, Republicans agree with unanimity that Mr. Reed's course in the present Congress has been the same as it would have been, if he had been in no sense a presidential condidate. His object has been, and is, to place the party upon the best possible footing, in accordance with the national Republican principles, for the contest next November.

What, then, was the first refutation of the press criticism that this was to be a "do-nothing" House? It came when the President sent in his message on the Venezuelan boundary. The President's action in this matter was different from his usual course in foreign affairs. It gave some color to the newspaper criticism that it originated from political motives, in consonance with the general policy of the Democratic party to seek new planks for their national platform. Without discussing this point, it is only necessary to say that the Republican party derived its fair share of public approbation from the incident by prompt action in passing the bill creating the Boundary Commission.

At this point the charge of Jingoism against Congress was made by many influential newspapers. Even if an element of Jingoism did exist in the action of the President and of Congress, the general result has been beneficial. A national patriotic spirit has been aroused throughout the country.

The chief result, however, was to educate the country on its foreign policy. The strict constructionists said that the Monroe doctrine did not apply to the Venezuelan difficulty, and the liberal interpreters said that it did. Out of the whole discussion a new doctrine has been developed, the purport of which is to compel arbitration in territorial disputes between European powers and American republics. Without committing the United States to the policy of an armed intervention in behalf of arbitration, it is now understood that each case must be decided on its own merits, and that no American republic can with impunity be "oppressed" by a European power. This does not rest upon any resolution or statute passed by Congress, but simply upon the public patriotic sentiment as developed by the extended consideration of the Monroe doctrine.

The Venezuelan incident has also served to arouse the friends of international arbitration in Great Britain. It is to be hoped that the spirit of arbitration will so thoroughly permeate the people of Great Britain and the United States that war will be forever impossible between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race.

An unexpected sequence to the Venezuelan flurry was the impending crisis in the Government finances. Foreign investors interpreted the message to mean war. They were in haste to get rid of their American securities, and, therefore, brought on a

panic in the American market. At once there was fear of a raid upon the gold reserve in the Treasury. As the House originates all financial legislation, it took hold at once of the problems suggested by the low state of the gold reserve and settled them, as far as it was concerned, in a business-like manner. Legislation proposed by the House had three objects in view; the maintenance of the gold reserve by selling three per cent. bonds by popular subscription to redeem the United States legal tender notes, the issue of United States certificates of indebtedness not exceeding $50,000,000 to provide for the temporary deficiencies of revenue, and the fifteen per cent. increase of tariff rates to meet the expenses of the Government. These measures would hold the gold reserve intact, and would prevent encroachment upon it to pay the expenses of the Government. They are based upon the strong business sense which the Republican party has always displayed in the management of the nation's finances. If the Republicans had had complete control of the executive and legislative branches of the Government, they would have adopted a straight protective tariff instead of the fifteen per cent. horizontal increase. It was supposed that a free-trade Democratic President would permit a bill providing for a horizontal increase to become a law, especially as the increased revenue was needed to cover the regular government expenses. These bills passed the House and were sent to the Senate, where they have been practically killed by silver fanaticism. Instead of the bond bill a substitute providing for the free coinage of silver was sent back to the House. If the tariff bill passes the Senate, it will be vetoed by the President, since the success of the new loan has furnished temporary financial relief for the Treasury.

The newspapers throughout the country are properly holding the Senate responsible for the failure to furnish increased revenues to the Government.

Ever since the adoption of the Reed rules in the Fifty-first Congress, there has been a tendency on the part of the Western press and people to approve the business methods of the House and to censure the dilatory methods of the Senate. "Senatorial courtesy" might properly have served a good purpose fifty years ago when the number of senators was much smaller. As practised now, it means obstruction to legislation. It places the con-

trol of the Senate practically in the hands of the minority. As long as it prevails, a prejudice against the Senate will exist in the public mind. The people do not care to have their vital material interests subjected to the whims of a few senators who are banded together for a single object, and who act outside of party lines. In the present Congress, where the policies of the Senate and House are so widely different, a careful reading of the newspapers of the Central-Western States will show that, in that district at least, the House is constantly rising and the Senate is falling in the public estimation. It might be added that a similar sentiment appears to prevail throughout the country.

The prompt action in the bond and revenue matters has disarmed all criticism to the effect that this was a House with a "do-nothing" policy. Indeed, those newspapers which at first found fault are now expressing the opinion that the House is the conservative business branch of Congress.

CHARLES P. TAFT.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

RECENT PHOTOGRAPHIC INVENTION.

No one who reads the daily papers can fail to have seen accounts of the "new photography," as it is called.

Just what name to give to this wonderful discovery we cannot yet decide upon. Sticklers for exactitude in nomenclature will remember that even the word "photography" is rather a misnomer. It literally means writing by light, and not picture-making by light. Custom, stronger than law, has nevertheless been content with the word, and there are many scientific and other terms and names far worse in their etymology.

As if to throw into the shade entirely such wonders as photographing invisible planets, and researches into the ultra-violet regions of the solar spectrum, the new process may claim the unique position of delineator of the invisible in general. Such experiments as photographing the metal shafts of knife handles, through the wood or bone, or coins concealed in closed wallets, are now elementary. We see very accurate pictures of bullets lodged between the bones of the lower leg, or of the bony structure of living hands, or even of whole skeletons of small animals, taken through the flesh. It is not to be wondered at that the majority of investigators are hard at work developing the capabilities of the new art in surgery and medicine. From metallurgists we do not hear a great deal and it must be admitted that we have yet much to look forward to from them. For, unfortunately, the common metals, iron and steel (the latter particularly), are very impervious to the new actinism, while less useful ones, like silver, brass and aluminum, are much more *transparent;* we can now actually use such apparent contradictions in terms. Glass, the type of transparent substances, resists the new rays like so much wood. A photographic plate-holder, with glass doors, would be a curiosity, and yet not wholly useless for the new process. The homogeneous structure of such metals as are penetrable by the X rays, as they are called, is well detailed. All the ornaments and lettering, as well as concealed flaws, cracks, etc., in the coins hitherto experimented upon, have been quite distinctly rendered. Eminent authorities in gunnery have expressed their belief in the powers of the new art to reveal hidden defects in expensive gun-forging. A process so sensitive to variations in molecular structure might be expected to render a differentiation between wrought-iron, cast-iron and cast-steel; but as yet we have only very meagre data in this connection. With more powerful sources of actinism, and with photographic chemicals and plates prepared for this express purpose, we may yet be able to realize such triumphs of useful picture-making as the revealing of dangerous flaws in bridge beams or in the shafts of sea-going steam vessels.

Photography, like other arts, has curiosities of its own, and we will here mention one of the less well known phenomena (yet one properly belonging to the subject), namely, that some of the sensitive substances ordinarily used will respond to other agencies than light, giving images which are, to say the least, recognizable. A case from the writer's own practice will make this clearer. A plate had been exposed on the interior of a public building and on development showed a strange doubled or confused outline near the centre. Close examination revealed part of a landscape taken years before on the same glass. A sufficient number of prints having been made from the landscape negative, the glass was thoroughly cleaned by first removing the film with several hours soaking in caustic alkali, and then by prolonged soaking in dilute nitric acid according to the common custom of photographers. A free washing and drying of the glass plate was then followed by polishing of the surface. So then on preparing the plate to take the interior view no doubt of its absolute chemical cleanliness could be entertained, and yet so persistent was the impression of the older picture on the surface of the glass that the application of fresh photographic material *redeveloped* the old image. Here then we have an image produced by the joint action of a developer and a special condition of the surface of the supporting medium—quite independently of light. English scientists have written accounts of the action of shearing-stress upon the sensitive salts of silver. Others have told how the mere contact of certain foreign substances upon a film of iodide of silver will impress an image capable of being developed.

Thus we see that images can be formed on sensitive material independently of light. The term photography here would be the worst of misnomers, and such a word as "actinography" is preferable.

The manner in which the new pictures have been made is highly interesting. As might be supposed, the absence of light entails the employing of special apparatus. Its arrangement is briefly as follows: The photographic plate remains in its "holder" or dark-slide with the door (of wood ebonite or carton) closed. The object such as a nut, lead-pencil, knife, carcass of a mouse, etc., is brought up close to or touching the door of the plate-holder, which is then set at a few inches distance from a Crooke's vacuum tube. This latter may be called a sort of greatly improved outgrowth from the old familiar "aurora borealis tube" in the early days of electricity, when the generators were wine bottles from which the glory had departed, set on an axle and revolved against buckskin rubbers dusted over with scrapings from the backs of old mirrors. To be more precise, the celebrated English chemist's name has been applied to that form of high vacuum tube in which the energy or force from the negative pole is utilized to the exclusion of that from the anode or positive. The term *Cathode Photography* is a good one for the new pictures, inasmuch as it directs attention to the special agency by which they are made. Camera and lens are both dispensed with.

Seeing that this wonderful art has only been known to the world a few weeks and that a chief difficulty besetting investigators is the want of proper kinds and sufficient numbers of vacuum tubes, we must for the present content ourselves with speculations as to its future uses. We do not hesitate to call it one of the great discoveries of the century. Nor do we fail to foresee the incalculable help that it will be in some kinds of medical and surgical diagnosis. It is not fair to expect it to accomplish too much in deep-seated portions of the body. We have every reason to believe that fractures of the bony processes of the lumbar vertebræ, for example, or of the ribs

which articulate with them, or, say, dislocations at or near those points, or the lodgment of bullets, etc., in that region (as happened in the case of the late lamented President Garfield) will be revealed by the new process and help the surgeon enormously. But supposing that we wanted to penetrate just a little deeper, say somewhere around the solar plexus of nerves, we could not expect good results when so many layers of tissues of different densities overlay the point to be examined. Even the heart enclosed in its pericardium might perhaps be too deep-seated; while again we might expect fair images of the surfaces of the lungs, of the pleuræ, perhaps of pneumonic consolidations and pleuritic adhesions—the latter almost certainly if they were of good size, and, of course, the effusions of pleurisy: in brief, *anything not covered up by too many layers of important tissue which itself might be diseased or injured.* We already have details of such cases as a sewing-needle sunk in the bone of the finger, and of abscess in the jawbone being made *visible to the eye* by proper lighting. And when we remember that small but powerful electric lights are being constantly introduced into the mouth, stomach and rectum for clinical examination, so that we can command a distinct source of actinism in the cavities of the body to assist what is already on the exterior, we feel disposed to share with the most enthusiastic in looking forward to what the new art will do for suffering humanity. In the one immense field of gunshot injuries (particularly superficial ones) we indulge most sanguine expectations.

Those familiar with ordinary photography will naturally inquire about the time of exposure. It is of course out of the question to answer such a question with precision, but the time is relatively long, say from a quarter of an hour to two or more hours with ordinary commercial plates.

ELLERSLIE WALLACE, M. D.

WOMAN'S WAGES.

THREE causes have much to do with the price a woman is offered for her work.

First is the survival of old notions about women's business incapacity. People do not yet think straight and see clear.

Again, competition is sharp among women. They underbid one another. Workers for money that is to serve only as pin money can work for less than the one who must buy food and shelter and clothes.

Thirdly, women can, or will, live on less than men. That has much to do with holding down their wages.

The following example will serve to illustrate other reasons. An editor employed the best type-writer in Boston. She had been victorious in competitive effort. Before she came to him she had been employed in a wholesale dry-goods house at fifteen dollars a week. In her place the firm took a young man, in no wise a better type-writer, and paid him twenty-five dollars a week. Now they would not purposely waste ten dollars a week. Why did they think it economical to pay the man more?

He was not a dependent relative whom the firm was willing to contribute to. They did not think a man to be a better worker merely because he was a man—an opinion boards of regents and trustees often hold (the school-

board of St. Paul is the only recorded exception I recall) as reason for paying women doing the work of men half what they pay men.

One advantage the man has lies in physical qualities. He can endure more. He gives you the feeling that he can be more relied upon. The type-writing woman was not at hand so regularly. In this dry-goods house business had to be done daily. They paid ten dollars a week for the certainty of having some one always at hand.

Now it cannot be gainsaid that men are physically the stronger, and that women can not be strong so long as they live in contravention of nearly every law of nature. But history says the Spartan women were strong and healthful, and a Spartan type-writing woman would, doubtless, have insisted on the twenty-five dollars a week.

But reasoning about such physical disability may be at fault. We all know women who do the work of men along with men. They are as regular in their business habits as men. And such cases are not exceptions. Look at Vassar, Smith, and Bryn Mawr, for instance, where educated women are employed.

I am inclined to believe that the type-writer's irregularities were not so much a physical inability after all. They were rather a deficiency in training. Very few women have been taught regularity and method in work. It is deemed right to teach it to a boy, but it is rarely thought proper or necessary that it should be bred in the bone of a girl in the formative period of life. The only reason that after such education women take the cares and burdens of married life so sublimely, and carry them so successfully, is that the best part of their nature is touched and appealed to.

Now business does not appeal to the noblest instincts. Nevertheless, teach women method and regularity and they will have system in their work—in addition to the care for detail and the alertness and quickness which by nature they possess. Some women, as I said, have this already. But the world is slow to recognize the fact, and that keeps others back, because women are by nature and education conservative and sensitive to opinion.

Then, since social conditions are what they are, the new philosophy confesses us to be in great measure a result of our surroundings. "As what he sees is, so have his thoughts been," sings Arnold. It is likely that the inattentive type-writer of whom we speak feels vaguely the injustice of the world and says: "I can get but fifteen dollars a week at the best, so I'll sew to-day. If I could get the wages Brother John does—strange I cannot, for I do the same work!—I could pay for the making of my dress as he pays for his coat." The fifteen-dollar wages retroact and tend to make the girl inefficient.

Or a more serious cause may interrupt her work. For the home life hampers the woman forced into the world. In this transition state of domestic conditions—in passing from the incapable general household service to the skill of specialists—when a member of the family is ill, is it John who gives up business and watches by the bedside? Is it not Susan, so far as you have seen? No one doubts that it should be the duty of the one who does it best, and is fitted by love of the task and nature to do it best. That is oftenest Susan.

Centuries of the habit of self-sacrifice have made it seem right for the woman to set aside her personal wishes and to subject her forces and time to immediate circumstances. The sentiment is one of the great possessions of our race. But nowadays, when custom forces women to mix with the

world, to scramble in competition with their brothers and fathers and husbands, to earn their bread, it is not what trade permits loyal subjects. The one who practices the virtue goes to the wall.

Men who employ women do not—you do not, merchants do not—pay a woman for the divine virtue. It is not "business." You do not pay her, and, in settling accounts you do not pardon her for attention to her fever-stricken father or palsied mother rather than to your desk and chair.

The women, however, must keep on. When they are purely bread-winners they may grow hungry and cold—sometimes, too, brothers, fathers and husbands, dependent upon them. What help is there ?

A woman who undertakes the unquiet life and endeavors to do work in the busines sorld and work in the family as her heart and their needs dictate, is apt to fail in both. Specialists in nervous diseases in this country and in Europe have told me that in undertaking this two-fold duty women fail also in health.

It is, then, primarily the instinct of self-sacrifice in women; again, the unmethodical habits in which they have been brought up; again, their "little health," as Miss Frances Cobbe calls their lack of strength—these, as well as the three I first named, are the reasons why men are paid more than women when both are engaged to do, and do in truth accomplish, the same work.

Paymasters say—paymasters of a great magazine office, for instance, where many are employed—that women are apt to become mere machines in business; that they work mechanically, and never suggest change or betterment; that they are idea-less. This doubtless affects their pay.

But they are idea-less for two apparent reasons. First, each one hopes it is not to be her life's work. Every woman, generally speaking, hopes to marry. Nature and convention and the social laws at large indicate to her that the home life and the married life are her best life. Secondly, to rise in the ranks in such offices as I have named is not open to her.

Incentives to energy and originating effort, permanence, and probably increased pay, are taken from her.

KATE STEPHENS.

A GUERILLA EDEN.

THERE is a story about a troop of emigrants who left their berths in the steerage and tried to encamp on deck—in consequence of a ghostly apparition, as the captain tried to explain it, till a commission of inquiry investigated the internal arrangements of the steamer.

"No need of supernatural explanations," was the prompt report of the chief commissioner; "the only wonder is that the condition of that ship did not tempt the passengers to jump overboard."

With a similar suddenness a traveller in the coast-hills of Cuba would arrive at a practical explanation for the continued desertions that decimate the ranks of the Spanish troops, and which their officers attribute to the magic persuasiveness of the rebel emissaries.

With the possible exception of Western Sumatra (where the natives of a little bushwhacker kingdom have defied their would-be conquerors for a series of centuries), no country in the world can rival Cuba in the excellence and variety of the facilities for ambuscades, and all other conditions that

make a land a paradise of native insurgents and a hades of their foreign pursuers. The very coast is a smuggler's Eden. Havana and a few seaport towns between Cape de Cruz and Cape Maysi have safe harbors, with deep water to the very wharves, but the whole south west shore is beset with mud-banks and dangerous reefs, where shipwreck can be avoided only by an intimate knowledge of the intricate and ever-shifting channels. Owing to the steep gradient of the hill slopes, nearly all the coast rivers are torrents, which, after every heavy rain, bring down the deluvium of the cultivated lands to deposit them in the form of submarine bogs, that allow the light *falucas* of the contrabandist to slip across, but entangle a vessel of deeper draught almost beyond the hope of rescue, if its headway cannot be checked at the first jar of the grounding keel.

Burglars that would enter a treasury vault often watch their chance from a hired room in the neighborhood of the bank building, and Nature seems purposely to have accommodated West Indian filibusters with similar observatories, in the form of the numerous small islands scattered along the west coast of Cuba, which enable a hidden privateer to watch the movements of the hostile gunboats.

Yet the task of the marine coast patrols is a mere trifle compared with the problem of checking the movements of insurgent rangers in the forest labyrinth of the coast-hills. Close to the shore—often within a hundred yards of the snowy shell-beaches that look so tempting from the sea—begins the *espinal*, or thorn-jungle, as the Creoles call it from the predominance of spinescent plants; then follows a belt of palms and *caucho* trees, with a dense underbrush; and along the foot of the coast-hills a strip of swamp, banked in by the inland rocks on one side and by the drift-sand of the dunes on the other. At many points of the southwest coast this belt of lacustrine tanglewoods is more then ten miles broad, and as trying to pedestrians as a mangrove thicket, where evergreen and practically indestructible plants sprout in a bottomless ooze, alternating with quick-sand hollows. The Cuban coast-swamps impede the progress of horse and foot soldiers alike, at any time of the year, but become almost impenetrable in summer, when the brooks are swollen from the heavy rains of the highlands and the lagoons can be forded only with the aid of native guides, who take care not to give foreigners the benefit of their best knowledge, though they may consent to accompany them to the causeways which intelligent pioneers might have discovered without such assistance.

These causeways, though often overgrown with a rank tangle of swamp vegetation, can be found at intervals of ten to fifteen English miles, but the Spanish officers complain that their pursuit of fugitive rebels is almost invariably baffled by the fact that the natives know scores of intermediate crossing places, and with a start of only a few hundred yards will effect their escape in localities where their pursuers, ten minutes later, have to stagger about in a network of creepers and aquatic plants, till a sudden plunge into a ten-foot lagoon admonishes their pioneers to admit the hopelessness of the enterprise.

In the terrace-lands the difficulties of progress moderate for a few miles only to be soon after complicated by the danger of ambuscades. The guerillas visit the plantation of the coast-plain chiefly on marauding expeditions, but establish their headquarters higher up, in the deep, bush-shrouded ravines of the Sierras, that rise tier above tier to the summits of the Sierra Maestra, or backbone range of the island. Good roads traverse

these mountains, but, like the highways of the Incas, they lead the traveller close by the gates of death, and as a Spanish artillery regiment toils up the wooded slopes with its howitzers and ammunition wagons, their vanguard is suddenly greeted by a shower of rifle-balls from the head of a tanglewood gully, where big ledges of rock and the barricades of fallen trees form an effectual bulwark against a counter-attack.

"Forward! Push ahead all you can!" cries the commanding officer after a brief halt and a hasty survey of the situation. "Hurry up! There comes another shower! More hail and no weather-shed. Carraxo! those fellows have sharpshooters and repeating rifles!"

The artillerymen close their ranks and trudge forward across corpses and scattered baggage till at a turn of the road they are confronted by a barricade of felled trees, and the alternative of facing about and galloping their horses down hill, or halting to be shot down like wolves in a trap. Their pioneers try to remove the obstruction, but find that it will be a work of hours, and report accordingly, while volley after volley rings out from the rocks above, till the council of officers decides to order a retreat.

Besides these tanglewood gullies there are tree-shrouded ruins; and caves—often groups of limestone caverns with connecting tunnels and hidden outlets, where a hundred sharpshooters can hold their own against an army corps.

These caves that are found along the slopes of the Sierra throughout its enormous extent of seven hundred and fifty miles, afford the native rangers a welcome retreat from the showers of the rainy season, while the lack of topographical knowledge often obliges their enemies to bivouac in the midst of the dripping forests, where in the intervals of drenching rains mosquitoes descend like a shower of hot ashes, while ants and chigoes explore the under-garments of the would-be sleeper.

The consequent disorders are aggravated by the malarious effects of bad drinking-water, not to mention such trifles as the circumstance that "not less than fourteen kinds of poisonous fruits and berries bear a close resemblance to edible varieties," as the author of a work on the flora of the West Indies informs us.

No troops recruited among the natives of the temperate zone can stand the hardships of a protracted campaign in a country of that sort, and the average term of endurance is about three months for the hardy Catalan highlanders and four months for the weaker but more sun-seasoned natives of southern Spain.

The Cuban Creoles, on the other hand, actually enjoy their warpath outings, as their forefathers enjoyed their campaigns against the Spanish Moors and the legions of the Corsican Cæsar. They are, moreover, sustained by the sympathy of nearly all their West Indian neighbors, and will achieve their independence if one of their revolts should ever, for a few months, be aided by an uprising of the Spanish Republicans.

FELIX OSWALD.

CHEMISTS AS LEADERS.

THE historians of human development speak of the Stone Age, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age, and other ages, meaning thereby the successive periods of human activity that have been characterized by the use of these

materials. The most fitting term to apply to the period which began between fifty and a hundred years ago, and whose development is yearly more rapid and more wonderful, would be "The Chemical Age."

In the past, while what was called philosophy marked a high mental activity, much of it was a form of thought based almost entirely on abstract speculation, for the study of matter and its changes was almost unknown. Instead of the exact observation of material objects and their behavior under varying conditions, and the study of the phenomena of Nature, all kinds of imaginative trains of thought were evolved, and speculations, often baseless, were put forward with little idea as to whether they were supported or not by facts. Even when facts were observed, they were often distorted in order to make them accord with the false or visionary philosophy of the day. But when the delicate balance was invented, and the weights of the different kinds of matter could be exactly determined, and their changes followed with precision, the great principle of the indestructibility of matter was established, and the schools of abstract philosophy suffered an overturn. Instead of the observed fact being subservient to the speculation, the observed fact became dominant, and speculative philosophy retained its value only so far as it accorded with and explained, or amplified by inference, the fact.

All this bears directly upon the conditions of modern competitive life. For instance, men, first of all, must obtain food. To obtain it from weaker communities by force or robbery could be successful only for a time, as the producers were either exterminated or they gave up so unprofitable an industry. The food-supply of mankind depends on the application of a knowledge of the principles involved in plant-growth. The basis of this knowledge is chemistry. It was not really until 1840 that it was demonstrated by the great chemist, Liebig, that plants, like animals, feed. They take certain kinds of nutriment out of the soil, and soon exhaust it. Soon they fail to grow. Liebig showed that if these nutritive substances were put back into the soil, the plants would keep on growing, and that there was no limit to the productiveness of the earth, when properly nourished as chemical science indicated. Malthus stated that the population must be restricted, else it would exceed the food supply. Liebig showed that the production of food stuffs, made possible by the application of chemical science, was so immense that such a danger is not to be feared. Chemical knowledge has rendered it possible to make several blades of grass grow where there was only one. Liebig then investigated live stock and proved that, though animals eat many kinds of food, the food owed its value to a few definite nutritive elements that are found in greater or less amounts in all foods; and that the animals, though seemingly widely different in physiological nature, were composed essentially of the same substances. Thus the raising of live stock and the production of dairy products were placed upon a scientific basis. Agriculture began to employ scientific methods and the cost of raising plants and animals was greatly reduced.

It is not always easy to appreciate at first glance the far-reaching effect of a chemical discovery. The introduction of the hot blast in the manufacture of iron increased the production of pig iron. The invention by Bessemer of the converter method of making steel practically revolutionized the manufacturing industry of the whole world. What cheap steel means to humanity could not be told in a large volume. The invention of the basic process for treating phosphatic iron ores by Thomas and Gilchrist

made it possible to produce steel from ores existing in immense quantities and hitherto entirely worthless. And strange to say, phosphorus, the "iron master's curse," is now obtained as a phosphatic slag, which is a most valuable fertilizer for the farmer. The chemist turned the bane of England's iron industry into a blessing to England's agriculture. Weldon utilized the waste product in the manufacture of chlorine, so that it could be used over and over again. In turn was reduced the price of bleach, of bleached white cotton and of white paper. Books were made cheaper. Education was cheapened. The waste tars of the gas manufacture under the skillful hands of a host of chemists are now the basis of an immense industry. They produce brilliant dyes, perfumes, antiseptics, medicaments, and what not. The astonishing development of chemical knowledge has assisted in the evolution of electricity, the commercial future of which is incalculable. The study of life has been taken up, and by the aid of the colossal genius of Pasteur, disease in plants, animals, and men is checked and avoided, thousands of lives are yearly saved, and the tenure of human existence is far stronger than it was half a century ago. Many pages could be written to illustrate how far-reaching and how little short of marvellous have been the modern advances in chemical science and their applications. But they have taken place so quietly, although irresistibly, that the average individual does not appreciate the part they are playing; nor can we estimate the still greater part they are to play. Another striking instance of the results of chemical research is the development on the one side of explosives and on the other of hard and tough steel. Without the assistance of the chemist war would be monotonous.

The stability of a community lies in its independence. Its independence is based on its productiveness. Manufacturing consists in changing one kind of form of matter into some other kind of form. It is easy to understand, therefore, that chemistry, the science that studies the changes in the identity of matter, underlies the manufacturing arts. Hence the industrial status of a nation may be fairly estimated by the condition of its chemical knowledge. It is fair to hold that the country that has the best chemists will in the long run be the most prosperous and the most powerful. It will have at the lowest cost the best food, the best clothing, the best manufactured materials, the fewest wastes and unutilized forms of matter, the best guns, the strongest explosives, the most resistant armor. Its inhabitants will make the best use of their country's resources; they will be the most healthy, the most free from disease; they will oppose the least resistance to favorable evolution; they will be the most thrifty and the least dependent on other nations. The education of its people in chemistry and the physical sciences is the most paying investment that a country can make. Competition to-day between nations is essentially a competition in the science and applications of chemistry.

It is fair to assume, also, that if men who have devoted their lives to the study and practice of chemical science, and who hence must have the clearest understanding of all men of the true relations existing both between material things and between material things and humanity, also possess the mental calibre that may enable them to be men of affairs, they ought to be especially successful in executive positions. Such an assumption is supported by the fact that the number of responsible positions, at first sight quite unconnected with chemistry, which at present are filled by chemists, or men who have received a thorough training, is large. This shows, not

that the chemist is an unusual kind of man, but that a chemical education may make a man unusually efficient. Perhaps as striking an illustration of this as any is the increasing number of chemists in charge of large educational institutions. There is no position in which a man may more powerfully and so lastingly influence man than that of the head of a large school or college.

The Marquis of Salisbury, Prime Minister of England, is a chemist, and spends much of his spare time, when he has any, in his finely-appointed laboratory. And France now places in the most intricate and difficult of positions, that of Minister of Foreign Affairs, her most eminent chemist, Berthelot.

These are signs of the time; indications of the chemical age that the world has now entered into, and in which it is destined to remain for many years to come. It will be interesting to watch the course of the two great nations which are now under the guidance of chemists—bearing in mind that Germany is now the home of chemistry, nor forgetting that Russia's advance in chemistry during the last quarter of a century may fairly be called phenomenal.

In this connection it may be pertinent to ask what has become of all the clever and earnest young Japanese chemists who have been studying at the leading educational centres of Europe and America during the last years?

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GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES: THEIR TRUE RELATIONS.

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NOTWITHSTANDING the long-continued and extensive commercial relations between the United States and England (using this term as a synonym for the United Kingdom), far more extensive on the part of the former than with any other nation or people; notwithstanding that the people of the United States and of England are essentially of the same blood, language, religion and political principles, and that a fair acquaintance with English history and literature is regarded in the United States as an essential to a liberal education; there are some most important characteristics of England's commercial policy and sovereignty which are not generally recognized in the United States by men claiming to be educated, and by the masses are so completely ignored, as to constitute the occasion for misunderstandings and continual harsh denunciations. If these assumptions are warranted, it would seem almost necessarily to follow that if the true relative conditions of the two countries were better understood, it would be conducive to peace and good feeling, and might be in a high degree influential in respect to a settlement of the Venezuela difficulty.

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That there is much of popular prejudice among the masses in the United States against England cannot be doubted; and the question is most pertinent: To what is such a state of feeling attributable?

A general answer is, to a variety of causes.

First, to the memory of two wars with the mother country. But in each of these contests, the people of the Anglo-American colonies in the first instance, and the people of the United States in the second, obtained all for which they contended; and the parties and the measures responsible for what happened have long passed into history. And here it may not be uninteresting to call attention to the fact, that the grievance of the colonies which is generally regarded as the prime cause of the American Revolution, namely, that the colonists were taxed by the mother country without representation in Parliament, was not in the nature of a special discrimination by the British Government against their transatlantic subjects, inasmuch as historical investigations have since shown that at the same time not more than one-tenth of the people of England had any vote for, or personal representation in, the British Parliament.

A second cause which has been most influential for prejudice against England was the policy of the administration of the British Government under Lord Palmerston toward the United States during the period of the civil war. But there is now no question that the masses of the people of England were not in sympathy with their Government in this respect, and that the British working people especially, although brought in large numbers to the verge of starvation, by reason of the inability of their employers to obtain their accustomed supply of cotton from the United States, followed without murmuring the advice of those earnest and constant friends of the Federal Union—Messrs. Cobden and Bright—rather than that of Palmerston and his Ministry. And in illustration of what were the real sentiments of the masses of the United Kingdom during the period when the outlook for the loyal states was most inauspicious, it is well to recall that when Mr. Roebuck, as the representative of Lord Palmerston, advocated and moved in the House of Commons the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and backed his recommendation with an acknowledged burst of oratory, in which he said that his only fear of the pending issue of the war was that the

South should establish its independence without England's assistance, the House, under the lead and influence of John Bright, discredited Mr. Roebuck and his arguments by such a majority as rendered the adoption of his motion an impossibility. It is now well known that it was mainly through the influence or intervention of England's Queen that war did not follow, when Admiral Wilkes, in contravention of all international law, seized the "Trent," a British steamer, with Messrs. Slidell and Mason, and in the event of which the perpetuation of the Federal Union would have been all but impossible; a result which the government of every continental state of Europe, with the possible exception of Russia, would have been glad to have happened; while the action of the Government of France, under Louis Napoleon, stopped little short of actual hostilities against the Union, and probably would have been more offensive but for the restraining influence of England. It should also not be forgotton that after the war Great Britain submitted our claim of damages as a nation against her to arbitration, and paid without grumbling fifteen millions of dollars in cash into the United States Treasury, a sum which, in the opinion of the arbitrators, covered all the legitimate claims of the United States against her.

With this brief consideration of the causes of prejudice on the part of the people of the United States against England, which, although powerfully operative in the past, ought not now to be, inasmuch as all the international differences involved have been amicably settled, undeniably to the advantage of the former, and are now only important as matters of history, we come now to the consideration of a third cause, which at present is far more potential than the aggregate influence of all other causes, and which is accepted and endorsed as in the nature of a rightful international grievance by nearly every member of our national or state legislatures, and by nearly every newspaper and magazine in the country. And that is the assumption that the governmental and commercial policy of England is characterized by no other principle save to monopolize, through arbitrary, selfish, and unjust measures, everything on the earth's surface that can glorify herself and promote the interests of her own insular population, to the detriment of all other nations and people; and that it is the bounden duty of the people and government of the United States, in behalf of popular liberty, civilization, and of Christianity,

to put an end to the further continuance of such a policy, even if a resort to war would be necessary to effect it.

Thus in a recent speech in the Senate of the United States, Senator Cullom, of Illinois, characterized England as having planted its flag "on all the scattering islands and on nearly every spot on earth where it could monopolize, or control, the strategic advantages of location for its own interests"; and that we cannot "look with indifference" upon her policy to reach out farther until, if left alone, she will finally dominate Venezuela. And another member of Congress, not to be outdone in this line, publicly expressed the opinion that it was for the interest of the United States to put an end to what he termed the "grab-all policy of England."

The following additional citations of opinions recently expressed by influential men in the United States are also pertinent to this subject.

In an address at a Loyal Legion banquet, at Detroit in May, 1896, Hon. D. M. Dickinson, ex-Postmaster-General, spoke as follows:

"In the present condition, we may indulge in a reciprocity of polite phrasing and post-prandial exuberance, if our alert watchman will meantime keep an eye on our good friends across the Atlantic, especially when, having appropriated Africa, the islands and even the rocks of the sea, and wherever else force or intrigue may gain a footing, they begin to take an interest, not altogether born of curiosity or of a purely Christianizing spirit, in this hemisphere. One cannot be so innocent as to believe that the sentiment of relationship or friendship of England to the United States would stand in the way of the settled policy of Great Britain to make Englishmen richer and her power greater, even at our cost. Her unvarying policy is first and last and always, to advance British interests and retain British supremacy—to retain and add to British wealth. Her purposes are material. Whoever gets in the way of that is the enemy of England, and will be so treated—whether it be the United States as a great commercial rival who may be intrigued against and encroached upon and even crippled in some time of her distress, or when off guard, or by a tribe of black men in Africa in the way of her colonization schemes, who may be safely massacred with machine guns."

"The gold monometallic policy of Great Britain, now in force among all great civilized nations, is, I believe, the great enemy of good business throughout the world at this moment. Therefore, it seems to me, if there is any way in which we can strike England's trade or her moneyed interest, it is our clear policy to do it in the interest of silver."—*Speech of Henry Cabot Lodge in the U. S. Senate, April* 6, 1895.

"The English people are a very good people, but they are not the British Government. That is another thing; and in every emergency with which

the United States has been confronted the British Government has been our enemy. She is pushing us on every side now. She is trying to straddle the Nicaraguan canal and to grab the Alaskan goldfields. Whenever she gets hold of a bit of land, from that time her boundary line is afloat. Look at the map of India, and stop and think. That began with a trading company, English—and British arms and a British warship to help it to its rights. And now India is all a British possession. That is the kind of a nation that we are facing. Look at their fancy drill the other day, when in five days a powerful squadron was gathered at the stated point. Is there no object lesson for America in that? I tell you that we must be ready to fight. Either we will float a dead whale on the ocean, or we must say to Great Britain, 'Here is where you stop!' "—*Speech of Hon. Joseph Hawley, U. S. Senate; Hamilton Almuni Banquet, N. Y., February*, 1896.

"He" (the British lion) "is a prowler in search of prey which is land—land anywhere, everywhere—land to convert the present boast of possessing one-third of the earth's surface into one of holding one-half, and then two-thirds—land, more land, to extend the tribute to be paid the British crown indefinitely."—*Correspondent of the Springfield Republican.*

"There is no power on the face of the earth that we need fear trouble with except England."—*President Capen, Tuft's College.*

Such then are typical examples of the counts in the international indictment which popular sentiment in the United States now prefers against England: and which leading legislators and influential newspapers assume and assert to be correct. But are they correct? Are they warranted by evidence? The only possible honest answer, having any regard for truth is, that they are not correct; that they do not contain one element that should commend them to the acceptance and belief of honest and intelligent men; not one count, which if tried before an honest and competent tribunal, would 'not by them' (to employ a legal phrase) be promptly "quashed."

In elucidation of this subject, and for determination of the correctness of the above assertions, consideration is first asked to what might fairly be regarded as almost a test case. Thus the leading prejudicial charge preferred against England is, that her governmental and commercial policy and action, is always dominated by a desire to create for herself something in the nature of monopolies; which shall insure to her exclusive advantage; and from participation in which foreign nations shall to the greatest extent possible, be excluded. Accepting now the universal dictionary definition of "monopoly" in the above sense, namely,

"to engross or obtain by any means the exclusive right of trading in any place, and the sole power of vending any commodity or goods in a particular place or country" (Webster); "a right of exclusive sale—an exclusive privilege to carry on a traffic" (Century),

the writer would respectfully request Messrs. Cullom, Dickinson, Hawley, Lodge, or any other person who agrees with them in sentiment, to specify some one thing in respect to which England enjoys and maintains a monopoly, excepting, of course, the monopoly of sovereignty, in default of which there can be no certain government, or that which is created and exists when a government assumes exclusive control of the production and sale of any article for the purpose of revenue; as when the United States will not permit a gallon of distilled spirits to be removed from the place of its production, or from a bonded warehouse, for use or consumption, without the previous payment of a tax.

A popular and ready answer would probably be "land." But there is not a square foot of the earth's surface over which the flag of England floats which the citizen of the United States, in common with the people of all other countries, has not a right to enter upon and possess and control and enjoy on terms as favorable as are ever granted to any Englishman. The only possible exception to this statement is that England, in common with all colonizing nations that establish governments over lands obtained from barbarous people, often finds it necessary to exercise some restraint over the first occupants of such territory, in order that the desired progress in respect to civilization may not be retarded, and possibly defeated.

A most striking and instructive exemplification of the sovereignty of England in this respect, is found in the recent history of South Africa. Twenty years ago, when the safety of Europeans in South Africa was menaced by a general revolt of the dark skinned races, England assumed the government of the "Transvaal," or South African Republic, a name since given to a large section of country, northeast of Cape Colony; no other government coveting the task or expense of so doing. To provide for the common safety of the various people, who allured by the diamond fields and other inducements were flocking in to it, some rules of government became necessary. And, accordingly, at a so-called "Pretorian" convention of South African representatives, assembled in 1881, a code of rules or laws drafted and presented by the British Colonial Office in London, was adopted, and of which the rule XIV. reads as follows: "All persons other than natives (who were then typical savages) conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (*a*) will have

full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic ; (*b*) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, shops, and premises; (*c*) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents they may think fit to employ ; (*d*) they will not be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic."

But how, it may be asked about trade ? Does not England extend privileges to her own subjects, and impose discriminations against the people of the other nations and countries in respect to trade and commerce ? And here again we are obligated to return a similar answer : namely, that England grants no privileges to her own people in respect to trade and commerce which are not equally accorded to the people of all other countries ; and that there is no country over which the sovereignty of England extends, where the people of all other countries—white, black, yellow and red—have not the right or privilege of trade, in its broadest sense of exporting and importing, buying, selling, or transporting, on terms in any way different from those enjoyed by her immediate and typical subjects.

A brief word here to avoid misapprehension, and in further illustration of the extraordinarily liberal policy of the British (home) government. The sovereignty of England is said to cover about one-third of the earth's surface. It includes forty separate so-called colonies, which embrace about one-fourth of the population of the globe. Whenever the population of any of these colonies becomes considerable, and there is a manifest and intelligent desire on the part of its inhabitants to be emancipated from close dependence on the mother-country, England grants them a substantially free and independent government. A clear and interesting illustration of this is afforded in the case of Canada, which has a population of about 5,000,000. England appoints a Governor, whose duties are mainly ceremonial and nominal. The people of Canada elect their own legislators, their ministers, or state administrators ; and the concurrence of the Crown is not required in the appointment of any public officer below the Governor. Under a government thus organized, Canada makes its own laws ; imposes and collects its own taxes and determines their expenditure ; maintains its own military forces ; establishes

its own banking and currency system, and its own educational, sanitary and police provisions. One of the few restraining conditions on the complete independence of Canada and the other self-governing colonies of the British empire, is that they are not allowed to treat at first hand with foreign governments; for the evident reason that the smallest as well as the largest of the British possessions, may otherwise involve the Empire in more or less difficult and critical negotiations with foreign powers. The self-governing colonies are not, however, compelled to accept the settlement of any difficulty they may have with a foreign government, which may be recommended to them by their home government; and this has been referred to as the link at which the mooring chains of the larger British colonies to the mother country are most likely (if ever) to snap. As a rule the Home Government is reluctant to intervene in the affairs of her self-governing colonies, without special invitation, except in respect to the selection and control of strategical positions regarded as important for the defence of the Empire. One, and one only (interesting), exception to the rule, that the British colonies shall not treat directly with foreign powers, has been made, and that in the case of Canada; which unquestionably in view of her possible reciprocal trade relations with the United States, is allowed to negotiate directly with the foreign nations in respect to her commercial tariff. Canada, as well as other of the British colonies, having adopted the "protective" policy, accordingly imposes duties on her imports which in some instances are very high, and almost prohibitive. But whatever may be the tariff rates established by Canada, or by any of the other British colonies, they are uniform as respects the imports of all nations; and no discriminating rates would be sanctioned by the Imperial Government in any colonial tariff rates unless to meet an equivalent discrimination. The fact also that the tariff rates of Canada are regarded by the mercantile community of England as prejudicial to their interests, and have long been a subject of complaint, has never induced the Home Government to take action on the subject. Another illustration to the same effect is to be found in the fact that, when the Council of India (the immediate governing power of that country) partly for the purpose of revenue, and partly at the demand of Indian manu-

facturers for protection, imposed a custom tax on the importation of cotton fabrics into India, the manufacturers of England united in opposition to such an extent that it constituted an important element in the recent election that resulted in the displacement of the Liberal (Rosebery) administration; and yet the Indian duties on the importation of British cotton fabrics have not as yet been abrogated.

The allegation that the British Government exacts tributes of its subjects, has not even so much as a shadow of a foundation. England does not take from any of her citizens or subjects as much as a sixpence which can merit the name of tribute. She expects that such of her colonies as have sought and been accorded the right of self-government will, in the main, defray the expenses of such government. And this they do by such methods of taxation as legislators chosen by them shall determine; subject only to the limitation that the taxes imposed shall be uniform on all persons and on all subjects of trade or commerce. Thus the comparatively small Island of Jamaica, with a population in 1891 of 639,431, of which more than two-thirds are negroes, has a legislative assembly, and by its enactment collects a considerable revenue from export duties on rum. But if an Englishman desires to export this commodity from Jamaica he cannot do it under any more favorable terms than are accorded to a citizen of the United States, or of any other country. Even the very small group of West India Islands known as the "Caymans," with a population of less than five thousand, have their own legislative council, and enact their own laws.

In all of the thirty-one colonies of England which are not self-governing, and in which the Crown has an effective control of legislation, and also over the public officers, special attention is given to popular education; and schools have been established, which as a rule are free and non-sectarian, and are liberally aided by government grants; and attendance upon which is often compulsory. Thus in the island of Jamaica there were in 1892 nearly 900 government schools, besides many private schools. In South Africa—Cape Colony—the British Government makes large annual grants in aid of education in every stage. The number of assisted schools is about one thousand, and in aid of them the government grants about an equal sum with that raised by free and voluntary effort. Industrial training is also specially provided for boys and

girls of the aboriginal population, of whom about fifty thousand at present are reported as attending school. Even in the much criticised little colony of Honduras, in Central America, with a population of less than 30,000, and the only one of the Central American States south of Mexico that does not habitually revolutionize, the government aids in the keeping up of denominational schools, as none other probably would be countenanced by the people; but subjects them to regular and close inspection. In fact England leads the way in her efforts, independent of creed or sex, to educate the world's population, and probably accomplishes more in this direction than all the rest of the civilized and christianized nations.

A half century ago England at the cost of $100,000,000, and without shedding a drop of blood, abolished slavery; and to-day, wherever the British flag floats in sovereignty no man can, under any circumstances, hold any other man as a slave. A quarter of a century later the United States effected the same result at a cost of several hundred thousand lives, and over nine thousand millions of money, or property.

A reflection is made on England for massacring tribes of black men in Africa with machine guns. But machine guns could never be used for a better purpose than to put a stop at once and forever, as England has done wherever she has sovereignty, to the ancient and horrible savagery of human sacrifices and cannibalism. And when England has once put down savagery, that rendered civilization impossible, her treatment of the subjugated and uncivilized has always been merciful. The conquered Kaffir, or Zulu of South Africa, has become under English rule a freeman; endowed for the first time with an absolute title to land, and other property the results of his own labor; and if injustice is done him, the English courts are open to him for redress and protection as speedily and impartially as to any white man.

The British American colonies have never warred with their Indians; never robbed them of their land, but have always dealt kindly and justly by them. A current proverb in the United States, that the only good Indian is a dead Indian, finds no favor in Canada. England, moreover, is the only nation that has ever established a hospital exclusively for the care of sick or suffering North American Indians. On the other hand, the treatment of

their Indians by the United States has always been notoriously arbitrary and bad. It has sequestered their land; arbitrarily abrogated its treaties with them; almost continually provoked them to hostilities, and nearly effected their extermination.

Senator Hawley extends an invitation to the people of the United States to "look at the map of India, and stop and think," for the purpose of understanding "the kind of nation that we are facing": "for now India is all a British possession." This is most excellent advice. Let us accept it. Before England acquired control of India the mass of her great population was almost as low down in the scale of civilization as it was possible to conceive. From the time of Alexander the Great, and probably for unnumbered centuries before, the experience of the country had been one of constant war and disorder, contingent in great part on foreign invasions, and in part on the bitter antagonism of domestic religious creeds and diversity of races. The Indian ryot (peasant) was practically a slave with no acknowledged right to the products of his labor; and when any one, of either high or low degree, acquired anything in the way of money-wealth, it was almost the universal practice to speedily secrete it under ground, to prevent its arbitrary plunder on the part of rulers. So that the amount of buried treasure, even to this day, in India, is regarded as almost fabulous. There can be no denial that England acquired control of India in the first instance by conquest and arbitrary methods. But in this respect she acted in accordance with the then accepted policy of all other nations; and as at the time when England mainly acquired possession of India the United States did not exist, and her people were a part of England, and as they did not protest, it is difficult to see how they can now animadvert on the action of England without passing censure on themselves. It is also well to recall that England never did a meaner thing in respect to the acquisition of territory than did the United States in 1848, when, under a claim of might and a higher civilization, she robbed, without justification, and at "one fell swoop," poor Mexico of more than one half of all its territory.

The point of interest in respect to England's connection with India is not what she did a hundred years and more ago, but what she has done within a comparatively recent period, and what she is doing now. Her work of ameliorating the condition

of her Indian subjects virtually commenced in 1843, when slavery was abolished in all her East Indian possessions, and 12,000,000 people were at once made free. To-day the humblest Indian peasant is secure in the possession and control of his property, and if wronged in any way can appeal to and find protection in the courts which England has established. As one result of this policy the buried treasures of India are beginning to come forth and seek investment in England's interest-bearing securities. Under native and Mogul rulers, the only compulsory contribution from the Indian people, worthy of the name of a tax, was an assessment on land, which averaged about 12 shillings per acre. To-day the land tax of India, which the government has been obliged to maintain for general revenue purposes, does not average more than 2 shillings per acre. Before England assumed dominion in India, the system of exaction of her native rulers was so perfected that they were assured of the very last penny that could be taken from the farmers and cattle raisers without stripping them of everything; leaving to the tenant class little other than the privilege of living. To-day the existing system of taxation in India, is conceded to be, at least, eminently just. Men of native races constitute a part of the highest Indian judiciary; and by an act affirmed by the Imperial Government it has been ordained "that no native of the territories of India, or any natural born subject of Great Britain resident therein, shall by reason of his religion, birth, descent, color, or any one of them, be disabled from any place, office, or employment under its government." Under native rule the population of India was kept down by war and local feuds to a great extent; but under the British rule of peace it has increased to a degree so disproportionate to existing agricultural resources, that famines are often contingent on the deficiency of crops through natural influences. To meet such a lamentable condition of affairs the British Government has reserved from its annual revenues, and so created, a large "famine fund," which is solely applicable to relieving popular distress occasioned by a scarcity of food. Has anything like this ever been done by any other civilized and Christianized Government? In fact, it is not too much to say that the present population of India would not have found food under any previous government of that country; and that its very existence has been made possible only through the

conditions of food production and distribution established by England's government.

Popular education in India is systematically promoted by England; and the number of schools supported or aided by public funds, and controlled by departments of education in every province, is now upwards of 150,000; rising from elementary village schools to high schools and colleges.

Since the Indian mutiny in 1857 the government has expended a large amount—at present many millions per annum—on works of public utility for the purpose of increasing and cheapening (through roads, canals, and railroads) the means of transportation, for promoting irrigation, and especially for favoring the use of new tools and new methods for cultivating the soil. The result of this policy has been greatly to increase the annual food product of the country and the opportunities for the industrial employment of its people. Thus in 1880 India exported less than 500,000 bushels of wheat, but at the present time her annual export is not less than 30,000,000 bushels.

One blessing which the British occupation of India has given the world should not be overlooked. Formerly all cinchona-bark, from which quinine is manufactured, came from the forests of the northwestern states of South America; and as the cinchona trees were not under any system of cultivation, and as the methods of collecting their bark were destructive of the tree, it was easy to see that, under a continually increasing demand, this most important natural product would soon be exhausted. Moved by such considerations the government of England determined to make the attempt to cultivate the cinchona tree in India, and, calling in the aid of the best botanists, finally succeeded in so doing, although a previous like effort on the part of the Dutch government had failed in Java. The result has been that the supply of quinine is now practically inexhaustible; and in place of being formerly worth its weight in gold, its price is now brought within the means of the poorest people, who most need it. How British Indian quinine has become an instrumentality of war, as well as of peace, is shown by the fact that the French in Madagascar, and the Spaniards in Cuba, have recently deemed an adequate supply of it as essential as that of shot or shell.

In short there is no government in the world whose administration is more honestly conducted, and which is doing more for

the material good of the governed, than the present English government of India. And the secret of England's success in ruling the vast congeries of people known as India, a fifth of the population of the globe—288,000,000 in 1891—made up of different races and religions, and with eighty different languages, lies mainly in the fact that in no country, except America and Great Britain and her colonies, is the individual so little interfered with by the government. No kind of pressure is put upon the Indian to be anything but what he pleases. He is exempt from military conscription. He may profess what religion he likes; express any opinion; enjoy the right of public meeting, and can criticise the government freely without fear of consequences. And the attitude of the government towards its subjects in later years has been always one of help and encouragement.

Another even more instructive illustration of the treatment and policy of the government of England in respect to her subjects or dependents, is to be found in the recent experience of Egypt. Previous to the English protectorate, consequent upon the suppression of the rebellion under Arabi-Pasha in 1882, the condition of the country was wretched almost beyond conception. Its revenue system, in accordance with Asiatic ideas, comprehended nearly every form of iniquitous extortion. Under the rule of Ismail-Pasha (the Khedive who built the Suez Canal with the enforced and unpaid labor of his subjects), the acknowledged revenue annually collected from less than 5,000,000 population was about £16,000,000 ($80,000,000); while apart from this sum, the amount that was wrung from the miserable peasantry, which never found its way into any official ledger, was also very considerable. The first thing an English finance committee of experts effected, was to reduce the annual taxation of $80,000,000 to $50,000,000, which, apart from money terms, included a sum total of vexatious and petty exactions that cannot well be expressed in figures. The results of a continuance of this policy by England has been almost without precedent in the world's fiscal history. At no previous period since Egypt began to have a name has the fellah lived under a government so careful to protect his rights. For the first time he is allowed to control the fruits of his labor. To-day under England's rule he knows exactly the amount of taxes he has to pay, and when he has to pay them;

and that when he has once paid the legal amount, no official, big or small, has a right to extort from him one single piastre beyond it. He knows, too, that he cannot at any moment be seized and dragged off as formerly, to perhaps some different part of the country, to work under constant dread of the whip, at any task suggested by the caprice of the Khedive, or of some powerful Pasha. Under such circumstances Egypt has never, certainly not within a recent period, enjoyed so large a measure of prosperity. Notwithstanding the recent universal decline in price of agricultural staples, the Egyptian products and exports of cotton, sugar, tobacco, wheat, etc., have rapidly increased; the annual value of its cotton crop having risen, even under falling prices, from $37,000,000 in 1888 to $48,000,000 in 1894. When England first occupied the country the four per cent. Egyptian debt securities were quoted at about 50. To-day their quotation is over 100, and their European holders have been willing to reduce their rate of interest by nearly one-half.

Fifty years ago the accusations now preferred by Messrs. Cullom, Dickinson, Hawley, Lodge, Chandler, Capen, and others, against England for greed, "grab-all" and "monopoly" policies, had undoubtedly some foundation. At that time the whole commercial policy of England, and of all other countries claiming to be in any degree civilized, was based on the theory that commerce could benefit one country only to the extent that it injured another; and that it was the part of wisdom always to secure a favorable balance of trade by selling as much and buying as little as possible, and receiving pay for what was sold, not in other useful products, but in gold. And this is the theory that to-day characterizes the commerce and trade policy of all nations—especially the United States—except England. Forty odd years ago England came to the conclusion that her supremacy over the earth could best be attained by supremacy in trade rather than by the supremacy of the sword, and that the exclusive trade of any colony or people that has to be fought for costs more than it is all worth. And between 1845 and 1856 she inaugurated this latter policy by substantially removing all restrictions on the trade and commerce of her own immediate people, *i. e.*, of the United Kingdom. And, what is generally overlooked, she gave also to the three hundred millions of other people over which her sovereignty extends the privilege of ac-

cording or refusing reciprocal action. In this respect England stands alone. No other nation that has ever existed, or now exists, has ever adopted a similar policy. The following illustrations exemplify it.

India has been made the subject of reference. But England does not control all of India. The Portuguese, who were the pioneers in Eastern conquest, still retain a dominion over about 1,500 square miles on the west coast of Hindostan, and its native inhabitants are now in revolt. Portugal has sent a military force from Europe to suppress it, and its Governor in command has made proclamation to the rebels that, unless they lay down their arms, means will be taken for their extermination, that villages will be burnt or destroyed in succession, and all in arms will be liable to be shot. The people of British India are at peace; and, if the Portuguese rebels are successful, they will probably like nothing better than to come under the sovereignty of England. Since the great rebellion in 1857, the military forces of England in India have not been employed except to compel the barbarous people on her frontiers—the Afghans and the Chirals—to keep the peace. And the cause of this famous mutiny is now well known to have been due mainly to an assumption on the part of the Sepoys, not that they were politically oppressed, but that they were obliged to grease their cartridges with the fat of the accursed swine.

It is alleged that if the United States does not speedily annex the Hawaiian Islands, England or some other European power will grab them. Let us see what certainly would happen if the United States, or any of the great European powers, except England, should grab. The first thing that they would do would be to draw a line about the islands, restricting to a great degree all commercial intercourse between them and other nations. If the policy advocated by Mr. McKinley were to prevail, the restriction on the part of the United States, would amount almost to prohibition. If France were to grab them, her commercial regulations would probably be patterned after the provisions for conquered Madagascar, which make that great island an almost exclusive French province, and absolutely prohibit the importation of great staple articles from any other country than France and her colonies. The recent imposition by France of adverse and discriminating duties on shoes imported from the United States

would also probably be made operative in Hawaii. If Russia should obtain possession of these islands, and establish her home policy over them, none other than a Russian could obtain a freehold title to any land. No importations would be allowed that Russian producers would like to supply; no language would be officially tolerated except Russian, and no religion except that of the Greek Church. The government would be in the highest degree despotic. If Spain grabbed we know what her policy would be from the experience of Cuba. On the other hand, if the island should pass under the sovereignty of England, restrictions on trade and commerce, foreign and domestic, would be reduced to a minimum; popular government, in which all nationalities would participate, would be established, with English common law as its basis; the rights of the natives, as well as of all other citizens, would be guarded; and, above all, a national sanitary system, copied from that of India, the best in the world, and admirably adapted to the fifteen different races which recent anthropological investigations have shown are now being propagated in the islands, would be speedily introduced.

The bearing also of the commercial policy of England upon the Venezuelean question, which thus far has hardly attracted the attention of the people of the United States, is really the only involved point that materially affects their interest, and as such is more worthy of their serious consideration than any other. As is well known, there have been repeated attempts to settle the difficulties between England and Venezuela by arbitration, and that all of them have thus far resulted in failure. For what reason? Obviously not from disagreement about the partition of sovereignty over a tract of tropical wilderness, which no white man would ever care to permanently live in, and which there is no probability that Venezuela with its sparse and mongrel population would ever attempt to colonize, or properly and peacefully govern. Apart from certain minor considerations, the real reason of disagreement has been, that England wants free navigation of the Orinoco, and Venezuela does not. This is acknowledged to have been the main reason why the last attempt of England under the recent administration of Lord Rosebery failed. But any doubt on this point ought to be at once removed by reference to an official letter, which, singularly, hitherto has almost escaped popular attention, addressed under date

of February 17, 1890, by Señor Paraza, then Venezuelan Minister at Washington, to Mr. Blaine, the then United States Secretary of State, in which he says: *If Great Britain is allowed to control the Orinoco "her vessels would enter the mouth of that river, and would carry to the great centres of population her production, her ideas and her exclusive interest;"* and to prevent such a result, which according to Señor Paraza, "would render nugatory the efforts that are now being made by the nations of America to draw closer their family bonds and have one and the same destiny," he begs Mr. Blaine to request Great Britain to settle her differences with Venezuela.

That in case of the control of the Orinoco by Great Britain her vessels would enter the mouth of that river, and carry her productions, her ideas and her interests, cannot be doubted. But Great Britain has never sought any exclusive control of the Orinoco. She has only sought to have it made free to the commerce of all nations; and if she were to obtain control, she would not claim or exercise any exclusive privileges over that river, any more than she claims and exercises exclusive privileges over the St. Lawrence, the Nile, the Ganges, the Indus or the Irrawaddy, all of which she territorially controls.

On the other hand, the letter of Señor Paraza warrants the assumption that Venezuela does not want the Orinoco to be free, but exclusive to herself, for the purpose of gain through some form of money exaction on the commerce that desires to use it, and with the expectation that this privilege of exclusive control will at no distant day be accorded to her, mainly through the agency of the United States. She has already chartered a purely speculative company looking to a monopoly of the river and its adjacent territory, of which the President of Venezuela is reported as one of the largest stockholders.

The real and only issue of importance in this problem of Venezuela to the people of the United States is, will they unite with the British Government in securing to all nations the perpetual right to the free commercial use of this mighty river, which constitutes the only available access to the great northern interior of South America; or allow its control to pass to a government which is one of the most unstable of all countries; whose commerce is little more than barter; which has no banking system, and whose history is one monotonous record of

revolutions accomplished through bloodshed, and a remarkable ferocity on the part of all antagonizing political parties? Peace and safety to the citizens of the United States is certainly not likely to be assured by any such action on the part of their government. It is the old contest again between barbarism and civilization; with a marked tendency on the part of the United States to favor barbarism, with its most certain concomitant of war.

In conclusion the general result of England's governmental and commercial policy may be thus fairly and comprehensively stated.

Wherever her sovereignty has gone, two blades of grass have grown where one grew before. Her flag wherever it has been advanced has benefited the country over which it floats; and has carried with it civilization, the Christian religion, order, justice and prosperity. England has always treated a conquered race with justice, and what under her rule is the law for the white man is the law for his black, red and yellow brother. And here we have one explanation of the fact that England alone of the nations has been successful in establishing and maintaining colonies: and of the further extraordinary fact that a comparatively small insular country, containing less than 40,000,000 inhabitants, can successfully preside over the destinies of about 360,000,000 other members of the human race. England would never have told a neighboring country, desiring reciprocal trade relations, as the United States told Mexico, in 1866, through its House of Representatives, "that to speak of permanent desirable commercial relations" with her "is without hope of success, or promise of substantial results."

What an endorsement of the honesty of England and its people is involved in the reported and probable fact, that the Church of Rome makes that non-Catholic country and its much abused bankers, its fiduciary guardian of the fiscal resources necessary for the maintenance of its vast missionary enterprises and other religious objects, and which experience has shown cannot be intrusted with an equal degree of confidence to any other country. And a similar action and belief on the part of other foreign purse-holders, accounts undoubtedly in a large degree for the low rate of interest on money capital in England (British 2¾ per cent. Consols, rising to 110 in

February last), and the unvarying great demand for her national securities.

But some may here ask: How about the wrongs and abuses of Ireland and her people on the part of England. The answer is that they originated in an old-time theory, once accepted and practised by all nations, that might makes right, and that differences in religious belief warrant persecution and a debarment from all participation in government. And it is this policy that has entailed a condition of affairs in Ireland that has not been easy to remedy. But England now leads the way among the nations in the utter repudiation of this policy, and the day cannot be far distant when the grievances of Ireland will be amicably and satisfactorily settled by her. And that real progress in this direction has been attained is proved by the fact that no subject of England in Ireland, or any other country under her sovereignty, is now debarred from participating in her government by reason of his religious belief, which is more than can be affirmed of the condition of affairs in some other countries claiming to be free, christianized, and civilized.

If the Englishman is unbending and determined to have his way, such characteristics are due to the Anglo-Saxon element in him; and this as participated in by the people of the United States has been the main cause of their development and prosperity as a nation.

The reason why England is hated by other nations is because she is feared, and she is feared mainly by reason of the success of her commercial policy, which has brought her not only wealth, but strength. She is envied, too, by unsuccessful rivals in common industrial fields. But the United States as a nation is hated and distrusted in an equal degree. There is not a government on the American continent, except Canada and Venezuela, that does not both fear and hate her; and if the United States decides in favor of the free navigation of the Orinoco the latter will speedily be accounted among her most bitter enemies. All countries save England, and possibly Russia and Japan, would rejoice at the dissolution of the Federal Union.

The United States now stands at the parting of the ways. Shall she by antagonism with England bring about for herself a national isolation, with the inevitable result of dwarfing the intellectual and industrial energies of her people; or by strength-

ening the bonds of peace and friendship with England, unite the two foremost and most progressive nations of the world for the joint attainment of those results that constitute national greatness? If it were certain, as it probably is, that England will continue her present commercial policy, it would be for the true interests of the United States that England should further extend her sovereignty over the surface of the earth; for then the people of the United States would have the privilege of unrestricted trade with all the land and all subjects of England without the expense of governing them.

Some years since in a social conversation with one of the ablest men that England ever sent to represent her diplomatically at Washington, the question was put to him: "Do you think that war between the United States and England is ever again likely to occur?" The answer was promptly: "Considering the many ties and common interests that unite the two nations, such an occurrence does not seem possible." Then, hesitating for a moment, he continued: "But when I consider the resources, energy and skill of your people, the thought sometimes occurs to me, that if the United States were to adopt the commercial policy of England she might so crowd us out of the markets of the world, on which my countrymen so largely depend for industrial employment and support, that England might have to fight for her existence."

If, now, this adventitious supposition on the part of this wise English diplomat is warranted, it would seem to be wisdom on the part of such of the people of the United States as hate England and desire to humiliate her, to adopt as soon as possible her commercial policy.

DAVID A. WELLS.

POSSIBLE COMPLICATIONS OF THE CUBAN QUESTION.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

Is a war between the United States and Spain among the probabilities of the near future? Should such a contest prove unavoidable, would Spain be able to secure an ally among the European powers? Assuming that she obtained the aid of a strong naval power, should we in our turn require assistance, and, if so, whence would it come? These are questions which diplomatists have been discussing for some time, and they are beginning to force themselves upon the whole American community. We believe that a review of the international situation will show that the drift of events is likely to force the Madrid Government to declare war against this country, and that it will strive to gain the active co-operation of either France or Germany, but that the effort will fail through the interposition of either Russia or England, both of which powers desire the good will of the United States.

I.

If, before the Cuban insurrection became the subject of debate in Congress, the President had issued a proclamation announcing that a state of war existed in Cuba, and enjoining the observance of a strict neutrality between the belligerents, the revolutionists would have acquired the desired status of belligerency, while the Madrid Government would have had no reasonable ground for objecting to the declaration. Mr. Cleveland would have simply made a statement of fact, attested by the necessity of maintaining over 100,000 soldiers in Cuba, and by the explicit acknowledgment on the part of Prime Minister Canovas del Castillo that the island is the scene of "civil war." But our Executive

has thus far refrained from recognizing the Cuban insurgents as belligerents, in this respect conforming to the precedent set by General Grant, who, although the former Cuban rebellion lasted through both of his administrations, steadily refused to give its promoters the status of belligerency. In the present case, however, the silence of the President has had consequences which, perhaps, were not anticipated. It has provoked so zealous an advocacy of the Cuban cause throughout this country, and such fervid expressions of opinion in Congress, that now, in the eyes of the American people, and of the Spanish people as well, a recognition of belligerency has acquired a significance which, normally, a mere statement of fact would not possess. It has come to be felt on both sides of the Atlantic that in this instance a recognition of belligerency would be introductory to a recognition of independence, which is a very different thing, and would undoubtedly constitute a *casus belli*. Indeed, the resolutions, which, at the hour when we write, seem on the point of being adopted by Congress, not only declare that a state of war entitling both parties to the technical status of belligerents exists in Cuba, but request the President to use his good offices to secure the recognition of Cuba's independence by Spain. It is true that the resolutions are not "joint," but "concurrent" in form, and, therefore, in accordance with a practice which has grown up in apparent disregard of an express requirement of the Constitution, the President may treat them as if they had not been passed. Such was the fate of the Armenian resolutions, but if the same course were pursued toward the wishes expressed by Congress in regard to Cuba there is but little doubt that joint resolutions, of which the Executive would have to take note, could be carried through both Houses. It is even probable that, if disapproved by the President, they could be passed over the veto. In that event we may take for granted that the will of Congress would be obeyed by the Chief Magistrate. But an offer on the part of Mr. Cleveland to mediate between Spain and the Cuban insurgents, even if accompanied with a proposal to guarantee the payment of a large sum of money as the price of Cuban independence, could not, in the existing state of public feeling in Spain, be accepted by the Madrid Government without exciting a popular uprising, which not only would cause the downfall of the present Ministry, but would endanger the monarchy. We

may, therefore, assume that the offer would not merely be rejected, but rejected in such terms as would add to the irritation already exhibited by Congress, and impel that body to take the decisive step of acknowledging the independence of the Cuban republic. If this were not promptly followed by a declaration of war upon the part of Spain, the Cabinet headed by Señor Canovas del Castillo would be replaced by another, which would reflect more faithfully the resentment of the Spanish people. But no intelligent Spaniard can be under any illusions as to the outcome of the trial of strength thus challenged, provided the contest were confined to Spain and the United States. Not only would Cuba be lost, but Spain has other insular possessions of which, were she beaten at sea, she might be deprived. We refer, of course, to Porto Rico, to the Canary Islands, to the Philippine Archipelago, and to the Balearic Isles, one of which, Minorca, was once held by England for a considerable period.

II.

With so much at stake, the Madrid Government would undoubtedly make the most strenuous endeavors to secure the aid of one of the great maritime powers of Europe. It is easy to foresee that Spain in her extremity would address herself with special earnestness to Germany and France. If her retention of Cuba were guaranteed by the German Emperor, Spain could afford to gratify his hunger for colonial possessions by a cession of the Caroline Islands in the Pacific, and of the Canaries in the Atlantic. Sooner than abandon the Queen of the Antilles to the revolutionists or to the United States, the Spanish people might even be willing to sell or give Cuba itself to a European ally. By resorting to such an expedient they would but do what France did in 1763, when she ceded Louisiana to Spain, and what Spain herself did, when some forty years later she retroceded that vast territory to France. There is a much later precedent for such a method of slaking national vindictiveness and safeguarding national pride. In 1866, after the battle of Sadowa, the Emperor Francis Joseph, although anxious to make peace with Prussia, refused to relinquish Venetia to Victor Emanuel, but insisted upon ceding it, instead, to France. We can see, then, that Spain could offer the German Emperor some tempting bribes for his assistance. Nevertheless we do not be-

lieve that he would enter into such a bargain. The interests of German producers, manufacturers and life insurers have sometimes come in conflict with those of American rivals in business, but, personally, Kaiser William II. has always shown himself extremely friendly toward the United States. He would feel, too, that, owing to the enormous influx of German emigrants into this country since 1848, a war between Germany and the American republic would be only second in fratricidal horror to a war between the United States and England. We assume, therefore, that, although the Berlin Government might express disapproval of our offer to mediate between Spain and the Cuban insurgents, and more emphatically of our recognition of Cuba's independence, it would abstain from giving Spain any material aid.

We wish we could speak with equal confidence about the attitude of France. At first sight, no doubt, it seems incredible that French republicans would abjure their historical affection for the people of the United States, and place their navy at the disposal of a reactionary monarchy for the purpose of riveting its hold upon an island, the natives of which, in time of peace, are subjected to odious exactions, and in war time are treated with shocking barbarity. Could the whole body of French voters be consulted beforehand by a *plebiscite*, we believe that it would visit such a project with overwhelming reprobation. Unfortunately, when we speak of what France might be induced to do, we have to remember that her action would be determined by a majority of the present Chamber of Deputies. Now, it is notorious that men accused or suspected of being implicated in the Panama Canal and Southern Railway scandals are exceedingly influential in the Opportunist party—which, until recently, had from 1878 controlled the Chamber, and may at any hour regain control of it. The danger then would be that French capitalists, who have already made large investments in Spanish securities, might be induced to launch another Spanish loan, the interest upon which should be guaranteed by a mortgage of the revenues of the quicksilver mines at Almaden and of the tobacco monopoly. It is not likely that the Madrid Government would consent thus to incumber its last valuable resources without obtaining a promise that the mortgagees would use every effort to procure the co-operation of the French republic with Spain against the United

States. Prolonged experience has shown that it would not be difficult to enlist a majority of the Paris newspapers, and many conspicuous Deputies and ex-Ministers, in behalf of any enterprise backed by free-spending financiers. Nor would there be wanting specious arguments for a coalition of France with Spain. The latter country would doubtless offer to renounce in favor of France her pretensions to Morocco. It might be urged also that the encouragement, given by the United States to Cuba to-day, might be offered to a revolt in the French West Indian possessions to-morrow, or to a Brazilian invasion of territory claimed by French Guiana. Nor should it be forgotten that whatever plausibility such pleas, backed by secret bribes, might now have, is liable to be enhanced at any hour through a successful uprising of republicans in Spain, which is now denuded of most of the regular army hitherto relied upon to uphold the monarchy. As between a Spanish republic and the United States, it is to be feared that certain Opportunist leaders would not hesitate to side with the former, provided the operation promised to prove as lucrative as did their connection with the Panama Canal. As the Opportunists are masters of the Senate, it would only be needful to recover the ascendency in the Chamber of Deputies, which until lately they possessed, in order to array in defence of Spain the French navy, which, next to that of England, is the most powerful on earth.

Nevertheless, although the Opportunists should regain control of the Chamber, and be willing, for reasons of their own, to answer the appeal of the Spaniards, we believe that they would be restrained by the veto of another European power. It is improbable that the Emperor of Russia at such a conjuncture would abjure the age-long friendship of the House of Romanoff for this country, a friendship which has been proved more than once in worst extremes. Besides, if France is to be his coadjutor in the great European war which has been so long thought to be impending, it is of paramount interest to him that her naval as well as military strength should be preserved intact. He would be as much averse to seeing French ironclads imperilled in a needless contest with the United States as are the two central powers to beholding the troops of their Italian ally wasted in Abyssinia. Our conclusion is that, were a combination with Spain to be so much as mooted in the French Chamber

of Deputies, the Czar, through his ambassador at Paris, would interpose a remonstrance so strenuous that the scheme would be at once abandoned.

III.

LET us assume, however, for the sake of argument, that the Czar might fail us in our emergency, and that the purchased tools of Spain might seem upon the point of seducing French republicans into a league with the Spanish monarchy, for the purpose of suppressing the Cuban insurrection and of punishing the United States for their expression of sympathy for the insurgents. It is possible that even then, when our demonstrations in the cause of humanity and liberty had brought us to the verge of a fight against great odds, we might not find ourselves without a friend. That friend might prove to be Great Britain, although three months ago, during the fortnight succeeding the publication of Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela message, such a supposition would have seemed absurd. But no reasonable American can have marked the amazing revolution in British public opinion and public feeling since New Year's Day; no one can have observed the willingness now exhibited to admit that Mr. Cleveland was right in thinking that the whole boundary question ought to be submitted to arbitration—a willingness exemplified not only by the Liberal opposition, but seemingly by the Unionist Government as well—no one, we repeat, an have noted these things, without recognizing the signs of a respect for the United States which, although tardy, is profound; and also of a good will which, while not spontaneous or universal, seems certainly to have become predominant. It is never too late to mend, and who shall say that wise British ministers, who have undergone a change of heart, might not bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and seize a precious opportunity to extirpate at a stroke the seeds of rancor planted in American breasts by British maltreatment and contempt experienced by us at divers times since the acknowledgment of our independence. Who shall say that the British Government might not announce to wavering France that Americans have done less for Cuba than Englishmen did for Greece, and that in proclaiming sympathy for the strugglers against Spanish oppression, we have deserved well of mankind. In the face of such a magnanimous announcement from the greatest naval power upon the globe, we

should hear no more of disgraceful schemes to array the iron-clads of French republicans against the Cuban combatants for liberty, and against the American republic. That in the discharge of a high duty we might be for a moment menaced with a corrupt and shameless European combination, may well be the secret wish of many a far-sighted Englishman, for then, with one peremptory word, his country might redress the past, and earn the deathless gratitude of what was once her daughter State.

When one considers how easy it would be to secure the good will of the United States, and of what value their good will might prove one day to England, one can but marvel that no resolute and skillful effort has been made to gain it. Not that of late there have been wanting Englishmen who have seemed to comprehend what such a friendly understanding might eventually mean. We have in mind not only Mr. Goldwin Smith, who has been a life-long advocate of the reunion of the Anglo-Saxon race, and such representative Liberals as Sir William Vernon Harcourt and Mr. John Morley, but also Mr. A. J. Balfour, the leader of the Unionist government in the House of Commons. On the re-assembling of Parliament, in the course of the debate on the address, Mr. Balfour invoked the spirit of Edmund Burke to plead for a reunion of the English and American branches of the Anglo-Saxon stock, and he averred that, could Great Britain secure the alliance of the United States, she would fear no foreign foe. Unquestionably Burke would have liked to see England and her lost American Colonies brought once more together, but one of Burke's contemporaries not only desired that consummation, but perceived how to accommodate the means to the end. We refer to Lord Shelburne, who for a time directed the negotiations which preceded the treaty of peace concluded in 1783 between Great Britain and the United States. To Lord Shelburne it seemed clear that, if the terms of peace were marked by the largest confidence and liberality, no difficulty would be experienced in speedily welding the two countries together anew by a community of sentiment and interest. He was inclined to the opinion that, if the colonies were to be renounced, they should be treated with a generosity which would leave no room for friction in the future, and which, by bringing the instinct of kinship into active play, would soon effect a union of hearts. To that end he personally would have been disposed to cede all the British possessions on

the North American continent to the thirteen colonies, transformed into the United States. Had this been done, no student of history can doubt that an intimate alliance between England and her daughter commonwealth would have been formed in 1798, when war with France appeared inevitable. As it was, the pro-British reaction straightway acquired such momentum in the north-eastern states that George Cabot declared that England was fighting the battle of the civilized world, and the Federal Senate, though it went against the grain, accepted the Jay treaty; while later, in the war of 1812, New England was driven to the brink of secession, partly by the ruin of her commerce, but partly also through sympathy for the mother country. Even now, in spite of certain regrettable acts committed by British soldiers in the United States during the war just named, and in spite of the satisfaction with which some influential English statesmen seemed to look forward to the destruction of the Union by the civil war, it would be practicable for England to win the cordial good will and co-operation of the American Republic by reverting to Shelburne's programme. It must be admitted, however, that England could scarcely transfer her costly and useless possessions on the American mainland to the United States, until the inhabitants of the Dominion of Canada had pronounced in favor of such a measure. There is, however, yet another expedient to which England might have recourse. It is at least conceivable that we may be threatened by a hostile European coalition, because we have determined to discharge our debt to civilization by insisting that to the Cuban revolutionists shall not be refused the rights secured to belligerents by the rules of modern warfare. Let us suppose that in a crisis of that kind the message should be flashed under the Atlantic that in the cause of humanity and liberty England would not suffer us to stand alone. No man could deny that such a message would be a splendid proof of the sincerity of England's friendship, and we might then in truth believe in our possession of "kinsmen beyond sea."

M. W. HAZELTINE.

PYGMY RACES OF MEN.

BY PROF. FREDERICK STARR, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THAT the writers of Greece and Rome in several passages refer to Pygmies is well known. In his book, *Les Pygmées*, De Quatrefages collects these various passages and attempts to identify the little peoples mentioned with populations still in existence. He quotes six writers—Homer, Aristotle, Pliny, Ctesias, Pomponius Mela and Herodotus. Part of what these authors said of pygmies is plainly fabulous, but there must have been some ground for their assertions. That these little men fought with the storks, as Homer claimed, may not be true; that they had a special breed of little horses may be unlikely; but that dwarf populations existed in antiquity and were known outside of their own district appears certain. It is not desirable to quote here from all of these authors, but a statement made by the "father of history," interesting in itself, has bearing upon some recent discoveries and discussions. Herodotus learned of "certain pilgrims of Cyrene, who had received their information from Etearchus, King of the Ammonians. This ruler had told them that a number of young Nasamonians had conceived the idea of exploring the deserts of Libya. Five of them, selected by lot, started out with food and water. After traversing the inhabited country, they passed through a wild region and entered the desert, traveling ever westward. After several days' marching through deep sands they perceived some trees rising in the midst of a field. Approaching these they began to eat of the fruits upon them. Thereupon they were surprised by a great number of little men, much below the average height, who seized them and dragged them away. They spoke a language unknown to the Nasamonians and could not understand that spoken by these. The young men were conducted across a country intersected by many marshes

into a town whose inhabitants were black. Before this town flowed a considerable stream, whose course was from west to east, and there were crocodiles therein." De Quatrefages believed this stream to be the Niger between the first and the fourth degree, west longitude. He says: "In view of the precision of Herodotus and of the agreement which his story presents with material facts of a permanent character, it is necessary to admit either that the little race seen by the Nasamonians still exists north of the Niger, but has not been discovered, or else that it has disappeared from these regions." He himself decides upon the latter alternative and identifies these pygmies with the Akkas or other peoples now further south and west. We shall later find reason to disagree with this conclusion.

After presenting all the data from ancient writers, our author summarizes the discussion as follows: "The ancients had information more or less inexact, more or less incomplete, but also more or less true, concerning five populations of little stature, from whom they made their pygmies. Two were situated in Asia; the third toward the sources of the Nile; the fourth toward the East, but not far from the preceding; the fifth still in Africa, but entirely in the southwest, in a region where only the Nasamonians appear to have penetrated. Two of these groups, more or less reduced, more or less altered by crossing, are still located in Asia. The three African groups, in our days, are found at a distance from Greece or Rome greater than the tradition states, but situated very nearly in the same direction."

It has not been easy for people in these recent times to believe that pygmies still live. Schweinfurth found Akkas at the court of Munza, King of the Monbuttu; he later saw a band of several hundred of these wee folk; from the king he secured a little man named *Nsevoué* in exchange for a dog: the poor little fellow died ere they left Africa. The great German traveller told all of this, but it was to a faithless band of readers. Du Chaillu found the little Obongos, with their yellow brown skin and tufted hair, dwelling in their odd little huts in the Ashango country; his account was quite generally considered a story for children. Other travellers reported little people in other parts of the Dark Continent, but made no impression. Even the presence of three living Akkas in Europe made few converts. Miani secured two Akkas by trade and bequeathed them to the Italian Geographical Society.

They were both males, were called *Tebo* and *Chairallah*, and were carefully reared by Count Miniscalchi Erizzo. The third specimen was a woman named *Saïda*, who was sent to Italy by Gessi Pasha. All of these lived in Europe for years and were most carefully studied. But when Stanley met a goodly number of Akkas, Vouatouas, etc., the fickle public finally accepted the African pygmies. Dr. Verneau divides the pygmy people of Africa into four geographical groups. To present his table will indicate how considerable a number of these little populations are known to some degree in the Dark Continent:

1. *Senegambian Group:* Located in the curve of the Rio Grande, in lat. 10° N., long. 14° W.
2. *Gaboon Group:* Matimbas, Mimos (= Bakke-bakkes, Baboukos, Babongos, Mamoukos).
   Akoas.
   M'Boulous (= Chekianis, Osiekanis).
   Obongos (= Bongos).
   N'Javis.
   Apindjis (= Pindjis).
   Okotas.
   Okoas.
3. *Central Group:* Vouatouas (= Batouas).
   Akkas.
4. *Wellean Group:* Wa Berrikimos (= Cincalles).
   Malas (= Maze malleas).

Some of these names may prove to be synonyms. So many travellers have written with vagueness that some confusion exists. Of all the African pygmies the best known are certainly the Akkas. Descriptions of them are easily accessible. It may, however, be in place to summarize the latest account of them, by Stuhlmann, who has himself seen them and who writes in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* for 1893. He describes them as averaging 1.25 metres in stature, with light brown skin tinged with reddish-yellow. They have a round head, flat nose, prognathic face, woolly brown hair. The beard is scanty, but a growth of light down-like hairs covers the whole body. They are characterized by a penetrating and disagreeable odor. In character they are cunning and cruel, with thievish propensities and many childish traits. They live in slight temporary shelters, and dress scantily in leaves, etc. They have no characteristic tattooing and no ornaments, but sometimes bore the upper lip. They are hunters, and use the bow and poisoned arrows. Though sometimes cannibals, they are so but to a moderate degree.

The term *negrillo* has been suggested for the totality of pygmy peoples of Africa. The term *negrito* is applied to the little peoples of Asia. Like the *negrillos* the tribes are rarely found over large continuous areas, but "are almost always isolated, one from another, as if submerged in the midst of populations of very different ethnic origins." They also usually occupy the least favorable districts in the countries where they are found. They exist both over a continental and an insular area. On the continent they are found from the Malacca peninsula and Annam to the Western Ghauts and from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. In the island area they range from the southeast part of New Guinea to the Andaman Islands in the Indian Ocean and from the Sunda Islands to Japan. In many places they are badly crossed with larger neighbors, but the combination of four characters—small stature, dark skin, woolly hair, short round skulls—in any considerable number of individuals in a given region, suffices to indicate their presence.

The Aetas of Luzon and the other Philippine Islands are a well marked type. Throughout the Malay Peninsula and northward are peoples, like the Semangs and Sakeis, with *negrito* characteristics. Campbell considers certain aborigines of India, with "figure short and slight, complexion black, hair tufted, curly or even woolly" as *negritos*, and so, no doubt, are some of the Dravidians. The purest type, however, is found in the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands. The best authority regarding them is Mr. Man, an Englishman, who spent years in contact with them, learning their language and knowing their life intimately. So unmixed are they that they present a striking uniformity in form and features. Their average stature appears to fall below 1.4 metres. In them the head is large, taking up one-seventh part of the whole stature. The body is well formed and the muscles not badly developed. The hands and feet are small and delicate. The skin is black and the hair is black and woolly. The head is usually kept shaved, but it is probable that the hair, if left, would appear to grow in tufts. The head is short and rounded; the cheeks are somewhat broad; the eyes are round, protruding, quite widely separated, hard and brilliant; the nose is sunken at the root, is straight and short, the nostrils narrow and little separated; the lips are not very thick, and the lower face does not project forward so markedly as in the negro.

These little people are said to be active and vigorous. They are strong, can run fairly, and shoot well, using bows that require much strength in the stringing. They are, however, short-lived. They speak an agglutinative language, abounding in affixes and suffixes. They live in little communities of from twenty-five to fifty persons with a chief, who has little power. Although there is considerable sex freedom before marriage, there is great propriety afterward. Monogamy prevails and there is great affection toward children. The Mincopies dwell in rude huts, live chiefly on wild food, dress scantily and keep fire alive though perhaps not knowing how to make it. Their curious religious ideas, their strange food taboos, and certain interesting customs deserve careful study.

When De Quatrefages wrote his work in 1887, a presentation of the views of the ancients and a study of African *negrillos* and Asiatic *negritos* was exhaustive of the subject of the pygmies. But now the question presents other phases. In 1888 a paper by Mr. R. G. Haliburton was read before the Bath meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In it the existence of a race of dwarfs in the Atlas Mountains of Southern Morocco was announced. A strangely acrimonious and personal discussion followed, which was prolonged through a number of years. It seems that now we must add a fifth—Northern or Moroccan—group to the four groups of African pygmies already known. Mr. Haliburton, prevented by ill-health from journeying to these pygmies, lost no opportunity of securing information. From sixty-five different persons he has secured a considerable mass of evidence. Villages or tribes of these Atlas dwarfs have been located in the districts of Akka and Sus, in the Dra Valley, in places to the southeast of Dra and at other points. A number of different names are applied to them—the Little Harateen, Akkas, Nezeegan, etc. They are reported to be about four feet high, with a reddish ("mahogany") complexion and short woolly hair. They are active and brave. They often perform as acrobats, are "good at single-stick," and are "skilled in hunting ostriches, the feathers and eggs of which they sell to Arab traders of the Sahara." They are not diligent at manual labor, but know cobbling, tinkering, etc. They are reported to use in ostrich hunting small swift horses that are called "those that drink the wind"; these are fed on dates and camel's milk,

and are lean and look worthless. These pygmies are said to use poisoned arrows. When at home they wear a woollen shirt embroidered at the front and back; red leather leggings that nearly come to the knee, and a knife with a curious crescent-shaped handle. They live on milk and camel flesh; the meat is pounded, salted, and packed away in goatskins. A handful of this will suffice for a man's subsistence two days. Authorities differ in regard to the religious belief of these dwarfs; quite possibly the populations really differ among themselves. Some are reputed to worship *Didoo Osiri;* most of them are considered Christians or half-Christians, "as they shave their faces and the front of their heads"; of a few, as those living in caves and tents southeast of Wad Dra, it is said that they are Mohammedans. The big neighbors of all these little people look upon them with curiously mingled feelings of reverence, dislike, and fear. "They bring good luck and are not to be talked about." They largely get their living by writing charms and telling fortunes; "they know the stars well"; they find money for people by writing on wooden slates. Such are the dwarfs of the Atlas. Is it not likely that their ancestors—and not those of the Akkas of Central Africa—are the dwarf troglodytes who, according to Herodotus, captured the fine young Nasamonians? On an Egyptian monument, perhaps four thousand years old, is a quaint picture of a dwarf with the word *Akka;* before that picture was painted, perhaps a thousand years before, an inscription (discussed by Professor Sayce) tells of a Denga dwarf "who danced divinely" like one that had been brought *still* earlier to King Assa of the Fifth Dynasty. These three dwarfs of Egyptian picture and inscription probably came from this Atlas region, perhaps from the very district called Akka to-day. The recurrence of this name Akka in two widely separated regions in connection with dwarf peoples is interesting and suggests ancient relationship between Schweinfurth's Central African and Haliburton's Moroccan dwarfs.

The question of dwarf races in Europe is now under discussion. The Roman anthropologist, Sergi, has found small skulls and skeletons in the old *Kungaas* of Russia, from the Chersonese to Novoladoga and from Kasan and Astrakhan to Minsk. Remains of this same pygmy race have been found by him in ancient graves in Sicily, Sardinia, and about Naples. This population was certainly shorter than the Mincopies of the Andamans, and

was more like the *negrillos* than the *negritos*. Still more, both in Russia and in Italy he finds evidence of this pygmy folk in the living population. In this connection he emphasizes the fact that in certain districts of Italy from thirteen per cent. to sixteen per cent. of the persons examined by the recruiting officers fall below the required stature. He describes this European pygmy race as from 1.25 metres to 1.5 metres in height, with a brain capacity from 300 to 400 cubic centimetres less than the Italian average. Sergi suggests a theory in regard to this Italian and Russian population. He believes in an early migration of pygmies from Africa northward into the Mediterranean islands, Italy and Eastern Europe. In May, 1894, Dr. Kollman, of Basel, Switzerland, called attention to little skeletons and skulls found at Schweizerbild, near Schaffhausen. The skeletons were apparently of Neolithic Age. Two kinds were found, some of ordinary sized individuals presenting the types still represented in Europe; others were of little people, averaging perhaps 1.424 metres in stature. Out of thirteen skeletons of adults found, four were small. Kollman believes these were the same as Sergi found further south.

Some years ago a Prof. Moryata wrote a paper concerning the Nanos of the Pyrenees. The paper attracted little attention, and perhaps was never printed in full. Mr. Haliburton learned of it, and has looked into the matter. Moryata's description follows:

"Their height is about 4 ft., or 1.10, or 1.15 metres. . . . They are very broad cheeked, which makes them look stronger than they really are. . . . In general they all walk inclined forward. . . . Their features are so characteristic that when we have seen one we think we have seen them all. They all have a red complexion, and red hair, but like that of a peasant who does not comb or take care of his hair. They have a round face that is as wide as it is long, but the cheek bones are very prominent and the jaw bones strongly developed, which makes their faces seem square. To this square look the nose contributes. It is flat and even with the face, which makes it look like a small ball, and the nostrils are rather high up. The eyes are not horizontal, the inside being lower than the outside and they look like the Chinese, or, rather, like the Tartar race. To this must be added that they have no beard, four or six hairs, not of a beard but of down, being all they have on their face. Their faces are fleshy, but flaccid to such an extent that they seem to have no nerves, which causes a good many wrinkles, even when they are young. To make it clear, I might say that these people have the face of an old woman. The men and women are so alike that I could not help thinking of the tradition that the Chinese men were recommended to dress differently from the women. If the Nanos were to dress alike it would be difficult to tell the men from the women. Their very large

mouth helps to give them a strange appearance, with their very thick lips, which never cover their long and strong teeth. Their incisors are remarkable for length and strength. Their lips are always wet, as if they had too much saliva, which, to my mind, makes them very repulsive. . . . It may prove that the existence of this race at Ribas may end in showing that in remote ages there existed in Europe a Tartar race, which hitherto has not been discovered."

Moryata's description of Nanos is at times, almost word for word, the same as the description of cretins, as given by Baillarger and Krishaber in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales*. It is not then strange that many have believed the Pyrenean dwarfs to be not a pygmy race, but cretins. It was necessary that some competent person should look into the question in the field. Accordingly, in May, 1894, Mr. David Mac-Ritchie visited the region to look for Nanos. Bad weather compelled a short trip, but in four days he found eleven cases. Some of these were plainly cretinous. In concluding his article (*Archiv für Ethnographie*, Vol. VIII.) he says: "I am inclined to regard them as the remnants of a race. Undoubted cretinism and goitre enter into the question. But of the eleven dwarfs whom I saw in the Ribas neighborhood, only two were affected with goitre. It is hard to believe that the little woman who figures first on my list owes her small stature and her other characteristics to the working of disease. And if those peculiarities are simply the outward signs of cretinism, and if cretinism is due to environment, how comes it that other people, living exactly the same life, are absolutely free from any such defects of mind or body?" Mr. Haliburton calls the cretin theory "hasty." He says: "The Denga dwarfs are the same now as five thousand years ago. We do not hear of goitre" (which is curiously related to cretinism; the children of goitrous parents are likely to be cretins; cretinism is never found in regions or among populations where goitre does not exist) "among the robust and warlike pygmies of the Great Lakes and Congo, who are flesh-eaters and hunters. I am persuaded that if a child of a Pyrenean cretin were to be fed on flesh food and made to lead an active life, he would never show any trace of goitre on arriving at manhood." The paragraph shows a lack of clear knowledge regarding goitre and cretinism, but the line of argument is clear. He also says: "Neither cretinism nor any other disease can turn ordinary Europeans into pygmies, with broad, flat noses, a copper-colored

complexion, and mahogany-colored wool." . . . "Cretinism does not attack their larger neighbors, who for many centuries have lived near them. Cretinism in the Pyrenees and Alps, it seems to me, is *racial* in its character and is not a *disease*, but a *symptom* of decadence in a moribund race of dwarfs, who, in the recesses of mountains, are slowly going through the process of dying out through failing vitality, just as many centuries ago their race must have died out in the plains of Europe and Asia." Again we feel that our author lacks clear ideas of cretinism and goitre, but his suggestion deserves consideration. The question of the Pyrenean dwarfs is a delicate one. We need much further study before they can be admitted into the list of true pygmies. Just now Mr. Haliburton has secured hints of dwarf peoples in the Black Forest, the Vosges, and in Frisian districts. In this article we do not pretend to go outside the somatological field, otherwise we should present the very interesting matter drawn by Mr. MacRitchie and Mr. Haliburton, from linguistics, legend and folk-lore, relative to European pygmies or "little people."

At the last two meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Mr. Haliburton has brought up the question of pygmy peoples in America. Hints of such are not wanting. Some things about the ruined buildings of Yucatan and Central America suggest that they were built by little people. At Uxmal there is a "house of the dwarf," and at Cozumel are little buildings. In 1887 Brigham wrote in his *Guatemala:* "It would certainly be interesting to learn why many of the temples have doors, passages, and even rooms, that a man of ordinary stature cannot stand erect in." The Peabody Museum explorations in Central America have brought to light a number of representations of dwarfs. Haliburton describes one of these as having "a square, broad, and flat face ; Mongolian eyes ; bulging cheeks, more prominent than the broad and flat nose." Various writers have commented upon little Mexicans. In 1882 a band of little people invaded British Honduras. They were from four feet to four feet six inches in stature, and are said to be warlike, to make human sacrifices, to use the blow-gun and poisoned arrows, and to be makers of Panama hats. Mrs. Le Plongeon mentions a dwarf woman captured in Yucatan. Dwarf tribes are said to live, or to have lived, in Brazil, Uruguay, and other parts of South America.

At Mr. Haliburton's suggestion our party last summer looked in Mexico for evidence of pygmy peoples there. No very definite information was secured. At Aguas Calientes, with a population of perhaps 30,000, we saw seven adults, none more than four feet eight inches in stature, in a single half hour. An Indian at Lake Chapala declared that there were little peoples in the mountains somewhere in Jalisco or Colima. Near Aytzcapatzalco, a suburb of the City of Mexico, are some full blooded Indians who retain their old dress and are very conservative, who are of little stature; they are probably Otomis. Little people live near Cholula. Archbishop Gillom, of Oaxaca, assured us that the Chontals in his diocese are very small. All of these hints may lead to something when followed up. Meantime the question whether there are real pygmy tribes in America seems to be really propounded.

FREDERICK STARR.

RECOLLECTIONS OF LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION.

BY SEATON MUNROE.

THE following simple narrative of events and incidents connected with the assassination of President Lincoln is intended to be confined to the knowledge and personal experience of the writer. As he has never, at home or abroad, encountered any opinion suggesting extenuation of the terrible crime, comment thereon is unnecessary, and will find no place in these reminiscences.

On the evening of the 14th of April, 1865, a few minutes after 10 o'clock, I was in company with a friend walking on Pennsylvania Avenue, when a man running down 10th Street approached us, wildly exclaiming: "My God, the President is killed at Ford's Theatre!" Calling to my friend to follow me I ran to the theatre, two blocks away, perceiving as I neared it increasing evidences of the wildest excitement, which reached its climax in the auditorium. How it was that I worked my way through the shouting crowd that filled the house, and found myself over the footlights and on the stage, I am unable to describe.

The first person to whom I addressed a rational word was a detective, now one of the oldest in the city. I asked him who had done the shooting. When he mentioned the name of Wilkes Booth I scouted the idea; but others insisted that Booth had been recognized in the man who had leaped from the President's box and rushed across the stage. Excited crowds during the war were nothing new to me, but I had never witnessed such a scene as was now presented. The seats, aisles, galleries, and stage were filled with shouting, frenzied men and women, many running aimlessly over one another; a chaos of disorder beyond control, had any visible authority attempted its exercise. The spot upon which the eyes of all would turn was the fatal upper stage box,

opposite to which I now stood. Access to it was guarded, but presently a man in the uniform of an army surgeon was assisted by numerous arms and shoulders to climb into the box to join the medical men already there.

I was told that Laura Keene, immediately after the shot was fired, had left the stage and gone to the assistance of Mrs. Lincoln, and I soon caught a glimpse of that unhappy lady who had apparently arisen from her husband's side. She stood in view for a moment, when throwing up her arms, with a mournful cry, she disappeared from sight of the stage.

I now made my way towards the box exit to await the descent of Miss Keene, hoping to learn from her the President's condition. I met her at the foot of the staircase leading from the box, and alone. Making a motion to arrest her progress, I begged her to tell me if Mr. Lincoln was still alive. "God only knows!" she gasped, stopping for a moment's rest. The memory of that apparition will never leave me. Attired, as I had so often seen her, in the costume of her part in "Our American Cousin," her hair and dress were in disorder, and not only was her gown soaked in Lincoln's blood, but her hands, and even her cheeks where her fingers had strayed, were bedaubed with the sorry stains! But lately the central figure in the scene of comedy, she now appeared the incarnation of tragedy. Preparations were now being made to remove the President to the neighboring house where he breathed his last about seven o'clock the next morning, and the theatre was soon cleared and left in possession of the troops which had arrived.

By this time, the fact of the murderous attack on Mr. Seward had become generally known, and the rumors grew as to similar attacks on the lives of other high officials. The streets were filled with people, and the hotels were centres of surging crowds. Beyond the chief actor, the President's assassin, whose identity was still a mooted question, there was none to whom suspicion as yet pointed. All trace of Booth was lost and the direction of his flight a mystery. Had the then unknown and unconceived telephone been in existence, could the headlong ride of the assassin and his companion have been for so long unarrested? With Alexandria, the "Long" and "Chain" bridges, Tennallytown, Brightwood, Benning, and Anacostia—all in vocal communication, what changes in the drama might not its swift agency have

wrought! Although the military telegraph was being worked to its full capacity, the galloping Booth and Herold had outstripped its operation, and with slackened speed had leisurely crossed the Navy Yard bridge, only delayed by a few commonplace questions by the unsuspecting sentries. They were now free from immediate pursuit, and were riding through a country with which Herold was thoroughly familiar. The story has oft been told of their twelve days' journey, broken by rests of hiding, their crossing the Potomac, and their discovery and capture in Caroline County, Virginia.

During that eventful night, urgent was the need of the "Old Capitol Prison" for its strong garrison. On that very afternoon, as the maddened crowds well knew, a hundred or more Confederate officers had arrived in the city as prisoners of war, *en route* for Fort Warren, and were quartered in that dilapidated old crib on Capitol Hill. Fierce threats of burning the building and slaughtering the prisoners were freely made; but the city was under arms, and the Provost Marshal on the alert. Indeed, some of the resident population suspected of secession or Southern sympathies were far from safe. In one yelling crowd that started from Willard's Hotel up Fourteenth Street towards the Ebbitt House, I managed to edge my way in with the leaders, and to dissuade them, I scarce remember how, from violence against the residence of a well-known physician.

I did not consider it necessary on that night to confide to any one the fact that I was an acquaintance of Booth; but I often thought before the morning of two army friends of mine whose reflections could scarcely have been comfortable. They were loyal and devoted Union soldiers, but chance alone had saved them from a serious and embarrassing predicament in connection with the assassin.

Booth had several months previously made their acquaintance, and knowing that among their duties as officers on the staff of the Commanding General were periodical visits by day and night to the chain of fortifications surrounding the city, he had proposed to accompany one or both of them when their turns should arrive. He was a fine horseman, and it had seemed but natural that the solitary rides of their civilian friend might be pleasantly diversified by this new experience. But changes in their detail and other circumstances had, happily for them, interfered with their

appointments with Booth, and rescued them from the company of so compromising a volunteer aid. I may mention here that the companion who was with me when we first heard of the assassination, and who was an intimate friend of some high officials, was arrested on the street the next day owing to a fancied resemblance to Booth.

It was through these officers that I had made the acquaintance of Booth. Being domiciled at the National Hotel, he had during the winter invited them to attend a dance or "hop" to be given there, and to extend the invitation to any friend. They asked me to go, as they wished me to meet their friend the actor. I duly attended the function, and on entering the ball-room (the large dining hall) was met by one of my military friends, who conducted me through a glass door to a private nook where Booth was entertaining his friends with champagne. The host received me most cordially, and I was soon hobnobbing with the popular actor. His handsome presence and engaging manner at once captivated me, and during the hour I remained I had several chats with him, the beginning of a pleasant association of many weeks. During this period he seemed to have been occasionally absent from town, but we frequently met and strolled on the Avenue, usually dropping into Hancock's. The old man, "Uncle Andrew," was then in the prime of his genial old age, and his mulatto assistant, "Dick," was justly celebrated for his ministrations to the convivial frequenters of this unique old curiosity shop. Booth and I occasionally drifted into subjects theatrical, and I, but two or three years out of Harvard, had Warren, Davenport, Setchell, McCullough, Lawrence Barrett, the Mestayers, Westerns, and Fanny Clarke at my tongue's end. I had known all of the men, most of them as stock actors. All of them were then becoming famous, none of them, alas! now living. Booth never spoke to me of the war or of national affairs with more than a passing word, and while it was plain to be seen that he was Southern in his feelings, I did not class him as a Secessionist. It was almost as difficult afterwards to realize, as then to dream, that the mind and heart clothed in such engaging presence was harboring a treasonable and murderous conspiracy; or that the hand lifting the friendly glass was to direct the fatal shot that awoke two hemispheres in horror! And strange, too, were these chance meetings in the quaint little museum which his impend-

ing fate was soon to furnish with the other sensational objects upon which we may gaze to-day.

But returning to that memorable night, there was, until nearly dawn, a gathering of notable persons in the old "Metropolitan Club," then situate on the corner now occupied by Wormley's Hotel. Upon the Club register, now in possession of its social namesake, was entered, in a few impressive lines, a brief account of the night's tragic happenings. As the club-house was on the same block as the Seward (now the Blaine) residence, I tarried there until satisfied that Mr. Seward was in no imminent danger, and then went home to sleep as best I might.

Before breakfast the next morning the expected intelligence of the President's death had spread throughout the city, although in many households it was the first intimation of the night's tragedy. Early in the forenoon my own was one of the hundreds of houses already draped in the emblems of mourning.

Before noon I was at the Navy Yard, where my brother, a captain of marines, had, during the night, in obedience to orders from the Navy Department, occupied with a guard of one hundred men the monitors "Montauk" and "Saugus," lying out in the stream. They had been designated for service as a prison for the reception and safekeeping of such prisoners as might be sent on board. Entering one of her boats, I was soon on the deck of the "Montauk," and in conversation with the captain, who recounted to me his experiences of the preceding night.

Among others who had been sent on board were Atzerodt, who had been arrested for intent to kill Vice-President Johnson, and Spangler, the stage carpenter, for assisting Booth to escape from the building. The captain told me that Atzerodt had sent for him and made a partial confession, to the effect that he had entered into a conspiracy with Booth and others to abduct the President and other prominent officers of the government, but when he found that plan abandoned, and the plot changed to one of murder, he had faltered. But such was his fear of Booth, personally, that he had not dared risk the detection of his intended desertion, and so he had been seen lurking around the "Kirkwood House," where Mr. Johnson lived. This confession was of no avail. It was not admitted on the trial, and he met his deserved fate as a conspirator and accessory in treason and assassination.

On revisiting the Navy Yard on the next day, I found that

Payne was a prisoner, having been captured at Mrs. Surratt's house in the city, and identified as the assailant of Mr. Seward. It will be remembered by those familiar with the events of the trial, that Payne's counsel, Colonel Doster, made no formal argument for the defence, but read and submitted to the Court a most eloquent plea for mercy, containing the story of his client's parentage, and short though eventful career. It appeared that his true name was Powell. He had entered the Confederate service from his native State of Florida, served in the army of Virginia, and, in the early part of 1861, after seeing Booth at the theatre in Richmond, had met him personally, and become infatuated with him. He had subsequently been captured, had escaped, and found his way to Baltimore, where in the winter of 1864–5 he had again encountered Booth. Three years had passed with their experience of adventure and bloodshed. He was now poor and needy, hopeless for his cause and embittered in his devotion to it; and he but little required the eloquence of his former idol to become his slave, and to find in him a leader in any enterprise, however desperate. He was older in character at twenty years of age than the boyish and silly Herold, several years his senior, or than the degraded Atzerodt, whose maturer years had brought no experiences more heroic than those gained in river blockade-running and stable lounging.

Of the truth of the so-called Payne's statements regarding his name and origin, I had abundant evidence to satisfy me within two months after his execution. There is at present residing in Washington a well-known and successful lawyer, a native and Confederate soldier of Florida, who in the early autumn of 1865 became an inmate of my home on his first visit to the North. During one of our strolls about the city, and without disclosing my object, I took him into Gardner's gallery on Seventh Street, where were to be seen photographs of the conspirators. We examined them all casually, and I then called his attention to that of Payne, asking if he perceived in it a likeness to any one. He gave it a closer scrutiny, and then said it "looked like a youngster named Powell." He said that the boy was the son of a minister in Florida. He had not belonged to Powell's company, and had not known him well; but making allowance for the changes that five years might have wrought in his face and form, he felt confident in the recognition of

the individual he had known. These and other items I gleaned from my friend, who had never read Colonel Doster's plea, with which, on comparison, I found his statements to coincide.

But another question touching the man's identity had previously impressed itself on my mind, and its solution had been most decisively settled. There was an attempt made, and by some persons vehemently persisted in, to make it appear that the so called Payne was actually the son of Captain Sydney Smith Lee, late of the United States Navy, the brother of Robert E. Lee, and therefore a nephew of the Confederate leader, and a brother of General Fitzhugh Lee. To explain how such an idea might have been temporarily entertained, I will mention a startling conversation I had with my brother on the morning after Payne had been brought on board.

The Captain took me aside and told me that he had a half suspicion that the man called Payne might be his old friend, Dan Lee, his schoolmate at Dr. Arnold's Rugby Academy, near Baltimore, and of whom I had often heard him speak. He thus explained his apprehension. He had followed the guard to the cell provided for the prisoner's reception, and which had been extemporized in a coal bunker. In pursuance of special instructions, given in view of the man's extraordinary strength and desperate nature, he had caused the cell to be prepared, and proceeded to superintend the disposition of the prisoner to prevent self injury. The man was seated, and his head somewhat bowed, so that his position did not allow the dim light of the ship's lantern to disclose more than a partial view of his features. No conversation passed between them, the officer's duty only having in view such precautions for the prisoner's safe keeping as were necessary and not inconsistent with humanity. He left the door of the cell haunted by this shadow of recognition, but spoke to no one until he saw me in the morning.

The prisoners were now brought on deck to be photographed, and the opportunity was presented for the settlement of this unwelcome doubt. During the sitting I was rejoiced to see an expression of relief appear upon the Captain's countenance, and when he rejoined me he fervently said: "Thank God, there's nothing in it. Dan Lee never could have grown to this fellow's stature: he had dark eyes and fine teeth, while this one's eyes are blue and his teeth very bad." Yet ignoring these essential

points of difference, there were several persons present at the trial, who doggedly clung to this sensational belief. I first met Dan Lee several years afterward, and he then laughingly spoke of my brother's account of the affair.

On the 28th of April, on my way to the Navy Yard, I learned that Booth and Herold had been captured, and that the latter, with Booth's body, had been brought up the river, and were on board the "Monitor." At the gate I found that no one at this time was allowed to visit the ships. The officer of the day, an old friend, invited me into his quarters, and explained that this restriction had come from the Navy Department, because of the numbers of people that the good nature of the Commandant of the Yard had permitted to overcrowd the vessels. He thought, however, that he could manage to put me on board; so, sending for a corporal, he instructed him to "take this man on board the "Saugus," and deliver him to the captain in command." I cannot say that there was aught exchanged between the officer and man beyond these words, but within ten minutes I was "delivered," and received by the captain, somewhat to his surprise.

I soon found myself mingling with the groups of official people on board, with some of whom I was acquainted. One of them was General Eckert, an Assistant Secretary of War, who asked me if I wished to see Booth's body, and pointed to a gathering of people on the after deck. I was soon gazing at the remains, which needed no long inspection to enable me to recognize them. The handsome countenance was unmarred by the agony of his lingering death, which I was soon to hear described. There were missing the moustache and the curling lock upon his forehead, which during the flight had been removed at the house of Dr. Mudd. There his broken leg had been set, and its foot was now covered by an old shoe, replacing the riding boot which it was found necessary to cut off. The body was resting upon a rough carpenter's bench, where it had lain since early morning, and it was now awaiting, before a kind of military coroner's jury, an official identification, in which I little thought I was soon to bear a part.

But presently the scene shifted forward, for Herold was brought on deck to be photographed. As I stood near the hatchway, I had my first look at him as he slowly ascended and moved forward with the sentries. He was not only handcuffed, but to

his leg irons were attached, a chain, and a 32-pound shot, the latter being carried by the sentry in the rear. As they approached the turret the gangway narrowed, and their footsteps along the iron deck were but a few feet from the water. The idea instantly seized me that at this moment had come to the unhappy wretch the first, last and only opportunity of escape from the gallows. A sudden dash to the right, and his impetus would have dragged the shot, if not the sentry, after him over the unrailed side of the "Monitor"; and in two minutes thereafter his parting breath would have bubbled to the surface from where he lay anchored, three fathoms below, on the muddy bottom of the river. But had the thought occurred to him, it was not to be; and he remained among the living a few weeks longer, to complete the doomed quartette upon the scaffold.

I then returned to Booth's body, accompanied by General Eckert, when conversation ensued regarding my knowledge of the man and my recognition of the remains. Having been on board for over an hour, I was about to take my leave, when General Eckert informed me that a military commission was about to convene, and the presiding officer desired me to remain as a witness. Shortly afterwards I was summoned to the cabin where the Commission was in session, and among the members of it I recall General Holt, the Judge Advocate General of the Army, Judge Bingham, of Ohio, and the well-known Col. Lafayette C. Baker. My examination was short, the questions relating to the length of my personal acquaintance with Booth, and to the positiveness of my recognition of his body, and after my dismissal from the stand I was allowed to remain in court.

The examination of the next witness was more interesting in detail, being that of Dawson, a clerk in the National Hotel, who it appeared had known Booth for some years. When asked whether the man had possessed any physical peculiarity by which he could recognize the remains, he replied in the affirmative. He had often seen on Booth's right hand, at the junction of the thumb and forefinger, the initials, "J. W. B." in india ink. This mark had sometimes come under his notice when the actor was writing his name on the hotel register, and he had more than once made the remark: "Booth, what a fool you were to disfigure that pretty white hand in such a way."

Another witness presently appeared in the person of Dr. J.

Frederick May. It having been ascertained that Booth had been his patient, the Doctor was sent for, and brought directly from his residence to the cabin of the ship, without seeing the remains on deck. He answered the questions as to his relations with Booth, by saying that, after the actor had become his patient, a mutual liking had ensued, and that he had occasionally attended the theatre with tickets sent by him. As a means of identification he mentioned a tumor on the neck about which he had been consulted. Booth had come to him with an angry swelling on the left side of his neck, which he had found to be a tumor, and removed with the knife. After dressing it, he advised the patient to be very careful in his movements; that the place would heal by "first intention," and have a small seam-like scar that would be but little noticeable. Booth departed much relieved from apprehension of disfigurement.

Some days afterward he had returned, and said that all had gone well up to the time of an unforeseen accident. In Baltimore he had been playing some part with Charlotte Cushman, where some stage business in the scene required her grasp upon his shoulder. But the vehemence of action, for which this celebrated actress was proverbial, had caused her to miss her aim, and she struck him on the neck with such violence as to reopen the wound, then not quite healed. Further treatment and redressing was resorted to, and the wound had finally healed by "granulation," the scar being enlarged, and resembling that caused by vaccination. This exact condition was apparent when the body was examined in the presence of members of the Commission, thus setting at rest the question of identity.

Then followed the testimony of the officer who had commanded the pursuing party; and most intensely interesting was this narrative from the lips of one of the chief actors in that tragic retribution.

During this time, on the deck above was being performed the autopsy, the ghastly results of which met my sight when I ascended. It was the first "post mortem" I had ever seen, and the only one of which a personal acquaintance has been the subject. And what a shocking change was before me, to find life, health, manly beauty, and brave attire replaced by death, mutilated bone and viscera, and travel-worn blood-stained rags! Even then I could fancy the relic hunter plying his vocation, and im-

bruing his ready handkerchief in the clotted blood, that he might preserve, exhibit, and mayhap peddle his gruesome trophy! I have lately seen in print an account of the preservation and partition of the blood-stained dress of Laura Keene, of which I have made previous mention of seeing in the theatre.

So many stories were shortly after this time published concerning the final disposition of Booth's remains, that I must state, in conclusion, what I saw and knew about it. Some accounts treated the subject as a mystery the Government was determined to maintain, while others insisted that the body was carried down the river and bay by night, and thence out to sea, where it was sunk forever out of the sight and knowledge of men. Nine years afterward I met in Europe an Englishman, who declared and offered to wager that Booth was then alive and in India. He "knew all about it," of course; but he eventually decided not to lose the considerable number of pounds sterling he had offered to risk when I engaged to produce an authenticated extract of the proceedings of the Commission.

The facts, with which I was well acquainted, are these: After the adjournment of the Commission, the remains were, in my sight, sewn up in a navy blanket and passed over the side of the vessel into a small boat, manned by two persons, one of whom was rowing, and who had been detailed by Colonel Baker, with instructions which they kept to themselves. The boat proceeded down the Anacostia and disappeared around the point in the direction of the United States Arsenal, now the Artillery Barracks. In these grounds was the old Penitentiary, within the walls of which the conspirators were subsequently confined, tried, and four of them executed. The officers on duty at the Arsenal were well known to me, two of them being my relatives. A short time subsequently one of these told me of the receipt by him of the body, and its interment in a cellar under the Penitentiary building on the day I saw the last of it.

Several years afterward, as is now well known, the Government turned it over to the family, and it is now resting in their cemetery plot in Baltimore.

SEATON MUNROE.

THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE CONDITION OF MAN THEREIN.—IV.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

II.—MAN'S CONDITION IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

II.—Speculations on the Future of the Righteous and of the Unrighteous.

ALTHOUGH Butler supplies important and fruitful suggestions on the condition of man in the future life, which I shall endeavor in some degree to unfold, the observations contained in these papers range over a tract lying beyond the field he opens. It may be fairly asked: Why enter upon a discussion so wide and difficult? My answer shall be explicit. It is not for the satisfaction of speculative curiosity. It is because a portion of Divine truth, which even if secondary is essential, appears to be silently passing out of view, and because the danger of losing it ought at all costs to be averted, in the hope that even the feeblest effort in a right direction will not be wholly frustrate, but may in some minds operate as a warning.

There is surely a side of the Divine teaching set forth in the Scriptures which shows that the Christian dispensation, when it fails in its grand purpose of operating as savor of life unto life, will be a savor of death unto death; and this under no new or arbitrary rule, but under the law, wide as the universe, that guilt deepens according to the knowledge with which it is incurred. Therefore, the great Apostle of the grace of God sets before us this side of his teaching: "Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men." Menace as well as promise, menace for those whom promise could not melt or move, formed an essential part of the provision for working out the redemption of the world. And I ask myself the question, what place, in the

ordinary range of Christian teaching, is found for "the terrors of the Lord?" This instrument of persuasion, which St. Paul thought it needful to use with the Church in its stage of the first infancy and in an environment of weakness, is it used as boldly now when she is armed with eighteen centuries of experience, and when social and public power are still largely arrayed on her behalf? If not, there is danger lest judgment, in a matter of great moment, should go against her by default. Now the Newtonian law, that action and reaction are equal, and in opposite directions, has its application also in the world of thought; and so often as we truly observe in that world abnormal excess or defect, it is salutary to inquire whether the excess is in any degree due to previous deficiencies, or the defect to previous excesses? It is in this spirit that I submit the present observations to review, and, if need be, to correction. If the "terrors of the Lord" had an essential place in the Apostolic system, they ought not to drop out of view in this or any later century, unless at the happy epoch when human thought and action shall present to the eye of the Judge of all nothing to which terror can attach.

It is now time to carry our contemplation onward from the picture presented by the teaching of the New Testament and the early Church to the later fashions and later systems; the first supplying us with ideas which are few, simple, majestic, and on their human side circumscribed; the second offering us a more copious presentation of deductions, and in our own time also of speculations travelling over far wider spaces—sometimes, perhaps, gratuitous or fanciful, sometimes repulsive, and even irreverent. Is this enlargement of the *repertoire* of theological discussion an acquisition of solid and firm-set territory, and does it represent a real addition to our wealth in objects of faith? Shall we do well to cherish for our own minds, and to promote in others, the hardening of these ideas and speculations, or of any selected from among them, or shall we rather recommend and cultivate, after a fashion now antiquated, a spirit of abstention and reserve?

I shall offer one general remark which appears to me to be of weight. There are two compartments, so to speak, in the vast regions spread out before us, which appertain to the future of the righteous and the unrighteous, respectively. With regard to the first, men have been content to leave it in the main much as they received from our Lord and the Apostles, and have respected

the declaration that "eye hath not seen nor ear heard." But there has been an activity certainly remarkable, perhaps in part feverish and morbid, in exploring the *domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna*, and where the New Testament was sparing or silent, it has been bold, eager, and even dogmatic. This thirst for information on punishments—as to their nature, the classes who are to undergo them, and their duration—does not seem to be founded on the persuasion that there is our home and that, as if it were an earthly home, we desire to know all we can about it. Anxiety has taken the same direction in dogmatic and in anti-dogmatic times, but for different reasons. It is not now sought to alarm men by magnifying the power of God and by exhibiting the strictness and severity of the law of righteousness. The anxiety now is to throw these subjects into the shade, lest the fastidiousness of human judgment and feeling should be so offended as to rise in rebellion against God for His harshness and austerity. That this motive is entertained in good faith, need not be doubted. But the result in practice is that we call the Almighty to account and undertake, on the foundation of our own judgment, to determine what He can or cannot do because we have concluded that He ought or ought not. For those who reflect on what God is and what we are, it will be evident that this is, to say the least, most dangerous ground. And propositions growing out of our own unwarranted assumptions are tendered to us for acceptance with a confidence which ought only to be felt when our reason is acting within its own province and the measure of our own powers.

A special temptation to this abusive course has been placed in our way by lofty assumptions habitually made on behalf of the doctrine of natural immortality, and by the presentation of that doctrine in what I will term a doubly aggravated form. Of necessity and by itself it obtrudes this change upon the conditions of thought; that whereas, before the acceptance of natural immortality as a tenet of religion, the future state of the righteous was the grand basis of affirmation touching the world to come, it defined the existence of all human beings in the future world as co-extensive in duration; indeed, as apparently parallel in all points except the difference between suffering and enjoyment. But when the question of the future life of the non-Christian world was also dragged within the terms that the new covenant had

laid down, and when the destinies of all mankind from the very first were also included, it is plain that the subject underwent an enormous and, as I should urge, gratuitous extension. The other aggravation of the difficulties of the question is one which requires to be noticed at greater length.

The word "eternal" is employed in the parable of the Last Judgment to describe the duration both of the rewards of the saved and the retribution of lost souls. The phrase used in the original is "*aionios;*" and this is applicable, according to the context, never to brief, but sometimes to terminable, and sometimes to interminable, periods. There is, however, another way of getting at the notion of eternity beyond the limits of fixed period; and this is to describe it by negation, as time without any time-limit, time without end. This was the conception which, more or less, from the first, and increasingly in the course of ages, took possession of the Christian mind, and we commonly hear of the eternal punishment of the wicked in the literature of the Church. But, while the word "eternal" has remained in use, together with the exclusion as a general rule of a specific time limit, it has carried very different meanings. It depends upon numeration; and numeration is a faculty possessed in enormously different degrees not only by the same human being at different stages of his life, but by the race at different stages of its development. I have heard a child count upwards "one, two, three, four, a hundred." His numeration was represented by the first four terms; the fifth expressed his conception of infinity, and infinity applied to time is eternity. He was not sensible of its faultiness: he knew nothing of the need to establish a defined agreement between phrase and fact. So it was with the primitive man, for whom arithmetic was "fiving,"* and was taught by the number of fingers on the hand. The needs of the world in its youth do not require the use of largely extended numeration. When vast numbers have to be referred to, it is never for any of the ordinary uses of life, and the purpose is sufficiently served by citing the sand of the sea shore, or the stars of heaven. Very long ago I had occasion to discuss this subject in detail with reference to Homer's faculty of numeration. He never attempts to give the totals of the Achaian and Trojan armies or even the total of the fleet. He derives assistance from the revolution of the seasons,

* Odyss., IV.

and it appears that his idea of defined number comes to a stop with the days of the year.*

Beyond doubt these ideas would gradually open out as time went on. But the Scriptures nowhere, I think, deal definitely with very large numbers. In the Apocalypse, the phrase "ten thousand times ten thousand" is plainly figurative, and the total it expresses would seem in modern numeration small. We have now by slow degrees become familiar with hundreds and even thousands of millions, partly in connection with money, but much more largely in connection with astronomical computations. But there is a curious illustration of the mental capacity of the early Christians in this department of thought. The millenarian idea embraced an enormous multiplication of fruits and grains upon the renovated earth. Each corn sown produced 1,000 million pounds weight of corns. But this fell far behind the provision of wine as recorded by Papias. Each vine will have ten thousand arms, each arm ten thousand boughs, each bough ten thousand branches, each branch ten thousand bunches of grapes, each bunch ten thousand berries, each berry yielding twenty thousand measures of wine. Thus, to express the total, the figure two has to be followed by twenty-four naughts, or the fourth power of a million doubled at the close. But the artificial nature of the process testifies to its entirely fanciful nature. Mathematical methods, however, have familiarized us up to a point altogether new, if not with the true idea of a boundless duration in its strictness, yet with a duration so far extended as to present to us an object alike vast and appalling in connection with pain, if not stupefying when put in connection even with enjoyment. And now, when every one is competent or accustomed to speculate upon anything, it is little or less surprising that the average human mind should instinctively recoil from opening out a volume which beats the roll of Jeremiah in the woefulness of its contents, and which the New Testament seems rather to aim at keeping closed. And as to the conception itself of immortality in eternity, where are we? With all our labor to enlarge our conception relatively to its subject it remains as small as ever. No addition adds to it, no subtraction reduces this eternity. In such imperfect vision of it as by the utmost effort we can entertain, it is so vast as to paral-

* *Studies on Homer*, Vol. III., Chapter on *Number*.

yze, almost to crush, our feeble intellects. Their failure would be more keenly felt were we duly grounded in the habit of pondering the words we use, and measuring their true weight and force. I will give one final indication of the manner in which the human race has shrunk abashed for so long a time from the microscopic enlargement of this question. One of the mightiest intellects it has produced was that of Dante; and, in the first division of his great work, he might seem almost to have been driven upon its detailed consideration. And yet he has avoided all attempts at such consideration. He uses the word "eternal" in the *Inferno* but twelve times (its derivatives making no sensible addition), and uses it almost exclusively as to the region, hardly ever in relation to a soul, always a simple epithet without exposition or illustration. From detail and development of duration he altogether abstains; and it is observable that in the *Inferno* of Dante there are no infants. But how large a space the question of man's condition in a future life occupies on the field of human interests cannot, I think, be more pointedly shown than by reference to a remarkable bibliography lately published which (terminating in the year 1878) contains the titles of over six thousand separate works.*

It may be, and is even probable, that in the days when the utterance of belief was dominant and often arrogant, not only was the doctrine of eternal pains often publicly announced, but perhaps it may have been loaded with extravagant extensions, and with details sometimes unwarranted, sometimes even approaching to the loathsome. This fashion has continued within narrowing limits down to the present day, and two remarkable specimens are cited by Mr. Row,† which may be read with regret. But, before considering excess in an opposite direction, it may be well to dwell for a moment on an extreme form of the provocation which has been given. I therefore copy out of the work of Mr. Alger‡ an extract which he has drawn from the work of Mr. Trapp, an English clergyman:

> "Doomed to live death, and never to expire,
> In floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
> The damned shall groan; fire of all kinds and forms,
> In rain and hail, in hurricanes and storms:

* "*The Literature of the Doctrine of a Future Life*," by Ezra Abbot, in Alger's "*Critical History of the Doctrine*." Tenth Edition, New York, 1878.
† "*Future Retribution*," by Rev. C. A. Row. London (Isbisters), 1887, page 16.
‡ Alger, page 570.

Liquid and solid, livid, red, and pale,
A flaming mountain here, and there a flaming vale;
The liquid fire makes seas, the solid, shores;
Arched o'er with flames, the horrid concave roars.
In bubbling eddies rolls the fiery tide,
And sulphurous surges on each other ride;
The hollow winding vaults, and dens, and caves,
Bellow like furnaces with flaming waves;
Pillars of flame in spiral volumes rise
Like flaming snakes, and lick the infernal skies.
Sulphur, the eternal fuel, unconsumed,
Vomits redounding smoke thick, unillumed."

There is no small talent in the construction of these lines. But it is impossible to avoid seeing that, apart from all other questions, there creeps into this kind of literature a strong element of pure vulgarity. It will be a relief to turn from this unbridled effusion when we come to the temperate and careful statement of Dr. Pusey.* What would be the conclusion, I do not say of any zealous champion of orthodoxy, but of any capable and impartial observer competently acquainted with the Scriptures and the general conditions of Christianity, upon the question how far the present tone of the pulpit and of theological literature assigns to the penal element in the Providential and Christian system of the world an operative place. I say an operative place, because among believers in the future state there are no denials of the abstract proposition that punishment awaits the wicked after death. But this proposition seems to be relegated at present to the far off corners of the Christian mind, and there to sleep in deep shadow, as a thing needless in this enlightened and progressive age. So far as my knowledge and experience go we are in danger of losing this subject out of sight and out of mind. I am not now speaking of everlasting punishments in particular, but of all and any punishment; and can it be right, can it be warrantable that the pulpit and the press should advisedly fall short of the standard established by the Holy Scriptures, and not less uniformly by the earliest and most artless period of hortatory Christian teaching? Is it not altogether undeniable that these authorities did so handle the subject of this penal element, in the frequency of mention and in the manner of handling, that in their Christian system it had a place as truly operative, as clear, palpable and impressive, as the more attractive doctrines of redeeming

* "*What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment*," 1860.

love? I sometimes fear that we have lived into a period of intimidation in this great matter. That broad and simple promulgation of the new scheme which is known as the Sermon on the Mount was closed with the awful presentation of the house built upon the sand. But, as if men were now more easy to be persuaded and there was now no sand to build upon, Christian teachers seem largely to be possessed with an amiable fear lest the delicate ear in the Church and the still more critical eye in the closet should find its niceness repelled by any glimpse of hell, and to dwell exclusively on that grace and bounty, which, alas! are as far as ever from being generally comprehended and appropriated. For, if I am right, the effects wrought by this intimidation, not indeed in the distinct consciousness, yet in the language of the great teaching organ, is not confined to popular exhortation, but even finds its way into deliberate and systematic exhibitions of thought. I must not withhold an example. Dr. Salmond, to whose work I have already presumed to refer with honor, dismisses the theory of universalism with decision, and that of conditionalism almost with severity, does not shrink from showing that man determines his own immortality for weal or for woe, and determines it finally not for weal only but for woe.* When, however, he comes to the closing summation of his teachings, he gives it in the following terms:

"If there be at the decisive point of life, however late it may come, the tremulous inclination of the soul to God, the feeblest presence of that which makes for righteousness and faith in heathen or in Christian, it will be recognized of the Judge, and under the conditions of the new life, it will grow to more, in the power and in the blessedness of good."†

Readers of more insight than myself may more fully grasp than I do the meaning of these words. If they signify that the determining conditions of a vital conformity to the will of God may subsist but yet may have escaped the human eye, and may receive their development in a world where virtue or goodness shall expatiate freely and without its terrene obstructions, this, I apprehend, is the doctrine of Butler, to which I shall have occasion further to refer. But if it be signified that in every case where the process of destroying spiritual life, however far ad-

*"*Doctrine of Immortality*," Book VI, Chap. IV.
† *Ibid.*, page 672.

vanced, and with however absolute a command of evil over conduct, and however fixed the mental habits may have become, is not yet absolutely completed, with every spark of true life extinct, the remaining sparks shall grow into a new vitality, then it might be difficult to comprehend why Dives was not with Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; still more difficult to repress the fear that doctrine hung upon this pivot would empty Evangelical threatenings of their force, would sorely hinder the rescuing of souls and would, as Origen feared with regard to his own speculations, be perilous to the common weal. Ought we not in reason to take a distinction between a vital warmth which is ascending, and one which is sinking into the abyss? In our common experience the candle is not relumed from the dying spark upon the wick; and the movement of death has oftentimes conclusively set in while its mechanical completion is still delayed; nor can any doctrine be more at variance with reason than that which teaches that no process is determined until it has been closed.

We seem now to have arrived at the juncture proper for approaching the most practical side of this question; the side at which we are to consider how our own ideas may most rationally and most dutifully be adjusted. And I wish frankly to express my consciousness that, while I labor to bring difficulties into view, I have no grand solutions of the kinds now in vogue to offer; that I must be more forward in recommending the abandonment than the adoption of ideas; that my prescriptions lie on the lines of reserve, abstention and thereby of escape from extremes and exaggerations. And this I set about with full cognizance of the fact that no mode of treatment can be more chilling and repellent to the general reader.

Let me now consider and represent with as much accuracy as I may the principal forms of eschatological opinion which at the present day actively compete for the assent of believers in Christianity. They are, I believe, three in number, and none of them, so far as I am able to judge, corresponds with the sense of the early Christian Church; while one at least not only departs from it, but seems to strike at the root principles of Christian philosophy as they are conceived by Butler.

There has never been any period or condition of the Church in which Christian thought did not associate the future condition

of wicked men with suffering. With this suffering there was associated no doctrine or prospect of relief, by a preponderance of writers so enormous as to leave outside their band no more than a remnant hardly appreciable or visible. It is common to use the phrase "*aionian*" or "eternal" as to this suffering, but the idea had not been elaborately formulated, and the word conveyed the sense of a term indefinite rather than of one properly infinite. Modern usage and experience have effected a great practical change in the sense we attach to the term "eternal", and this change in the basis has made a profound change also in the doctrine, combined as it has been not only with the tacit but general adoption of the doctrine of natural immortality, but with the obtrusion of this philosophical opinion upon the Christian religion as being, in the view of many, an article of faith. Such, indeed, is the popular idea which now takes it for certain as an article of faith—first, that the wicked will have an endless existence, and, secondly, that that endless existence will be an existence of endless torment. The change seems due to two causes: 1. the adoption from philosophy into theology of the notion of natural immortality; 2. the formulation and distension of the idea of eternity. Let us bear these things in mind while proceeding to bring into near view the prevailing schemes of modern thought on this great subject.

The opinion traditionally established respecting eternal punishment has not had in the present generation any more learned or more temperate advocate than Dr. Pusey,* who also derived advantage from the highflown and unmeasured language of the work on "Eternal Life" which he opposed. He does not, I think, enter upon the question of natural immortality, nor upon the gradual unlocking or unfolding of the signification of the word "eternal"; nor supply a strictly definite answer to the question which is propounded by the title of his work. But he contests the propositions which I have cited from various writers as to the absence of a strict doctrine of eternal punishment before the time of Origen. He looks upon Origenism as an isolated fact; does not admit that it was largely or weightily supported, and conceives that it was condemned by the entire Church, through the medium of several local councils taken together; apparently proceeding upon the maxim that a combination of

* "*What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment*," London and Oxford, 1880.

local councils not contradicted by other councils amounts to an universal acceptance and binds the entire Church.

He conceives that Origenism was unnecessarily brought up in the Fifth General Council, through the gratuitous desire of Justinian to meddle in controverted theology.* He makes but a limited admission even in the case of St. Gregory of Nyssa's entertaining some ideas that leaned in the direction of Origen. He says, however, after describing the final hell, that "no one who can love would be there."† He commends (apparently) the language of Cardinal Newman: "What we cannot accept . . . is . . . that man's probation for his eternal destiny . . . continues after this life."‡ And he appears to sum up his judgment on the whole matter in a question evidently involving an affirmation: "How do we know that Almighty God has cast into hell a single soul, of which He does not know, in His absolute knowledge, that under any circumstances it would continue to resist the law, and reject the love, of God."§ And he adds with tender feeling and wise judgment: "He can reconcile His own attributes, if we abide His time"; thus evidently implying that there is somewhat of unsolved difficulty in the scheme of ideas which he has been expounding. In 1728, Dr. Thomas Burnett published his "*De Statu Mortuorum ac Resurgentium Tractatus*"; a work of great ability published in Latin by him in or before 1728, translated and so republished in English after his death in 1738. Dr. Thomas Burnett did not possess the wide learning of Dr. Pusey, but he had the advantage of producing his work as an historical treatise, exempt from all immediate concern with controversy.

He propounds, without arguing it, the natural immortality of the soul *dependentem quidem a Deo, sed vi et principiis suae naturae originariae.*‖ His favorite statement is that the pains of the lost in the world to come are neither finite nor infinite, but indefinite.¶ He claims mostly as not holding the unmitigated doctrine of eternal punishment or as treating leniently deviation from it, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenæus, Lactantius, the two Gregories of Nyssa and Nazianzum, Jerome, and even Augustine.** He cites the words of St. Jerome: *Sciendum quod judicium Dei non possit scire humana fragilitas, nec de pœnarum magni-*

* Pusey, page 133. † *Ibid.*, page 4. ‡ *Ibid.*, page 6. § *Ibid.*, page 281.
‖ "*De Statu Mortuorum ac Resurgentium Tractatus.*" London, Ed. 2, 1728, Chap. II.
¶ *Ibid.*, Chap. X., p. 301. ** *Ibid.*, p. 302.

tudine atque mensura ferre sententiam quæ Domini ad arbitrium derelicta est. He cites the phrase of St. Augustine for the milder teachers, "*doctores misericordes.*" He laments the careless incompleteness which many allow themselves in the process of thinking. Few, he says, examine the things themselves; they look only at the images of the things; which in their very selves we shall see when God removes the veil, *partim sub occasu hujus mundi, plenius autem in futuro.** He taunts the omniscience of large bodies of theologians; that is to say, their ignorance of their ignorance. He recommends to teach the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, reward and penalty according to works and characters in the future world, with the great conflagration and the return of the Kingdom of Christ. Beyond these limits let us study mutual assistance and indulgence. No railing controversy upon matters *quae nos plane et aperto doceri noluit Deus in hoc statu.* Intolerance in such a matter is the commission of a great offence in the act of correcting a small one.†

He appears, however, really to have practised within himself the abstinence which he recommends, and he adopts neither of the theories which have their own respective trains of adherents, those of universalism and conditional immortality. He severely, however, censures such persons as seem to gloat over pictures of the misery of the greater part of the human race, and thinks it does not well comport with the character of Deity to ascribe to God the formation of a scheme of things wherein so great a part of reasonable nature is entirely cast away‡. I cannot but look upon this treatise as a noteworthy fact in the history of declared opinions on this difficult subject. Tennyson has said that it is the best, or of the best, in our nature which anxiously desires the restitution of the lost.

> "The wish, that of the living whole,
> No life may fail beyond the grave,
> Derives it not from what we have
> The likest God within the soul?"§

This great poet adds to his fine and singularly cultivated genius a great philosophical insight with which the "*In Memoriam*" is

* "*De Statu Mortuorum ac Resurgentium Tractatus,*" London Ed. 2, 1728, Chap. II., page 310.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 310-4. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 307.
§ "*In Memoriam,*" LV.

charged throughout. A declaration, then, of this kind, proceeding from such an authority, calls for close consideration.

Justice to him requires that, in the first place, we should dismiss the idea that the thing thus to be desired in compliance with the promptings of our better nature is the prolongation of wicked existence in conjunction with enjoyment. That dispensation which associates sin with suffering is a supreme law of the universe, and he that rebels against it rebels against the moral order. To reverse that order, to associate virtue permanently with pain, and wickedness with pleasure or joy, is to establish something worse than moral chaos; it is to establish that which could only be established under the Zend, were Ahriman to conquer and extinguish Ormuzd.

Is then the *desiderandum* propounded to us somewhat of this fashion: That we should all long earnestly to see all evil wiped out from the universe? I suppose there can be no one whose heart is without a chord responsive to this desire. But let us observe that it covers a great deal; that it seems to carry us almost beyond our depth; that hesitation and misgiving may naturally arise if we, so infinitesimally puny as we are, in the face of the Almighty Author, are invited to concentrate our thought and to consecrate largely our emotion, to this more than heroic remedy for the disease of all creation; when, in the first place, the best exercise of all our powers is called for in the limitation and prevention of evil at our doors and within them, aye, in the very apple of our own eyes; and when, secondly, we have no outlook into the universe at large, and no knowledge, except at one narrow and remote corner, of the conditions under which its immense machinery is arranged and governed.

We seem to know, and to hold with some firmness of grasp the knowledge, that the invasion and activity of sin are not limited in their range to the race of Adam, or to beings who wear the human form. Unhappily, even in the lower orders of creation we perceive what, if it does not fully accomplish the idea of sin, seems to correspond under the conditions of a lower nature with what would be sin in a higher one. If we admit the authority of Holy Scripture, we are at once supplied with a cloud of testimonies to the destructive energy of him, or them, whose name is Legion. The temperance of the Christian Church has not laid upon the individual conscience the obligation, as we believe in God so

also to believe in the existence of God's great adversary. But I presume that most Christians, who watch with any care their own mental and inward experience, are but too well convinced that they have to do with "principalities and powers, the rulers of the darkness of this world"*; that they are beset by a great personal scheme of evil agency, under which method and vigilance, employing whatever bad means, or even good, will serve their purpose, are raised in their work of seduction and ruin to what seems a terrible perfection. Now I must suppose that the words of Tennyson advisedly extend to the reclamation of these unhappy beings. I do not say that their pre-eminence in evil gives them a preferable claim to deliverance, but that what we are bound by the law of our nature to desire for our own race we must also desire for all those invested with a like title to sympathy, as the intelligent, sinning, and suffering creatures of Almighty God. Yet, from the precipitancy, shallowness, and superficiality of thought, with which this most grave subject is often approached, it seems probable that many of those who have treated it have never faced its broader aspects, or taken any careful measure of the demands that reason inexorably binds up with the principles on which they found their argument. For meagre indeed would be the scheme of thought which, entertaining a keen sympathy for the fallen of our own flesh and blood, had no room to spare for others, and left to their fate all who beyond those narrow limits had fallen into the same calamity.

The real question is not whether we should desire the recovery of lost souls, for which nature, as it is represented by Tennyson, cries out, but whether this should be the ruling or foremost idea with which we are habitually to contemplate the great subject of the final judgment. The difficulty is that it seems to be a taking into our own hands the tremendous question of the readjustment of a disordered world, with no knowledge except as to a very small part of the case, and without capacity, so far as our experience in matters of moral action and judgment teaches us, for the comprehension of the whole. Is there no preferable alternative? Is it beyond a hope to find a form of thought which, without shutting the door on any of our sympathies, leaves to the Supreme Governor the ordering of His own government? Those sympathies can require no apology, when we

* Eph. VI., 12.

recollect how they swayed the soul of the Redeemer as he reflected on the calamities that the perverseness of sin was about to bring upon Jerusalem.* But have we no faith in His justice, in His goodness, in His power and will to harmonize the two? Have we ever taken measure of our own total incapacity to estimate moral actions with exactitude — an impotence so gross, that no prudent man will in cases of this kind ever form any beyond a provisional judgment on the deeds of our fellow-men? The judge on the bench, if he be wise, will not hold it for certain that he himself stands better before God than the criminal in the dock. Let us remember that the rule for us is "Judge not"; and we may be helped in the observance of this rule, by recollecting that there is One who judges, and who always judges right.

It may be proper to offer a few words on the mode now generally adopted of construing the word "death" in connection with the lot of the wicked in the future state.

In the first place, we may observe that it does not cover the whole case: for other words, commonly signifying the termination of an existence, are also employed in this connection; as, for example, when we are enjoined to fear Him, who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell. This double destruction is placed in contrast with a single destruction, that of the body, which is unquestionably absolute, and which therefore must, as it may be argued, have the same meaning.

In the second place, it may be noticed that this method of *hermeneusis* is one never applied to human affairs, unless it be in a sense avowedly figurative, and in cases only such as imply a postponement, not a cancellation, of the final catastrophe.

There is, thirdly, another incident of this method of interpretation which appears to have received less attention than it deserves. It will not be denied that, in its primary meaning, "death" is a word that conveys a single idea. It means the conclusion of some existence; it may be in whole or in part, but always something must conclude. It means no less than that one thing, and no more. But when we examine the peculiar process to which the word is submitted in connection with eschatology, we seem to find not only that the old idea of the word gives place to something new, but that an old idea which was single is succeeded by a new idea which is double. When the souls of the wicked are declared to

*Luke XIX., 41-4.

have destruction or death for their doom, the meaning, as is alleged, is not only that they will survive, and survive forever, but that they will survive under a double condition, first, that of continual persistence in wickedness, and secondly of a co-extensive, and also never-ending, immersion in suffering. There appears to be presented here a good deal of difficulty. If we are told that life in like manner signifies in the future state both the goodness of the righteous and the enjoyment consequent upon that goodness, I demur to the proposition. The life promised is union with God, which is union with goodness. Enjoyment may be its inseparable accident, but it is not the thing signified; whereas, in the controversy concerning the wicked, everything is made and understood to turn upon their suffering, and the eternity of their vice is little heard of, and certainly is not the idea either primarily or prominently suggested to the mind.*

We first become acquainted, not with *aionios*, but with *aion*, so far back as in Homer. It is used eight times in the "Iliad," and five in the "Odyssey"; most commonly it is the simple equivalent of the Latin *vita*, and the English "life," relative to a man. Occasionally it means the heart or flower of life: especially in the address of Andromache to the dead Hector:†

ἄνερ, ἀπ' ἀιῶνος νέος ἄγλεο.

Here the effect of *απ' ἀιῶνος* is that Hector (who was undoubtedly in his prime) is cut away not only from life, but from the flower of life. The clause in Psalm 102, 22, comes near it: "Take me not away *in the midst* of my days." We come next in classical Greek to the adjective *aionios*. But the Homeric use of the word shows vividly that the word is essentially relative rather than absolute. It is the *aion* of somebody or something; not abstract, not an exact counterpart of *mors* or of the English "death." With lapse of time comes a modification of the sense; and the meanings are given for it,‡ *lasting for an age, perpetual, everlasting, eternal.* In the *Nomoi* of Plato, the Maker forms the human being to be *ἀνώλεθρον. . . . ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀιῶνιον, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, καθάπερ ὁι κατὰ νόμου ὁντες θεόι,*‖ where the distinction seems to be taken between survival and immortality; our soul survives the death we know of, but death

* Olshausen, "*De significatione vocis ζωὴ in Libris N. T.*," shows that it means not happiness but life; and observes: *Verborum notio rarissime multiplex est.*
† Il., xxiv., 725. ‡ Liddell & Scott, *in voc.* ‖ *Nomoi*, p. 904.

never comes at all to the acknowledged gods, who have an indefectible existence. But I have not seen in classical Greek any use of either the adjective or the substantive for eternity in the abstract, if we take the distinction between an expanse of time, to which no particular limit is attached, and a substantive eternity, consisting of time ceaselessly prolonged. Mr. De Quincey, who was both scholar and philosopher, has written a paper on this word, and he says, apparently with much truth : "The exact amount of the duration expressed by our *æon* depends altogether upon the particular subject which yields the *æon*." It is "the duration or cycle of existence which belongs to any object . . . in right of its genus."* An approximate rendering of the word *aionios* is perhaps to be found in "life-long." If this be the sense of Scripture, then the phrase as used in the parable of Matthew xxv. simply throws us back upon the question, what is the ordained life of the soul? Is it limited, or is it by its nature extended without end? The adjective will lend itself either way. That to which it will not bend (unless its meaning have undergone some vital change in the Greek of the New Testament) is the idea of a period which is affected by any limit unless it be that of the ordained life of the subject immediately in question. Some change it certainly may have undergone : it would be hazardous on my part to define the amount. Schleutner discusses the word with care in his lexicon, but he can only say the meaning is to be gathered in each passage where it is used from the context, the intention of the writer, the things and persons placed before us. De Quincey conceives that an ambiguous term is purposely employed in Scripture in order to evade,† we may rather say to veil, the question. We have before us this inevitable consideration : a punishment which was itself strictly comformable to the popular conception of eternity might have been set down in terms which would have precluded debate upon the meaning ; and a veiling or reserving, or what may be called an open phrase, has been judged more meet for the purpose with which the Gospel was written. Were the doctrine of natural immortality authoritatively declared in Scripture, then indeed the sense of the phrase would be one absolutely closed.

* Hogg's "*De Quincey and His Friends*," pp. 308, 312.
† *Ibid.*, p. 3.

There are two theories, which principally contest the field at the present day with the widespread and once almost undisputed traditional theory. Of these that which is termed the doctrine of conditional immortality has perhaps the larger number of adherents, and seems to be the better entitled to claim kindred with the orthodox. It begins by renouncing the opinion of natural immortality, and takes firm ground when denying to it authority or countenance from the Holy Scriptures. On the other hand, it renounces the conception of an existence prolonged without limit in the endurance of torment. But it neither teaches, nor approximates to the notion of, an extinction immediately consequent either upon death or upon the day of judgment. It does not attempt to find a particular limit for the ordained period of suffering; but holds that it is limited by the nature of the subject to which it is applied, and that sin is a poison to which the vital forces of the soul must in the end give way by passing into sheer extinction. It protests against the current method of interpretation, which assigns to "death" in the New Testament the meaning not of a cessation of existence, but of an existence prolonged without limit in a state of misery. And it insists upon recovering for the word that idea of a termination, which dwells in it as its central essence. Ethically, the destructive nature of sin against God is taken as the basis of this scheme of ideas; and it claims to work according to natural laws, in propounding, as the eventual solution of the problem, not suffering without any end for the wicked, but the extinction of their being at such time as the providence of God shall prescribe.

For reasons which I have not been able to discover, this theory of Conditionalism (of which I am not recommending the acceptance) is sometimes rejected by writers on the side of the traditional opinion with greater emphasis than the far more daring doctrine of Universalism. Yet it seems hardly conceivable that, if a theory so clean-cut had been the true mind of the revelation designed to teach and to restore mankind, its discovery should have been withheld until so late a period in the history of the Christian Church.

The speculation of Origen in favor of universal restoration, apparently intended by himself for the schools, has in our day been extensively revived *coram populo*. The revival may have been to a large extent vague and declamatory, or feeble, timid,

commonplace; and it has exhibited but little evidence of masculine attempt to grapple with the full conditions of the formidable problem. Yet it presents to us considerable dangers by reason of the fact that it has enlisted, so to speak, a suborned witness on its behalf. That suborned witness is the world of to-day which, as against the unseen world, has acquired a vast increase of force from the increase of wealth and the multiplication of material and social enjoyments, unaccompanied by any countervailing stimulus to the life of faith, and also largely favored by the carnal spirit of division still largely prevalent among Christians.

This theory, known by the name of Universalism, does not deny that punishment is due as an appropriate consequence to wrong-doing. It does not even define any particular measure of quantity, quality, or duration, as the limit of what justice will allow to be administered. And it concedes the proposition that penalty awaits the wicked after death. But it seems to view retribution rather as a sentence delivered, so to speak, from the bench, and administered *ab extra*, than as an inherent effect of a cause naturally producing it. So regarding the pains of the future, it proceeds to argue that an infinite debt cannot be contracted in a finite, and indeed a very narrowly bounded, time. It therefore protests against unlimited penal results from limited offences; and propounds that when the debt is paid, the goodness of God, finding the sole bar removed, will secure the universal happiness of mankind. And some at least have not failed to perceive that the premises of this argument are wider than its conclusion; that, as Origen may have perceived, they include every creature lapsed from righteousness; that "the devil and his angels"* in consequence have a certain prospect of escape from the lot prepared as the reward of their obstinate and ruinous misdoing. And, what may seem strange, it is included in the scheme of these reasoners that the future fate of fallen angels is disclosed in a revelation made to the children of men.

Upon this scheme of Universalism or Restitutionism, although it be the speculation of a great man, I cannot but speak in terms of repugnance, on the following grounds. It proceeds in utter contempt of the solemn declarations of our Lord, who has supplied us for our greater security with two declarations bearing on this subject that are surely of profound importance.

* Matthew XXV., 41.

First, there is a form of sin which is called the sin against the Holy Ghost, which clearly brings home to us that we have a real capacity of spiritual suicide. The quenching of the spirit,* the lying to the Holy Ghost,† which are so terrible, lead us up step by step to a yet more deadly condemnation. There is a sin that cannot be pardoned. This sin is formally described in each of the three synoptic Gospels, and plainly referred to by the fourth Evangelist, Saint John, when in his first epistle he declares that there is a sin unto death which he declines to include in the general rule of prayer for the pardon of sin.‡ The fullest of the three synoptical notices is that of St. Matthew §: "All manner of sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men, but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost shall not be forgiven unto men. And whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of Man, it shall be forgiven him; but whosoever speaketh against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world, neither in the world to come." The declaration is, as it were, cased in armor by being made to reach over our whole existence. That existence reaches over two worlds; and forgiveness can never be, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.‖ Even more stringent, if possible, is the second declaration: "Better had it been for that man if he had never been born."¶ The theory before us is neither more nor less than flat contradiction of a divine utterance clothed with peculiar solemnity. If our existence is measured out in simple duration and if the largest conceivable amount and highest quality of sin is only to be visited with a finite share of that duration beyond which lies a stretch of happy existence reaching into immeasurable distance, then, as the infinite exceeds the finite, the sinner who commits the sin is not a loser but a great gainer by coming into the sphere of living entities. To presume upon over-riding the express declarations of the Lord Himself, delivered upon His own authority, is surely to break up revealed religion in its very groundwork, and to substitute for it a flimsy speculation, spun like the spider's web by the private spirit, and about as little capable as that web of bearing the strain by which the false is to be severed from the true.

It is not surprising to find that those who prefer their own

* I. Thess. V., 19. † Acts V., 3. ‡ I. John V., 16.
§ Matt. XII., 31, 2; Mark III., 28; Luke XII., 10.
‖ Matt. X., 28. ¶ Matt. XXVI., 24; Mark XIV., 21.

fancies to the solemn declarations of the Lord, should also prefer them to the lessons of life and fact, and to all true and searching philosophy of human nature. If there be one fact more largely and solidly established by experience than any other, it is, apart from all controversy as to the relative weight of environment and endowment, that conduct is the instrument by which character is formed, and that habit systematically pursued tends to harden into fixity. This is testified by what is so often said in the case of new ideas and methods, that it is idle to teach such things to the old, and that real progress is only to be made by impressing them upon the elastic and malleable minds of a new generation. The settled laws of our nature are the corner stones of our education, as well as the landmarks of our Creator's will concerning us; from them we are enabled to comprehend the dispensation under which we live, and to turn it to account. But here there has arisen a tribe, it might perhaps be said, of philosophasters, who tell us that the experience of mankind tested through so many generations is illusion, and that its lessons are henceforth to be read backwards. They rely upon the guidance of an inner sense vouchsafed to them after it has been withheld from all their fellow creatures, for even the heathen mind in the extremities of its bewilderment and need did not catch at a straw as if it were a prop, nor practise upon itself under the notion of a supreme enlightenment a superlative trick of self-delusion. I do not deny that there are those who, having appointed themselves to the benevolent labor of reforming the universe, may, in the pursuit of their aim, attain even to this height of mental excess, but I hold that, in destroying the foundations of our belief in the observed facts of human nature, they are destroying the foundations of every other belief, their own favorite scheme included.

But further. Such mental freaks cannot be indulged without producing wider consequences than any that their authors have intended. These inventors are revolutionists not only as towards the dispensation we live under, but as towards human nature itself, and all the modes in which it is rationally impelled to action, or guided in pursuing it. It is remarkable that this scheme is not commonly a plan for the reformation of character, with the cessation of penalty as a natural consequence; but rather a repeal of penalty, with reformation of character playing an altogether secondary part: at the very best a reformation

brought about arbitrarily, and in defiance of all known laws. And those stern denunciations of Holy Scripture, which on a long course of trial have been found none too strong for their purpose, it is deliberately sought to relax, by promising to every sinner of whatever inveteracy, audacity, and hardness, an endless period of immunity from suffering ; after a period spent in it, which they have no means of defining, and which every offender is therefore left to retrench at his own pleasure, on his own behalf. What is this but to emasculate all the sanctions of religion, and to give wickedness, already under too feeble restraint, a new range of license ?

The appeal to Scripture in support of these ideas is so slenderly sustained as to suggest that it is made in order to supply the weaker brethren with a handful of material such as may suffice to suppress lingering scruples. There is, as we know, to be a regeneration, a restitution of all things: harmony will everywhere prevail, wickedness will disappear from view. Christ must reign till he hath put all things under his feet, and when all things are thus subdued then God shall be all in all.* But they received the answer from one quarter that sin will be effectually put away by being reduced to impotence; and from another school of thought, not perhaps wholly out of sympathy with theirs, they are reminded that their method is yet more conclusively to dispose of sin by annihilation.

Upon this scheme I cannot stop short of owning the impression it makes on my mind to be this. Failing to take heed that the entire dealings with impenitent sinners have only in a very small degree been disclosed to us, and impatient of this vacuum which they think they have detected in the Divine Revelation, they undertake to fill the gap by going outside it altogether, and what is really neither more nor less than constructing a revelation for themselves.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

(To be Continued.)

* I Cor. XV., 27, 8.

PROBLEMS OF THE TRANSVAAL.

BY KARL BLIND.

TWELVE years ago, when the Transvaal deputation came to London for the purpose of having the treaty of 1881 set aside and a new one put in its place, I repeatedly met Paul Krüger, the President of the South African Republic; General Smit, who had defeated the English troops at Majuba Hill; and the Rev. S. J. Du Toit, the Minister of Public Instruction. On one occasion it was at the house of Dr. Clark, who for some time acted as Consul-General of the Republic in England, and has been for years a member of the House of Commons. Jonkheer Beelaerts van Blokland was then also present, a member of the House of Deputies in the Netherlands, and during several years its Speaker. He is now the plenipotentiary envoy of the South African Republic to the governments of several Continental countries.

Our intercourse on that occasion, as well as when I was alone with the members of the deputation and their companion and secretary, Mr. Esselen, was of the friendliest and most confidential kind. In 1881 I had been a member of the Executive of the Transvaal Independence Committee in London, whose object it was to bring about the restoration of the rights of the oppressed Boer commonwealth. Not a few of the resolutions tending thereto had been framed by me. It need, therefore, scarcely be said that no opportunity was lacking for learning the state of things at the very source. My sympathies with the cause of a free country, which had been lawlessly overrun under Lord Beaconsfield whilst it was engaged in a dangerous war with natives, were self-understood.

Since the grave complication which has arisen through Dr. Jameson's robber-like raid, I have often been asked about Mr.

Krüger's personal appearance. I found him, in outward look, a simple man of the people, with strong, homely features, such as may often be seen among the masses in the Netherlands and in Lower Germany. His otherwise clean-shaven face was framed by bushy whiskers and a goatee beard. In his blue eyes there sparkled a strong gleam of quiet watchfulness. The whole caste of countenance indicated firmness of purpose. As the grandson of a German, he bore the unmistakeable mark of his descent. In his dress there was not the slightest pretence to elegance, but rather utter simplicity. He comfortably smoked his short pipe with manifest tranquillity of mind, but a close observer could not mistake the stubbornness underlying that calm behavior.

General Smit, whose name is connected with a famed historical deed, had a reserved and somewhat reticent manner. Full-bearded, and of fine traits, he was—so I heard—practically one-eyed, but in the sound eye left to him there was a penetrating glance. He seemed to be wholly a man of action, of very few words, but an attentive listener withal. Both Mr. Krüger and he spoke only in Dutch. The Rev. Mr. Du Toit, a small, dapper man, of darker hue than his companions, showed his French Huguenot blood clearly in his face and figure. He spoke English with perfect ease, and also knew German a little. I was somewhat surprised to find that he could not converse in the tongue of his ancestors; but the Huguenots who, centuries ago, went to Holland, and from there to the Cape, soon became fully merged with the Dutch, thus losing their native speech. Many family names of theirs were even adapted to the Teutonic language of the Hollanders, so that their original French meaning is only recognizable now to the learned.

I may mention here that the Dutch spoken and written in South Africa by the mass of the population of Netherlandish origin is somewhat different from the tongue of Holland itself. At the Cape, in the Orange Free State, and in Transvaal, a distinction is made between Dutch, African Dutch, and what is, curiously enough, simply called the African tongue. By the first-named word, the pure and genuine Dutch of Holland (*het zuivere, echte Hollands van Holland*) is meant. The second word refers to the language written and spoken in South Africa by the more cultivated classes—a language very close to Dutch proper, yet slightly different in its forms. The third

word, "African," signifies the peasant dialect of the Transvaal people. Now, to that dialect most descendants of those who were driven forth repeatedly into the wilderness by English rule, cling very tenaciously. They consider it a means, so to say, of additionally marking their own national character, as expressed in their republican form of government.

This three-fold shading-off in speech has, however, its disadvantages. It has acted to the detriment of the Dutch language in general; the spread of the English tongue, which is not hampered by such internal divisions, having been rather facilitated thereby. There is a movement now on foot in South Africa for bringing about a greater equalization in the written Dutch language, both as to its words and its orthography.

Being able to read the speech of the Netherlands, I had no difficulty in following what was said in that tongue by Mr. Du Toit. In Mr. Krüger's remarks, there frequently occurred dialect expressions less easily understood; but then the perfect English of the Minister of Public Instruction was at hand, and through him the conversation was mainly conducted.

On the subject at issue, there was of course, from the beginning, a thorough agreement. I have always prized the free institutions of England, on whose shores, in dire times of distress and persecution, after the overthrow of the popular cause on the Continent, I had found safety and new friends. At the same time I could not but take the side of a free Commonwealth, which, under a reactionary English Government, had been lawlessly overthrown, and whose burghers, in Mr. Gladstone's own words, when he was acting as leader of the opposition, were "rightly struggling to be free."

Mr. Gladstone called it a dishonorable and an insane act to endeavor "governing despotically a community of men who never were under our despotic power before," who were "Protestants in religion, Hollanders in origin, vigorous and obstinate and tenacious in character, even as we are ourselves." He spoke of "England being in the strange predicament of the free subjects of a Monarchy going to coerce the free subjects of a Republic, and to compel them to accept a citizenship which they decline and refuse." This was said at the end of 1879 and in the first months of 1880, on the eve of the Liberals coming to power with Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister.

Mr. Chamberlain, now the Minister for the Colonies, once spoke of the Boers as of "a homely, industrious nation, animated by a deep and even stern religious sentiment, and they inherit from their ancestors—the men who won the independence of Holland from the oppressive rule of Philip II., of Spain—they inherit from them their unconquerable love of freedom and liberty. Are not these qualities which commend themselves to men of the English race? Are they not virtues which we are proud to think form the best characteristics of the English race? These men settled in the Transvaal in order to escape foreign rule. They had had many quarrels with the British. They left their homes in Natal, as the English Puritans left England and went to the United States, and they founded a little republic of their own in the heart of Africa. In 1852 we made a treaty with them. They agreed to give up slavery, which had hitherto prevailed in their midst, and we agreed to respect and guarantee their independence; and I say, under these circumstances, is it possible we could maintain a forcible annexation of the country without the accusation of having been guilty, I will not say of national folly, but I say of a national crime?"

In speaking of the Puritans going to the United States, Mr. Chamberlain anticipated, as it were, in the heat of the discourse, the establishment of a form of government in America in which the Puritans certainly had a good share. From the tone of the two prominent Liberal leaders just quoted, as well as from discourses of Lord Hartington, it may be gathered what the feeling then was among the advanced section of their party. Unfortunately, when the new Liberal Government soon afterwards came in after general elections, the promises made were not fulfilled. Seeing themselves deceived in their hopes, the citizens of the Transvaal thereupon rose with arms in hands, and finally gained the victory over the regular troops of England.

In the meanwhile, as matters threatened to come to a head, a "Transvaal Independence Committee" had been formed in London, with a goodly number of members of Parliament in it. The late Sir Charles Trevelyan, formerly Governor of Madras and Financial Minister in India, proposed the first resolution for the establishment of the committee; but expressed himself in rather timid terms, warning against anything being done which might lay the members open to a charge of high treason. This

was rather calculated to damp the spirits of those present and gave small hope of an energetic agitation.

After Dr. Clark had seconded the proposition, I therefore thought it my duty to say at once that our aim and object must be the restoration of the full and absolute independence of the Transvaal under its old name, the South African Republic. In the subsequent deliberations of our committee, Sir Charles Trevelyan (the father of the ex-Cabinet Minister in Mr. Gladstone's last government) did not take part any more; and pusillanimous counsels were no longer heard.

By its firm resolutions, by the action of members of Parliament who were in connection with it, and by public meetings, the Committee succeeded in rousing Liberal public opinion thoroughly. Yet, Government gave no sign of doing the right thing, in the sense of making good the promises held out by its chief leaders, when in opposition. So the war between mighty England and the small population of Boers scattered over the vast Transvaal territory went on, much to the indignation of the progressive parties all over Europe. Under these circumstances, the idea was started, during the presence, in London, of three delegates of the Transvaal Committee from Holland, of getting up an International Address, to be presented to a prominent member of the English Government, and for which signatures would be sought, first of all, from the foremost leaders of thought in Europe and America—men distinguished in science, in literature, in poetry, as well as in politics.

Proceeding from this idea, I drew up the following memorial to the Right Hon. John Bright, who during the American war had also proved to be on the right side:

"SIR: At a moment when England has to contend against home difficulties of unusual magnitude—difficulties in regard to which all true and sensible friends of Progress hope at the same time for reform, and for the firm maintenance of the great state structure of the British realm—it is a painful sight to the well-wishers of the powerful English nation to see its military forces engaged in a life and death struggle with one of the smallest self governing communities of the earth, for the sake of maintaining an unprovoked and unjust aggresion, against which the overwhelming majority of that community has repeatedly protested, and which some of the foremost men of the present English Government have themselves stigmatized as an 'unwise,' nay, an 'insane,' act, an act of wrongful invasion and of 'despotism,' which ought not to be upheld by force of arms against an unwilling people of freemen.

"We are glad, however, to find that the public conscience of England is

beginning to be awakened, that thousands of men among you are already calling for an act of justice and generosity, which would only do honor to the Government by stopping a deplorable war in which the first principles are violated that are acknowledged as guiding maxims by all those who acknowledge popular right.

"Loath as we are to have the slightest appearance of desiring to interfere in the public concerns of your nation, we feel justified in saying, on the part of numerous sympathizers among us, that we readily join our voices, to those among your countrymen who wish to see the claims of the South African Republic treated in the sense indicated by the former speeches of Mr. Gladstone and the Marquis of Hartington. We trust, nay, we are fully convinced from your long and noble championship of the people's cause that these cannot but be also your own views; and hence it is to you that we take the liberty of addressing this appeal—which is an appeal in favor of Humanity, of Public Right, of Popular Self government, and of Peace."

The hope I entertained of seeing this International Address numerously signed by distinguished representative men, was fully realized. For many days letters and telegrams poured in at the Committee Rooms and in my house, from the Netherlands, from Germany, Austria-Hungary, France and Italy; those from the Universities of Leyden and Utrecht, in Holland, and from Germany, being especially numerous. Among the signatures were those of Professor Harting, Professor Kuenen, Berthold Auerbach, Dr. Bluntschli, Friedrich von Bodenstedt, Professor Ludwig Büchner, Dr. Moritz Carrière, Felix Dahn, George Ebers, Kuno Fischer, Professor Forchhammer, Ernst Haeckel, Prof. Franz von Holtzendorff, Emil Rittershaus, Dr. Schultze-Delitzsch, Professor Schleiden, Rudolph Virchow, Dr. Max Wirth, Friedrich Kapp, Johannes Ronge, Ludwig Walisrode, Dr. Eduard Herbst and Franz Rechbauer (both leading members of the Austrian Reichsrath), Heinrich Laube, Edmond About, Louis Blanc, Pascal Duprat, Victor Schoelcher, Wilfrid de Fonvielle, Dr. A. Regnard, Auguste Vacquerie, Count Terenzio Mamiani, Aurelio Saffi, once the co-Triumvir of Mazzini, in the Roman Republic, and many others. It was a galaxy of men of science, of philosophers, poets, political economists, and parliamentary leaders.

The introductory words of the address were in conformity with John Bright's well-known Liberal Unionist views in home affairs. He had been the champion of the American Union Cause at a time when it was difficult in the extreme to make headway against the current of English opinion; and he was in his own country for the maintenance of the Legislative Union between Great Britain

and Ireland. In a letter I wrote to him at the request of the Transvaal Independence Committee, when forwarding the International Appeal, I said, as regards the prominent men who had signed it:

"In not a few cases, some of the most distinguished among them have added letters in which they express the warmest feelings of esteem for the English nation as the promoter of civilization, progress, and freedom; declaring at the same time, in almost identical terms, though writing from different places, that they consider it a great honor to be allowed to sign their names to an appeal addressed to you personally. The interesting remembrance of conversations I had the pleasure of holding with you some time ago makes it all the more a grateful task to be the intermediary of this communication."

I had met John Bright at the reception of General Grant in London, in consequence of an invitation addressed to me and my wife by the American Minister. I had also held extensive conversation with him at a friend's house during the last Russo-Turkish war, when, after dinner, he not only spoke to me on that subject, with great animation, for an astoundingly long time, but even insisted afterwards on accompanying me, towards midnight, through the streets, so as to continue the conversation yet longer. On that question, it is true, we could come to no agreement, his somewhat pro-Russian views being totally opposed to mine. I had also been in correspondence with John Bright, whose Unionist views in Irish affairs I fully shared. It was to such previous personal contact that the concluding words of my letter to him on Transvaal affairs referred.

His answer ran thus:

132 PICCADILLY, March 14, 1881.

DEAR SIR: I thank you for the Memorial you have forwarded to me, and for the friendly letter from yourself on the sad question of the Transvaal difficulty.

I hope the prospect is one of peace and not of further war, and that an arrangement may be made satisfactory to the Transvaal people, and honorable to this country. *I scarcely need to assure you that whatever influence I possess is being and will be exerted in favor of peace.* The conflict is one in which England can gain nothing; not even military glory, which is the poorest kind of glory, in my view, which men and nations strive for. I hope the time may come when nations will seek and obtain honorable renown by deeds of mercy and justice.

This reply to your letter and the memorial is brief, but, under the circumstances, I feel sure that you and your friends will excuse its brevity.

Believe me to be very sincerely yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

Such a declaration on the part of a Cabinet Minister who once had been called the "Tribune of the People," who stood next in importance to Mr. Gladstone, and who, from a popular point of view, was even the chief leading force, could not but have a signal effect. The discussions in the English Cabinet are always strictly withheld from public knowledge. There could be no doubt, however, in what sense Mr. Bright would, after the presentation of such a memorial, exert his influence in the Cabinet. As a matter of fact, peace was soon afterwards concluded. "Complete self-government" was restored to the Transvaal territory, as it had been called since its violent annexation to the English Colonial possessions; and it was henceforth to be known under the name of the "Transvaal State."

Its old name, the South African Republic, was thus avoided. Worse than this, it was declared to be "subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, her heirs and successors." Nay, the English Crown reserved to itself "the right to move troops through the said State in time of war, or in case of the apprehension of immediate war between the suzerain power and any foreign State or native tribe in South Africa." A British Resident was also appointed "as representative of the suzerain," and he was to "receive from the government of the Transvaal State such assistance and support as can by law be given to him for the due discharge of his functions."

These conditions agreed to, under stress of circumstances, by numerically so small a people, who had bearded and inflicted a signal defeat upon a country owning the seventh part of the globe, were felt to be intolerable, in the long run, by the mass of the Boers. They were resolved, cost it what it would, not to bear any longer a foreign suzerainty. Hence the Deputation from the Transvaal in 1883, composed—as mentioned before—of President Krüger, General Smit, and the Rev. Mr. Du Toit.

After protracted negotiations, they succeeded in having the English suzerainty claim, which had been inscribed in the preamble and in three paragraphs (2, 18 and 33) of the Convention of 1881, *formally struck out*. Together with this, the right of the Crown to move troops through the Transvaal in time of war or in case of the apprehension of immediate war was also abolished. Once more the country was now acknowledged as the South African Republic. The British Resident, too, was done away with.

In the third article of this new Treaty of February 27, 1884, it was laid down that, if a British officer is appointed to discharge functions analgous to those of a Consul, he will receive the protection of the Republic. So the Commonwealth was again independent. It was no longer under the protection of a suzerain, but on the contrary, it gave protection to the Consul of what was henceforth again—as before 1877—a foreign Power.

In spite of this clear arrangement the existence of a suzerainty has for years been over and over again asserted in the English press and by agitators bent upon destroying the South African Republic. One of the most persistent among these latter is, I regret to say, an American by origin, therefore, a born Republican, Sir Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, a member of the Conservative party in the English House of Commons. Since the failure of Dr. Jameson's robber-like raid, the object of which—in the words of the *Daily News*—was to steal the gold and diamond fields of the Transvaal, these disappointed annexationists have falsely and unscrupulously sought to deceive public opinion by alleging the continuance of the suzerainty. They have called the South African Republic a "British territory," a "colony," a "vassal" of the English crown; nay, even simply "our own." But they have carefully refrained from dealing with the irrefutable evidence contained in Lord Derby's correspondence with the Transvaal Deputation, in the text of the new Treaty of 1884, and in the confessions made both by Mr. W. H. Smith, the First Lord of the Treasury of a Conservative Cabinet, on February 28, 1890, and by Mr. Buxton, a Liberal Minister, on July 3, 1890.

I can testify that the Transvaal Deputation would never have signed the new treaty if the suzerainty title had not been struck out. They came to London for that purpose, and they succeeded in it. The assertion made by the would-be annexationists that the treaty of 1884 is merely a modification of the Convention of 1881, and that the preamble of the latter, which speaks of suzerainty, still holds good, is given the lie to by Lord Derby's letter to the Transvaal Deputation of February 15, 1884. There he wrote :

"The progress which has been made, appears to me to render it convenient that I should now transmit for your perusal a draft of the *new Convention* which Her Majesty's Government propose *in substitution for the*

Convention of Pretoria. In this draft the articles of the Convention of Pretoria, which will no longer be in force, have been printed alongside of the proposed new articles, and where an article is retained and altered, the alterations have been shown in order to explain clearly the changes that will be made."

Now, in the preamble of the new treaty, and in all its paragraphs, the suzerainty is entirely dropped. A single paragraph of the old treaty, referring to complete freedom of religion, was preserved and literally embodied in the new treaty. Years afterwards, in answer to interpellations, both a Conservative and a Liberal Minister, Mr. Smith and Mr. Buxton, acknowledged in Parliament that the treaty of 1884 contains no reservation of the Queen's right of suzerainty. Public opinion in England, unacquainted as it is with the diplomatic documents, is, therefore, shamefully duped by those who still affirm the existence of a suzerainty, and who craftily endeavor to read the provisions of the older abolished convention into the entirely new one.

I can speak with all the greater confidence of these matters as I had full personal opportunity of following the course of the negotiations of 1883–84. Half an hour before the treaty was finally signed, its English and Dutch text was placed in my hands at the residence of the Transvaal Deputation, where I had again seen President Krüger. From sympathy with the cause of a wronged republic I have held it to be a duty to bear testimony to this main point in letters to the *Times*, the *Daily News*, and the *North British Daily Mail;* and no one has dared to dispute the plain facts.

It is from the fourth article of the new Treaty of 1884 that the enemies of the South African Republic, who untruthfully mix up the two treaties, try once more to evolve a suzerainty claim. That article says that :

"The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any State or nation other than the Orange Free State, nor with any native tribe to the eastward or westward of the Republic, until the same has been approved by Her Majesty the Queen."

It is added that such approval shall be considered to have been granted, if Her Majesty's Government shall not, within six months, have notified that the conclusion of the treaty is in conflict with British interests. This is, no doubt, an irksome stipulation; but it does not constitute a suzerainty, which, as

stated, was formally abolished. I may mention here that, in conversation with the Transvaal Deputation, previous to the signature of the treaty, I expressed my firm belief that, if they refused signing any stipulation which would encroach in whatsoever manner upon the full rights of their country, they would be sure to gain their point. The state of affairs inside and outside the Cabinet was then such that I had not the slightest doubt about their final success. However, the Deputation were satisfied with having realized their main object and acceded to a stipulation which they probably—but as is seen now, erroneously—thought to be of small consequence.

Here it may be remarked that, historically speaking, many a weak country has now and then had to make an irksome concession to a strong power, without the latter becoming thereby constituted Suzerain, or regaining a suzerainty which it had relinquished. Yet, there are also other cases in which a weak community obtained remarkable privileges at the expense of a strong power. Thus the Swiss Confederacy had the right, even after the peace of Westphalia (1648), of moving its troops, if a war threatened, up to a certain line in the German Black Forest, for the better protection of its own exposed northern frontier. Now, did the great German Empire thereby become the vassal of little Switzerland?

Even down to our days, the Swiss Confederacy maintained its right of sending troops, in a similar case, into Savoy. Now, did the Kingdom of Sardinia thereby become the vassal of Switzerland? The idea is absurd. Well, in the same way the South African Republic, after having had English suzerainty struck out, does not become the vassal of England through the separate stipulation in Article IV. of the Treaty of 1884. I have insisted on this for years; and it is now the expressed view of legists, statesmen and governments all over Europe.

On the part of England, the spirit of the Treaty of 1884 has undoubtedly been violated in consequence of English forces having overrun and annexed the territory north of the South African Republic, with whose native tribes the latter, according to the fourth article, had been left free to enter into treaties. That possibility was thus forcibly taken away from the Boer Commonwealth, which was surrounded and hemmed in from all

sides, to be squelched and extinguished at some convenient time.

Still, even so late as December 31 of last year, when Dr. Jameson burst into the Transvaal, Mr. Chamberlain, as Minister of the Colonies, acknowledged in a despatch to the British South Africa Company, that "the South African Republic is *a foreign State*, with which Her Majesty is at peace and *in treaty relations*." In the course of the same despatch he repeatedly speaks of that Commonwealth as a foreign State and "*a foreign power*," saying that "one of the obligations of Her Majesty the Queen is to respect the right to self-government of the South African Republic, subject to the provisions of the Conventions between Her Majesty and that State."

Now, a foreign power cannot possibly be a vassal, a colony, or a territory, of another power. The only slip in Mr. Chamberlains despatch is, that it refers to "Conventions" in the plural instead of to *the* Convention of 1884; the one of 1881 having been altogether superseded, as Lord Derby himself averred for the satisfaction of the Transvaal Deputation, before the new treaty was signed.

It has been a painful duty to me to have to expose all the attempts made by force, fraud, and frivolous misrepresentation against the rights of a free commonwealth by citizens of a country which has become to me a second home, and whose cause I have not rarely defended, though rather, now and then, to my personal disadvantage. But even as in the case of the great American Republic, more than thirty years ago, when English statesmen and the vast majority of the governing classes went utterly wrong, so also in the case of the South African Republic, I could not shirk that task, however unpleasant. I felt it all the more a bounden duty, because the Transvaal Deputation before leaving London, had entrusted the defence of their cause, so to say, to my hands for the future.*

Of the aims and objects and the authorship of the last crimi-

* Letter of the Transvaal Deputation to Karl Blind:

ALBEMARLE HOTEL, Albemarle Street, London, W.,
June 18, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR:—Allow me heartily to thank you for the kind sentiments expressed in yours of yesterday's date, which is quite in accordance with your sympathy always shown in every struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, and especially of our young Republic, which we confidently recommend to your favor for the future. The Deputation most heartily greets you and your friends.

Yours sincerely,
S. I. DU TOIT.

nal assault against the South African Republic, there is full evidence at hand. It was the enterprise of a financial and mining ring, with whose pecuniary interests not a few high-born and titled personages in England are bound up. The Chartered Company's shares having been depreciated, a new Golden Age was to be introduced by the aid of free-booters with Maxim guns. It is a Panama affair on other lines.

Together with this corrupt motive, the ambition of the so-called "Diamond King," the "Napoleon of South Africa"—or perhaps it would be more correct to say now, the Boulanger of South Africa—was the decisive element in the concoction of the scheme. There is a party which aims at the foundation of an "African Empire from the Cape to Cairo." The Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State are stumbling blocks in its way. This great African party is impatient even of the existence of German and Portuguese colonies and of the extent of the Congo Free State. It would fain do away with all these impediments, by hook or by crook.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who is at the bottom of the venture, at one time handed the useful sum of £10,000 to Mr. Parnell, when the object was so to embroil and to occupy England, his own native country, at home as to leave him a free hand in South Africa. It was a curious proof of lofty patriotism. Incidentally, I may mention here that in 1881, during the struggle of the Transvaal burghers, there was a plan started in London of joining the Irish cause to that of the Boers, by sending out free corps to the latter, whilst in Ireland itself the crisis was at its height. As a member of the Transvaal Independence Committee, I set my face at once, in the responsible quarter of the committee, against this idea of endangering the legislative institutions of the United Kingdom, and the proposal was dropped. Had it ever been brought before the Committee it would certainly have been rejected.

Whilst formerly acting as the confederate of the Irish League, Mr. Rhodes, for purposes of his own, underwent various subsequent changes in his political attitude. Originally on the English side in the Cape Colony, he made a compact with the Dutch party in order to gain the support of the so-called "Africander Bond," and to maintain himself in the Premiership. Then he turned "English" once more, and even succeeded in being appointed a member of the Queen's Privy Council.

Having shown himself false to the principles of the Africander League, which represents the Dutch element in South Africa, and which counts adherents also in the Transvaal, he aimed at the overthrow of the South African Republic, whose productive diamond and gold fields had excited the cupidity of the Chartered Company, of which he is a director and the leading spirit. The expected yield in gold and silver and precious stones of Mashonaland and Matabeleland had not come up to the hopes of the Chartered Company. Its shares had gone down. So it was resolved to make the Transvaal Republic go down and to seize its property, when the Orange Free State would soon collapse, too. No wonder the leader of the Dutch party at the Cape, Mr. Hofmeyr, feeling his own party betrayed, cut his connection with Mr. Rhodes, with whom formerly he had been hand in glove.

No sooner had Mr. Rhodes fled than President Krüger was advised by an English Unionist Government to grant Home Rule to the Rand! What would be said in England if, immediately after an insurrectionary French inroad into Ireland, a French government were to urge England to grant home rule to the Emerald Isle? No wonder the head of the South African Republic sees in the hasty publication of such a scheme, which in his opinion would simply be a new means of organizing civil war, little hope for the quieting down of the very natural apprehensions of his fellow-citizens.

Add to this that all kinds of English politicians and many papers, following a recent cue from headquarters, are in the habit now of speaking of England as "the paramount Power" in South Africa. To many of them this evidently seems a more convenient phrase than the provably false title of "suzerainty." But it is an equally deceptive expression. England is certainly the paramount Power at the Cape, in Natal, and in all her own possessions in South Africa. But she is not the paramount Power in the perfectly independent Orange Free State, nor in the Transvaal Republic, which in 1884 got rid of her suzerainty. Nor is she, of course, the paramount Power in the large Portuguese and German possessions on the eastern and western coast of South Africa, or in the Congo Free State, a considerable section of which lies within the South African region.

Public opinion all over the continent of Europe has, on this

present occasion, declared against the wrong done to an inoffensive free commonwealth. In Germany the feeling has been specially strong. It is to be accounted for partly by the interests which Germany has in South Africa; partly by the close kinship in race and speech between the Boers and the people of Lower Germany; partly by the appeal which President Krüger made in 1884, when he came to Berlin, to the German Government—an appeal he repeated in a speech at Pretoria last year on the occasion of a festival held on the birthday of William II. A responsive chord was early struck. The first President of the Transvaal Republic, Pretorius, after whom the capital is named, was of German origin. Mr. Krüger's ancestors, he is fond of saying, were Germans. There are various settlements in the Transvaal Republic bearing German town-names, such as Heidelberg, and several others. In the last dangerous crisis the great majority of the German immigrants sided with the Republic offering their services as soldiers without delay.

Only those who want to destroy the Republic could take offence at the display of these sympathies. It was in consequence—as is well known now—of a telegram, dated December 31, from German inhabitants of Pretoria to the Emperor William that he sent to President Krüger the congratulatory message which raised such a needless alarm and indignation in England. As to the alleged desire of the Transvaal Government to see a German imperial protectorate established over the South African Republic, nothing could certainly be further from the intentions of President Krüger and his doughty countryman. Nor is there any such desire and intention in Germany itself. Her Minister of Foreign Affairs has spoken out clearly on that point.

All that Germany and other continental powers insist on is that no violence should be attempted against the South African Republic. If even an emperor says so, for once, that pleasure need not be grudged to him. In the German White Book, his utterance, being out of the range of diplomacy and a strictly personal one, is not recorded. The ministry of the Empire, however, covers his sentiments with its own responsibility; and for the sake of the maintenance of the republic, that is so far correct and satisfactory. Of hostility to England, there is nothing in all this, unless it were held to be a hostile act to condemn a highhanded freebooter who has proved false to the

official trust placed in him, whose lawless deed has been censured by the English Government itself, but who has been sung as a hero by the new poet laureate.

It would be an evil day for Europe if two nations like England and Germany, brothers in blood, and natural friends, who have stood shoulder to shoulder on battle-fields, in order to resist the aggressions of ambitious French despots, were to be estranged, owing to the criminal deed of a faithless English Administrator. What would become of international right and justice if such an act as his were tolerated and condoned?

There is Switzerland. She has a population of barely three millions, and is surrounded by three great monarchies and by another country which has, within this century, six times changed its institutions from the Republican to the Imperial, Royal, and again to the Republican form of government. Those four countries possess enormous military strength. Switzerland might be torn to pieces by them to-morrow, if her existence were not placed under international guarantee. She might be divided among Germany, of which centuries ago she formed an integral part, France and Italy, in accordance with the German, French, Italian, and Romance races and languages of her inhabitants.

To strike out Switzerland from the book of independent nations, would be a crime at which freemen all over the world would stand aghast. Now look at a map of Africa, and see what enormous extent of territory already belongs to England—most of it acquired by her since the last twenty years. The South African Republic and the Orange Free State are, in comparison with that territory, mere specks. They are surrounded by and englobed in those colossal English possessions. They constitute, so to say, an African Switzerland. Shall free and powerful England be the means of annihilating them? It would be a dark and indelible blot upon her escutcheon; and all that can be done to hinder the perpetration of so shameful a crime, will be a service to right, to justice, and to England's own freedom and fame.

KARL BLIND.

GOLD MINING ACTIVITY IN COLORADO.

BY T. A. RICKARD, STATE GEOLOGIST OF COLORADO.

On revient toujours à ses premiers amours. The search for silver having become discouraged by the late unpleasantness of 1893, Colorado has turned to the occupation of her early youth.

The production of gold in 1892 was worth $5,300,000, that of the year just ended is conservatively estimated at $15,000,000. The silver yield was 26,350,000 ounces in 1892, and has declined to about 20,000,000 in 1895. This comparison only inadequately indicates the altered conditions of the precious metal mining industry of the region, because the gold is largely the product of young and growing mines; the silver is the output of old bonanzas approaching exhaustion. The current year will see a notable accentuation of the wonderful ability of the State to adapt itself to economic conditions.

The story of the past four years affords an instructive example of the vicissitudes of mining. Two new mining camps came into prominence toward the close of 1891. One lay at the foot of Pike's Peak, the other sprang to life near the headwaters of the Rio Grande. The former yielded gold, the latter silver. The Cripple Creek district had been the scene years previous of an abortive mining excitement too brief to destroy the quiet of a peaceful pasture-land. Creede was in the very heart of the silvery San Juan, a country whose poetic name has been written large upon the pages of Colorado history. At that time silver mining was in fashion; everything favored Creede. Cripple Creek was overlooked and neglected. The uncovering of several magnificent veins enabled Creede to contribute $3,100,000 to the silver output of 1892. Cripple Creek that year yielded in gold only $583,010. The following June the news of the closing of the Indian mints came to Colorado like a paralytic stroke. The

silver industry seemed wiped out in a day. General disorganization supervened, but, amid the chaos of wild talk, incompetent statecraft and hysteric nonsense, the true manhood of the community asserted itself, order was restored, business was resumed, and hope returned. The silver miners flocked from Creede to Cripple Creek. The new district answered to the demand, and the concentration of a despairing energy developed it within a year from an uncertain discovery to a permanent goldfield of the first magnitude. Simultaneously, as if by an enchanter's wand, Leadville, the cloud city of the silver bonanzas of earlier days, grew into importance as a goldfield. An output valued at $262,629 in 1892 swelled to $897,456 in 1893. The old districts, such as Gilpin County, which had been unostentatiously contributing an annual tribute of gold since the day of the first discovery in May, 1859, awakened to increased activity. All over her wide extent of mountain-land, Colorado leaped to life and, throwing off the enfeebling miasma of an ignorant populism, gave herself up to the advancement of an industry which is one of the most beneficent known to a busy humanity.

A year of steady development and vigorous exploration has told its story. Some of it is conveyed through the stubborn testimony of statistics, some is suggested amid the rhetorical confectionery of an irresponsible press, more of it is known to those who direct the machinery of an industry whose unresting wheels are at the command of the capitalist. For the first time the annual yield of gold exceeds in money value that of silver; for the first time, also, it is believed, Colorado has wrested from California the honor of being the leading gold producing State of the Union.

It is needless to emphasize the importance to the State of these results, nor would the consideration of the conditions which have created them warrant the use of the pages of this REVIEW did they not afford an object-lesson of far more than local moment. The widespread revival of gold mining, which bids fair to make the closing years of this century outrival the golden age of early Californian discovery, attracts the attention of every thoughtful observer and becomes intelligible only by examining the causes which, in a typical mining region such as Colorado, have conduced to so marked an activity and resulted in so enlarged a productiveness.

When silver mining underwent eclipse, the sister industry benefited by the use of the whole of the complicated apparatus of men, money, and machinery thrown out of gear by the collapse of the silver market. The experienced miners, trained superintendents, careful chemists and expert mine managers of the silver camps were compelled to seek new avenues of employment in the wake of the capital departing from districts blighted by adverse legislation. Those who could not get positions went to work prospecting. The parties of gold seekers who wandered over the mountains in the autumn of 1893, were as diverse in composition as the companies of pioneers who sought El Dorado in the dawn of western history. They differed chiefly in being better equipped with experience and endowed with a larger knowledge of the ways in which an ore deposit can be converted into a profitable mine.

Another factor promoting the growth of gold mining was the uncertain market offered to any business save that one whose product was the measure of the value of the product of all others. Likewise the decline in silver, and the disorganization of enterprises dependent upon it, caused a diminished demand for labor and a consequent lowering of wages. This was not effected without strikes and disturbances of a serious kind which, however, ended invariably in a lessening of the cost of ore production. With the diminution of labor-costs came a concomitant cheapening of supplies, the ushering in of an era of economy, a general recognition of a new order of things and the departure of that spirit of reckless extravagance which, by some perverse fate, had always characterized the mining of silver rather than that of the more valuable metal.

The enthusiasm evoked by the success crowning the plucky effort of the bankrupted silver mines naturally gave birth to a good many misconceptions and exaggerations. An idea became prevalent in newspaper paragraphs that silver mines had been turned into gold producers, and that the alchemy of hope had been able to transmute the white metal into the yellow. It is indeed a fact that in rare instances, such as the Amethyst mine at Creede and the Guston on Red Mountain, the lower workings of silver mines have encountered ore carrying a proportion of gold larger than that characterizing the yield of the upper levels. This has been made much of. It is a part of those changes in

the composition of the ore of large mines which are as frequently observed in a lateral as in a vertical direction, along the strike quite as often as along the dip of the vein. The reverse, the diminution of gold values, also occurs; but for obvious reasons it receives less frequent mention. Besides this observation there is the more common one of an increase in the gold value, not absolutely but relatively, on account of a fall in the market price of the associated silver. When the white metal was in fashion, certain properties which yielded a product containing both the precious metals were spoken of as silver mines, although their ore carried as much as one-third of its value in gold. When the price of silver dropped 24 per cent,* the relative importance of the two metals in such an ore became reversed; it now carried more gold (as measured in dollars, not ounces) than silver, and the mine owners hastened to remove the stigma clinging to a silver mine by labelling it a gold producer. Thus, to take a well-known example from outside the borders of our State, the ores of the Comstock contained 47 per cent. of their value in gold and 53 per cent. in silver. The drop of the latter from a price of 82 to 62 cents per ounce exactly reversed the ratio. No mysterious transmuting had taken place, only a sudden disturbance in the commercial relations between the two metals.

In extending our inquiry from single mines to entire districts it will be found that similar results have been produced by the operation of the laws of supply and demand. All the mining regions of Colorado produce both the precious metals, if we except Aspen, which hitherto has been as prolific of silver as it was niggardly of gold. Even from this district however, there now come whispers of gold discovery. The reports of the Director of the Mint show that Pitkin (the county in which Aspen lies) yielded no gold in 1891 and 1892, but it is credited with $5,942 in 1894. The discredit thrown upon silver mining has caused a gradual cessation of prospecting for that metal and in Aspen it is the magnitude of the old bonanzas which has alone prevented a total discontinuance of operations. In the meantime, the surrounding hills are being carefully examined for gold veins. Some have been found. A beginning has been made even in this silver county.

* At the beginning of 1893 bar silver was quoted in New York at 82¼ cents per ounce. On June 29th it had declined to 62 cents, and in March, 1894, it fell to its lowest point, 57⅝ cents per ounce.

In other sections of the State where gold occurs more liberally associated with silver, the depreciation of the one metal and the appreciation of the other, the discouragement given to the mining of the former and the enthusiasm called forth in the search for the latter, have resulted in a dwindling of the number of active silver mines, an expansion of operations in gold mines and a consequent increase of gold production sufficient already, in some cases, to transfer the balance from one side to the other and enable an old silver mining district to assert itself as a gold region. Thus San Juan County yielded in 1892 gold worth $155,624 and silver valued at $354,125*, but in 1894, the gold increased to $360,320 and the silver diminished to $235,000.† Other examples might be quoted.

The full effect of these changes is only now becoming evident. It will be more noticeable a year hence. While the silver production of Colorado only fell from 26,350,000 ounces in 1892 to 20,000,000 in 1895, in spite of a decline in the market value of the metal equal to 22 cents per ounce, or 26 per cent., this does not tell the whole story. Since the Indian mints closed, surface prospecting for silver has been discontinued, underground explorations have been restricted, the reserves of ore previously uncovered have been drawn upon, and no new rich mines have been undergoing development so as to take the place of former bonanzas. Vigorous growth has been succeeded by stagnation.

Ore deposits are not inexhaustible. The average life of a productive mine can be measured on the fingers of one hand; and, therefore, any region to maintain its output must be sustained by fresh discoveries to keep pace with the exhaustion which creeps upon old producers. Such is no longer the case in silver mining. The yield of Leadville is maintained because some of its ores carry a heavy percentage of lead as a by-product, and others contain iron in such a proportion as to render the output of certain mines valuable as a flux in the smelting of silicious gold ores. The big veins of Creede are receiving only a half-hearted development. The wonderful bonanzas of Aspen have been sadly impoverished and the mines of Rico are crippled by an insufficiency of exploratory work.

Thus there is the suggestion of a dwindling and discredited industry unduly weakened by a constant transference of its lin-

* Silver having an average price of 87½ cents. † Silver at 64 cents.

gering vitality to the enthusiastic prosecution of the search for gold. And there can be no mistaking the magnificent energy which has vivified the gold mining industry of Colorado. The past year, distinguished as it is by the notable enlargement in production, is yet more remarkable for the number of its discoveries. When the snow flies the finding of gold veins will be heralded from the tops of sunny hill-slopes and echoed from the depths of dark ravines. Everything, fashion and fact alike, favors gold mining at the present time. It is the only industry whose product has a market value that does not fluctuate. The general fall in prices has lessened the cost of the material used in gold mining, the lowering of wages has stimulated it, the improvement of metallurgical methods and the introduction of business ideas have alike aided it. No wonder new mines are eagerly sought after, and old ones formerly unprofitable are successfully resuscitated into profitable operation. Just now Cripple Creek is commanding the attention of the country. Its production has leaped from $3,900,000 in 1894 to $7,000,000 in 1895. This is an eloquent fact. But in the hurry to participate in the prosperity of its newest-born discovery, Colorado is giving the outside world the impression that it is a territory with one mining district. Its history refutes the idea, and its present condition disproves it. If such were the case, the present gold mining activity would have the familiar aspect of the excitements of the past which have strewn the West with ruined mills and buried mines. No : the gold mining of to-day in Colorado is not local, but distributed over a region which sweeps across the map for 280 miles, from Hahn's Peak in the north to Mt. Hesperus in the south.

It is confined to vein mining. The alluvium of bygone days has been exhausted ; and placer mining survives only in an occasional gulch where the Chinaman picks up the crumbs which have fallen from the white man's table, or in localities previously unworkable because of natural difficulties to overcome which heavy expenditures were necessary. Exceptions may indeed be cited against this generalization, and Breckenridge, Alma and Fairplay quoted, yet as a matter of statistics it is doubtful if more than five per cent. of Colorado's output comes from the gravel deposits whose discovery first attracted the wave of emigration of a generation ago.

The lodes whose degradation fed the alluvium and whose exploitation is now the mainstay of the industry occur in a geological environment of notable diversity from the granite of the geological dawn to the andesite of the revolutionary days of the early Eocene. Their occurrence has been studied by trained men and the relation between ore formation and rock structure has been carefully investigated so as to enable the young science of geology to take the hand of the old industry of mining and guide its blind footsteps amid the perplexities of the underground world.

What one science has done in the darkness another has supplemented in the light. The evolution of metallurgical practice has progressed by an adaptation to changing conditions. The very variety and complexity of the ores of our mountains which first offered many a stumbling block to the inexperienced metallurgist of a former epoch have become serviceable in the attainment of that mixture of materials of differing composition which is essential to successful smelting. The development of certain wet processes, cyanidation and chlorination, has supplemented the work of the smelter and the stamp mill, and by means of the connecting threads of the railway system there is now offered to the miner a choice of methods of ore reduction, which is in itself a very important factor in successful mining. It has permitted of the beneficiation of ores formerly not marketable, and it encourages the prospector to believe that no discovery he makes need be rendered valueless, as happens in other parts of the world, because of the refractory nature of the mineral he uncovers.

As discoveries accumulate camps previously isolated become united into a chain of successive centres of activity which follow the continental watershed from the borders of Wyoming to the boundary of New Mexico. The awakening of gold mining is anything but local in its character; it is a part of one widespread phenomenon, whose source of energy lies deeper than the vagaries of a speculative epidemic. The thirty years' of past endeavor have been but a period of incubation, giving the interval required to build a magnificent railway system, to erect complete smelting establishments and to afford training and experience to those captains of industry who now direct the operation of the furnace and the exploration of the mine. It is no empty rhetoric to say that no country has at its call an industrial machinery so

thoroughly organized as that which impels the complicated workings of Colorado's mining activity.

This is but in keeping with the times. The expansion of the arts and manufactures of our day requires to an increasing degree the use of the metals. Modern civilization advances on iron rails and is gilded with the gold torn by man from the darkness of the underworld. The art of mining becomes constantly more important to our material welfare. From the products of the mine the wheels of progress are made and from them also is built the elaborate edifice of a complicated civilization. Neither the absurdities of speculation nor the vagaries of human nature can rob mining of the dignity and beneficence which have clothed it from the misty dawn of human endeavor.

T. A. RICKARD.

THE RAINES LIQUOR-TAX LAW.

BY THE HON. J. RAINES, OF THE NEW YORK SENATE.

It is admitted by nearly all who have given the subject consideration, that the traffic in liquor must be regulated by legal enactment. It is not important to state the reasons which have led to this consensus of opinion, so long as the fact exists that all governments assume to place restrictions upon it, with a view to mitigating to some extent the evils which seem necessarily to result to individuals and society from the business.

The various and widely differing methods of regulation which have been attempted afford an interesting study, both from a humanitarian and from an economic standpoint. The laws of the several States differ as widely as the general characteristics of the people who formulate them, and the influence of the traffic itself on legislation can be gauged to a great degree by the provisions of the statutes enacted. Prohibition, State ownership and conduct, and license under different forms and with varied restrictions, are all under trial, each system having its advocates as well as its opponents. The more general form of regulation is through a system of licenses, involving the conferring upon selected persons of discretionary power to grant or refuse the privilege of selling. This discretionary power is usually somewhat limited by statutory provisions, prescribing regulations as to places where the traffic may be carried on, as to the character of persons who may be licensed, and the amount that may be charged for the privilege of selling. The exercise of this discretion, as is natural, results in abuses of various kinds, whether the power be conferred upon judges or upon excise commissioners. In the case of judges, elected for long terms, the evil effects of the license system may not so soon become apparent as when the power is exercised by commissioners having short terms of office,

or who are subject to be changed at the will of the appointing power. I can but believe, however, that in the end it will become apparent that the worst system of all is that which places the granting of licenses at the discretion of judges.

The political power of those engaged in the traffic is apparent to-day, as it has never been before. Their influence is not limited by their own numbers, but extends to those engaged in the various avocations with which they have business connections. The manufacturers, the wholesalers, the retailers of liquors, their employees, the owners of property occupied, those engaged in the various trades which receive patronage, as cartmen, grocers, butchers, bakers, bankers, editors, office-holders who owe their places to the votes given by those engaged in the liquor business, form a continuous chain, and are nearly all at the command of the executive committees of this organized industry. It is but natural that the trade should use every effort to protect itself, and so long as discretion can be exercised by any local authority, the effort will be made to control the power which designates or appoints the persons who are to limit or extend its rights, whether those persons be judges or excise commissioners. A careful observer has well said: "It is evident, when a municipality has control of the liquor traffic either directly or through a board appointed by it (as in New York city), that those interested in that trade have the strongest motive to obtain control, if they can, of the municipality. If American experience proves anything, it proves the danger of giving licensing power to the elective body which is vested with general management of local affairs." That this view is correct is evidenced by the combinations made especially in the city alluded to, between those engaged in the traffic and political parties, through which the city government has been controlled. What is said of New York city applies with almost equal force to every locality in the State. The combination of liquor dealers in New York with a political party, enabled that party to enact the worst license law that can be found in the statutes of any State, and, bad as that law is, to make the matter still worse through open and unpunished violations of the few restrictive provisions which, for the sake of appearances, were incorporated in it. How favorable that law is to the traffic may be judged from the herculean efforts made by its beneficiaries to prevent a change in the system.

It has long been the desire on the part of many to effect a change in the law that should, as far as possible, take from those engaged in the liquor traffic the apparent or assumed business necessity of permitting their political action to be controlled for partisan purposes, and also by such change to deprive any political party or party leader of the power to virtually compel such persons to promote party success through contributions of money or votes. It has also seemed desirable to limit the number of places in which the traffic is carried on, and to compel the traffic to meet more nearly the immediate expense which it imposes on the taxpayer. High license would accomplish the latter results, but not the former. So long as power shall be lodged in any board to exercise discretion as to who shall have the privilege of engaging in the liquor traffic, so long will it be a potent factor in politics as an organized, compact force, to be used to control municipal governments and even the State itself.

The bill which has lately passed the New York Legislature aims to secure political independence to those wishing to engage in the liquor traffic, by defining in the law itself those who may engage in the traffic and the exact terms on which they may do so. It aims at regulation by law, instead of leaving a power of discretion with excise boards which might be used for political or other purposes. The law of 1892 gave a right of review by the courts of the action of commissioners of excise when such commissioners refused to grant a license to the applicant. The new act preserves the right to a review by the courts when a tax certificate—which takes the place of the present license—is refused, and gives a further right of review by the court, on the application of a citizen who claims that a certificate is illegally granted. Thus the rights of the individual and of the public would seem to be protected.

Another object of the act is to reduce the number of places where liquor is sold. It is admitted that the pressure on excise commissioners for licenses is so great that it is almost impossible to induce them to limit reasonably the number of liquor-saloons. It is admitted that the number can be effectually limited through the tax levied; the higher the tax the fewer are those who will pay it. Many of the advocates of a high license feel that the tax imposed by this act is not enough to secure the desired reduction, and would have preferred that it had been made at least one

thousand dollars in cities of the first class, New York, Brooklyn, and Buffalo. I am not disposed to assume that this view is not correct, still less do I care to argue that the tax is not too low in places of below 50,000 inhabitants. There are wide differences of opinion as to what may be considered a suitable proportion between places where liquor is sold and the population, some holding that there should be no such places, others that "too many are just enough." It has been assumed that the act passed would reduce the number by forty per cent., or from 42,763 to 25,658. I am disposed to believe that the reduction will be not far from thirty per cent.

Another object of the bill is to compel the traffic to pay to the locality and the State a greater proportion of the expense it occasions to the taxpayers than it has heretofore done. The justice of doing this cannot be controverted. Should not the traffic contribute for the relief of all, since it taxes all?

The provisions of the act are intended also to make the restrictive portions of the law more easy of enforcement. To this end the public display of the tax certificate is required; the places are more open to inspection during hours when the traffic is forbidden; penalties for violation are much more severe; all the means in use at present to detect violation are retained, and in addition special officers are appointed to assist in detecting and prosecuting law breakers. It is assumed that the present excise law cannot be enforced, because, it is claimed, the people are not in sympathy with such enforcement. This assumption is a slander on the people. It is not enforced because those engaged in the traffic are an organized force, so powerful that they are able to reach, in many cases, those whose immediate duty it is to execute the law, while the friends of law and order, though greatly in the majority, unorganized, and not united as to methods, fail to make their power felt. The 289 brewers of the State, thoroughly organized, with the "sinews of war" at immediate command, and ever alert and active, are a more potent factor than fifty times that number of good citizens, who are at heart opposed to the traffic and in favor of the enforcement of law, but who are without organization, and without a "camp chest."

Another provision of the bill establishes local option in towns, by providing for a direct vote at the next town meeting as to whether tax certificates of the several classes shall be issued in

the town or not. Under the present law, local option by indirection is permitted; that is, excise commissioners are elected who are supposed to be favorable or unfavorable to the granting of licenses. It often occurs that after they have been elected the commissioners do not act as they were expected to do. This cannot be the case under the new law.

It is supposed that associations called "clubs" are within the provisions of this act, and this has occasioned considerable opposition to the law.

In a case now pending in the Court of Appeals, the officers of a club were indicted, tried and convicted for selling liquor illegally. In that case the District Attorney admits there is no provision in the present law under which a club can be granted a license, hence the case is liable to turn on the simple question: Can a club sell liquor under the present law? In my judgment the case will go against the club. If this should happen, the clubs which have been denouncing this act, will, I think, be in favor of it as a whole.

The restrictions as to selling liquor in the vicinity of public institutions, such as insane asylums, are new and important, as tending to reduce the opportunities of attendants to obtain liquor.

The present excise law permits the sale of liquor to minors over sixteen years of age. The new act raises the age limit to eighteen. There are other important provisions in the bill which cannot be noticed within the limits of this article, but which will readily be observed upon a careful perusal of it; among them that prohibiting transportation companies from employing persons who are in the habit of indulging in the intemperate use of liquors, and that prohibiting the procuring of liquors for any person to whom it is forbidden to sell. I believe that as soon as the liquor interest shall have adjusted itself to the new order of business made necessary by this act, should it become a law, it will appreciate the fact that it is much better that the traffic should be regulated by law rather than by the discretion of boards of excise, while the people, relieved from a great burden of taxation, and from the combined and active efforts of those engaged in the traffic to control municipal governments for its protection, will approve the law as a whole, though some of the details of the law may be open to criticism.

J. RAINES.

THE NORTH POLAR PROBLEM.

BY ADMIRAL A. H. MARKHAM, R. N.

THE solution of what I have designated as the North Polar problem, has puzzled and set at defiance the scientific and nautical world for many years. By the North Polar problem I allude to the successful exploration of that mysterious region which has for its centre the northern axis of our globe, and the discovery of that imaginary spot which is universally known and spoken of as the North Pole.

Many attempts have been made, some of them on a very elaborate scale, by brave men, supported by equally gallant followers, to solve the problem, but, so far, these attempts have not been rewarded with complete success.

The idea of exploring high northern latitudes is no mere chimera of the present day; it is one that originated many centuries ago, and it has been fostered and attempted with more or less energy and enthusiasm ever since.

It is difficult to ascribe, with any approach to accuracy, the date of the despatch of the earliest Arctic expedition. We find in the pages of Hakluyt, Purchas, and other old historians, the fact gravely announced that Arthur, King of England, sailed with a squadron of ships so long ago as the sixth century with the object of subjugating and obtaining possession of Iceland. Another historian, during the same period, alludes to Greenland as a dependency of Britain, although the existence of that large continent was not known until discovered by Gunbjorn, and subsequently by Eric the Red, 500 years afterwards.

It is also related how, in the ninth century, a certain nobleman named Othar who resided in the island of Heligoland sailed, under the auspices of King Alfred of England, on a voyage of discovery to the Arctic Regions, and on his return he reported to His

Majesty that he had succeeded in reaching "that point of the globe beyond which it again sinks to the South!" If this statement be accepted as a veracious one, we can arrive at but one conclusion, and that is that the North Pole was actually discovered and reached a thousand years ago, for the only interpretation that can be put on the above words is, that Othar reached a position on this terrestrial globe terminating at its extreme northern point!

Then we hear of a worthy Franciscan friar who in the year 1360, in the reign of Edward the Third, sailed from England to the "region situate under the North Pole," and this is given to us on no less an authority than Gerard Mercator, the renowned cartographer.

The Church in the early days appears to have taken a very prominent and leading part in matters appertaining to Arctic exploration, for during the reign of Henry the Eighth we read of a canon of St. Paul's Cathedral sailing in a vessel, aptly named the "Dominus Vobiscum," intent on the exploration of high latitudes.

As, however, there is absolutely nothing authentic in existence relative to the geographical results obtained by these and other amateur explorers, we must accept their accounts with some reservation, even if we do not dismiss them altogether from our mind, as either mythical or untrustworthy, and therefore unworthy of serious consideration, and turn our attention to those voyages undertaken in more modern times, the accounts of which are better authenticated and worthy of credence.

I do not propose in this article to deal with those numerous expeditions that were despatched from various countries for the purpose of attempting to achieve the Northeast or the Northwest passages, although the reports of those expeditions, and the experience gained therefrom, have assisted us very materially in our endeavors to solve the North Polar problem; I only intend alluding, very briefly, to those explorers who have succeeded in crossing the threshold of the unknown region, and have advanced our geographical knowledge *polewards*.

The first one then to which I shall refer, is that undertaken in the year 1607 by that sturdy old navigator Henry Hudson at the instance, and on behalf, of certain "Worshipfull Merchants of London." The express object of this venture was the dis-

covery of a passage *across the North Pole* to Japan and China. The name of Henry Hudson is familiar to all living on the American side of the Atlantic, for it is immortalized by that beautiful river on which is situated the large and important commercial capital of the United States; it is also applied to an enormous territory in the northern part of the great continent of North America; while one of the most extensive bays in the world, with the strait leading thereto, is named after him.

During Hudson's memorable voyage, although he failed in discovering a highway across the Pole, he succeeded in carrying his ship to a higher latitude along the west coast of Spitzbergen than had ever been reached before.

The lateness of the season, combined with the unseaworthy condition of his little craft, compelled him to relinquish all further attempts to persevere in his enterprise, and necessitated his return to England. The ultimate fate of this skilful and gallant seaman on a later expedition was a truly tragical one. Fearing that his rashness and intrepidity would endanger the lives of all on board, a portion of the crew mutinied, after having spent a winter in Hudson's Bay, and placing him with his son and eight others, who remained loyal to their chief, in a small boat, they in a most heartless manner cut the boat adrift, and thus exposed all on board to a terrible and cruel death, for they were never afterwards heard of.

A few years later, namely in 1616, that stout old sailor William Baffin, sailed along the west coast of Greenland, through the bay which now bears his name, until he succeeded in reaching the 78th parallel of latitude, where he discovered an opening extending in a northerly direction, which he named Smith Sound, after Sir Thomas Smith the originator of the enterprise, and chairman of the so-called Muscovy Company. At his highest position Baffin observes that he found the "greatest variation of the compass of any part of the world known," namely, 56° westerly. He returned to England in safety on the 30th of August. Although this voyage had for its primary object the discovery of the Northwest passage, it may be considered as essentially a Polar one, for it resulted in the discovery of that channel which, so far, has been the road by which the nearest approach to the Pole has been made.

It may also be remarked *en passant* that this voyage, in con

junction with those made a few years earlier by John Davis, led to the prosecution of the whale fishery, which, in those waters, has proved so remunerative to all who have been sufficiently energetic and enterprising to embark in the exciting trade.

Passing over the expedition of Captain Phipps in 1773, and Captain Buchan in 1818, which, although they added materially to our knowledge of the state and condition of the ice in high latitudes, were otherwise devoid of important results, we come to the famous attempt made by Captain Sir Edward Parry to reach the North Pole in 1827.

There was no man better qualified, by experience and knowledge, to express an opinion relative to Arctic exploration than Sir Edward Parry, who was deservedly regarded as, *facile princeps*, the first and foremost of Arctic explorers. Having given the matter his most careful consideration, he had conceived the idea of proceeding in a ship to the north coast of Spitzbergen, and thence travelling, by means of boats and sledges, over the ice to the North Pole, which he thought it possible to reach before the winter set in. His scheme was a bold one, but it was supported by many eminent men of science and other authorities on the subject, and was favorably entertained by Her Majesty's Government.

A ship was therefore selected and fitted out for the service, and the command of it was entrusted to Sir Edward, with instructions to carry out his plan to the best of his judgment and discretion. The idea was, it must be acknowledged, even with our present lights to guide us, a sound one ; but, unfortunately, there was one very important factor in the execution of the scheme that had not received the consideration it deserved, and which really was the principal cause of its failure ; and that was the general drift of the whole body of the pack, on which the explorers were travelling, to the southward. They found, after incredible exertions, accompanied by severe bodily hardships and fatigue, that they were drifting to the southward at a greater daily rate than they were advancing in a northerly direction, thus compelling them, most reluctantly and to their great disappointment, to abandon the attempt and return to their ship.

But such good progress had been made prior to the breaking up of the pack, that Sir Edward had the satisfaction and gratification of announcing that they had reached the latitude of

82° 45′ north, a very much higher position than had ever before been attained, and more than one hundred and twenty miles to the northward of the position reached by Henry Hudson two hundred years before!

The great mistake made by Parry, in the prosecution of this voyage, was in not passing the winter in his ship off the coast of Spitzbergen. Had he done so, he would have started with his travelling parties early in the following spring, when the ice would have been consolidated in one extensive pack, instead of commencing his journey northwards when the summer was well advanced and the pack, consequently, in a state of disruption, broken up into innumerable floes, necessitating the use of boats in crossing the channels that separated them, as well as sledges. In fact, it would have been the difference between sledging over a stationary, instead of a moving broken up, pack. It was an expedition to which a period of at least eighteen months should have been devoted, instead of only six! Had this been the case a very much higher latitude would have been reached, for it is well known that the pack to the north of Spitzbergen consists of fairly smooth and level floes, very different to the heaped up masses of heavy ice encountered in other parts of the Polar ocean.

The next expedition that merits our attention was the one despatched by the United States in 1871. It was commanded by Captain Hall, an enthusiast in all matters relating to the polar regions, and a man who had lived for many years among the Eskimos, with a view of obtaining practical experience of their mode of life and travelling. The route selected by Hall was by way of Smith Sound, the channel already alluded to as having been discovered and named by Baffin, and the entrance to which had been explored and partially surveyed by the expeditions under the respective commands of Dr. Elisha Kane and Dr. Hayes. With such assiduity and skill did Captain Hall push on in his little steamer "Polaris" that he succeeded in taking his ship to the latitude of 82° 5′ N., a nearer position to the pole than had ever before been reached in a ship. At this point, however, his further progress was arrested by a barrier of massive ice through which it was absolutely impossible to penetrate, and he was compelled to retreat a few miles to the southward, where he was fortunately able to secure his ship in safety for the winter under the lee of a large grounded iceberg, appropriately named Provi-

dence Berg, off the northwest coast of Greenland. This voyage of Captain Hall's proved conclusively the enormous advantages possessed by a ship propelled by steam power over a sailing vessel when endeavoring to force a passage through the ice-clad seas of the north.

Captain Hall's untimely death, shortly after he had established his ship in winter quarters, put a stop to all further exploring work, and the remaining members of the expedition returned to America, after undergoing great privations under circumstances so well known that it is unnecessary to recapitulate them here.

While Hall was prosecuting his researches in the direction of Greenland, another expedition, fitted out by Austro-Hungary, had been despatched with the object of exploring the unknown area to the north of Novaya Zemlya. In a geographical sense the outcome of this enterprise was most important, for it resulted in the discovery of a large continent, the existence of which was previously unknown, and which received the name of Kaiser Franz Josef Land. The discovery of this land was made in a very remarkable manner. The ship in which the explorers were embarked, the "Tegetthof," was beset by the ice a few miles off the northwest coast of Novaya Zemlya, and thus imprisoned was drifted, helplessly, first to the northeast and then to the northwest. In spite of the utmost exertions that were made, those on board were powerless to extricate her from the icy fetters in which she was so firmly held.

Suddenly one day, after a period of thirteen long weary months of forced inactivity, to their amazement land, dark high land, was observed looming up in the far north, and they realized that they had, unwittingly, become the discoverers of a new territory, and that their expedition was, after all, to be a great geographical success.

The ship continued to drift for some months afterwards, gradually nearing the land, until eventually the pack in which she was frozen so firmly, impinged on an island and became stationary. This afforded them an opportunity of exploring the mysterious continent, and it was one that they immediately availed themselves of. With such energy did Lieutenant Payer conduct this duty, with the limited time that was at his disposal, that he succeeded in reaching with sledges, the latitude of

82° 5′, precisely the same latitude, by a curious coincidence, as that reached by Hall off the coast of Greenland almost at the same time. Shortly after Payer's return the "Tegetthof" was abandoned, the officers and crew making the best of their way to Novaya Zemlya, where they were eventually rescued and brought home.

The discovery of Franz Josef Land was of the greatest geographical interest, more especially with its relation to the solution of the North Polar problem, for Payer reported that he had seen land to the northward which he estimated to be in latitude 83°, and it was supposed to extend even much further north.

Meanwhile an English expedition, fitted out by Government, started in 1875 under the command of Sir George Nares, with orders to follow in the footsteps of Captain Hall up Smith Sound, and endeavor, if possible, to reach the North Pole.

Nares succeeded in face of great difficulties, caused by the vast accumulation of ice that he encountered, in passing the position reached by the American explorers, and of securing his ship, the "Alert," in winter quarters off the northeast coast of Grinnell Land in latitude 82° 20′.

Unfortunately he could proceed no further in his vessel, being stopped by a barrier of enormously heavy ice that extended right across his path from Greenland to Grinnell Land, the land trending away on either side of him to the east and to the west, with no indications of the existence of land to the north.

In the following spring his travelling parties did good work in exploring the north coast of Grinnell Land to the west, and the northwest coast of Greenland to the east, while a third party sledged across the frozen sea in a due northerly direction, reaching the latitude of 83° 20′ 26″, a position just within 400 miles of the North Pole. The difficulties of travelling consequent on the rugged nature of the ice, which was found piled up in large chaotic masses, and the almost complete prostration of the party caused by the outbreak of scurvy, rendered a nearer approach to the Pole impossible, and the travellers were forced to return to their ship after an absence of about eleven weeks. No land was visible in any direction from the farthest point reached.

A few years afterwards, namely, in 1882, Lieutenant Lockwood, attached to the United States expedition, under the command of Major Greeley, succeeded in reaching a position on the northwest coast of Greenland, in about latitude 83° 23′.

The exploring parties sent out by Major Greeley only confirmed the report brought home by the English of the massive character of the ice, and the impracticability of reaching the Pole in that direction. It is, however, possible to reach a somewhat higher latitude than that attained either by the English under Nares or the Americans under Greeley, if it is found feasible to establish winter quarters on the most northern known part of Greenland, whence travelling parties could be despatched in the early spring, provisioned and equipped in every way for an extended absence, say of three months.

The difficulty, however, lies in the establishment of a base of operations in such a high latitude.

Lieutenant Peary, of the United States Navy, has quite recently been engaged in a most successful exploration of Greenland. He has conclusively proved, by his marvellous sledge journeys across that continent, the truth of what I have just asserted, for had he been able to establish his headquarters on the north coast of Greenland, and then endeavored to sledge polewards, he would, undoubtedly, have succeeded in reaching a very high northern position. As it is, we are largely indebted to him for much useful geographical and other scientific information.

I have now endeavored, in as detailed a manner as the space placed at my disposal in this REVIEW will admit, to set before my readers the various attempts that have been made during the last three centuries to reach the North Pole. It will be seen that science, experience and modern inventions and improvements have not, after all, assisted us very materially in reaching that hitherto inaccessible spot. For while other parts of the world, for instance, in North and South America, in Africa, and notably in Australia and New Zealand, which 300 years ago were absolutely unknown, have now been not only explored, but brought under the influence of civilization, the North Pole remains as unapproachable as ever. During all that long period we have only succeeded in advancing 130 miles out of the 530 that separated Henry Hudson in 1607 from the Pole; while during the last seventy years, that is to say, since Sir Edward Parry made his bold push for the north, we have only succeeded in reaching a position forty miles beyond that reached by that successful navigator. An accomplished distance of not more than two miles for each year that has elapsed!

This, it must be confessed, is not much to boast of. It is an exceedingly slow rate of progression, but it serves very conclusively to prove the enormous difficulties that attend the solution of the problem.

There is, at the present moment, an area of about a million and a half square miles, the approximate centre of which is the North Pole, that is absolutely unknown.

I have shown that the cordon, or belt, that embraces this unknown region has been penetrated for short distances in three localities, namely, to the latitude of 82° 5′ in Franz Josef Land, to 82° 45′ north of Spitzbergen, and to 83° 23′ north of Greenland.

By referring to a circumpolar map of the southern hemisphere, it will be seen that these penetrations, or approaches to the North Pole, have all been made within sixty degrees east and west of the meridian of Greenwich. In the high meridians of longitude, that is to say those passing through Bering's Strait and thereabouts, the undiscovered area extends to a greater distance to the southward, and the Pole in this direction has not been approached to within 700 miles. This is to be accounted for by the absence of land and by the presence of a barrier of very heavy ice, which has invariably been met in comparatively low latitudes north of Bering's Strait, and which has hitherto proved an insuperable difficulty to the successful navigation of a ship.

In order to ensure success in Arctic exploration it is essential that there should, if possible, be a continuity of coast line. The total absence of known land in the neighborhood of Bering's Strait, renders exploration in that quarter undesirable until, at any rate, other directions have been attempted.

It was the sudden termination of land on either side of Smith Sound, that is to say land trending in a northerly direction, that prevented Nares from attaining an even higher latitude than that reached by his travelling parties.

Had Sir Edward Parry been sledging along a coast line instead of forcing his way through a moving and broken-up pack, he would assuredly have reached a position nearer to the Pole than the one he gained. The great desideratum therefore in selecting a route for Polar exploration, is the presence of land trending to the northward. So long as this can be found, so sure

is it that its northern termination, however far it may be situated, will be reached. This particular condition, so far as we know to the contrary, is to be found in Franz Josef Land, for Lieutenant Payer has stated that he saw high land to the north of the position which he reached, and which he estimated must have been situated in latitude 83°, and, from the configuration of the land thus seen, taken in connection with the nature of the coast along which he was travelling, it is more than probable that Franz Josef Land extends a considerable distance beyond the furthest land that has yet been discovered. Taking all things into consideration, it seems to me more than likely that, when the North Polar problem is solved—and solved it assuredly will be—the solution of it will be found in the direction of Franz Josef Land.

It is by this route, I feel sure, that the greatest amount of geographical success is to be achieved. At the present moment an expedition, fitted out and despatched through the liberality and munificence of Mr. Harmsworth and under the command of Mr. Jackson, is prosecuting its researches in this direction, and I am confident that we shall soon hear, with most successful results. We know that the members of the expedition will have great difficulties to encounter, and great hardships to endure, but we also know that these difficulties will be bravely grappled with and these privations heroically endured, as they have been in bygone times by those who have gone before them, and whose gallant deeds they are emulating in their brave endeavors to solve the problem.

In addition to the Jackson-Harmsworth expedition, which has now spent two winters in the ice-clad regions of the north, we must not omit to allude to that gallant and enthusiastic explorer, Nansen, and his brave followers, who have already passed three winters, frozen up in all probability, in their little vessel, the "Fram," somewhere in the unknown area, but whose exact locality it is impossible to predict.

Rumors, but so far unauthenticated, have been circulated recently, indicating their presence to the north of Siberia. I do not attach much weight to these reports. Should there be any foundation for them it will, I fear, be a proof that Nansen has been unsuccessful in accomplishing the main object he had in view, namely, the discovery of the North Pole, for it tends to the

belief that he has been compelled to abandon his ship and return in the same direction in which he set out.

Our best wishes are with him and his gallant companions, and a warm and hearty welcome will be extended to them on their return, whether they have been successful in the achievement of their object, or have failed in consequence of the insuperable difficulties they have had to contend with.

In conclusion, I am inclined to think that everything is in favor of the solution of the problem, and although we are well aware that the North Polar nut is a hard one to crack, it is one that is well worth cracking, and cracked it undoubtedly will be before many years have elapsed. The introduction of steam as a motive power to ships will materially facilitate the solution, nor must we omit to mention the great improvements that have lately been effected in the conservation of provisions of all kinds and descriptions, for these will materially minimize the evil effects of sickness, particularly scurvy; while our increased knowledge of hygienic principles will enable us to keep our ships, or other habitations for the explorers, in a pure and healthy state, and, finally, the valuable experience we have already gained in all those expeditions that have wintered in the Arctic regions, will be of the greatest importance in furthering the successful efforts of future attempts to solve the North Polar problem.

A. H. MARKHAM.

GOVERNOR MORTON AS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.

BY EX-SENATOR T. C. PLATT; THE HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW; EX-SENATOR WARNER MILLER; EDWARD LAUTERBACH, AND C. W. HACKETT, CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE.

I.

NO MAN whose name will be submitted to the St. Louis Convention as a candidate for the high office of President combines so many qualifications for the position as Governor Levi P. Morton. He is pre-eminently an ideal candidate and if nominated and elected he will make an ideal Chief Executive of the nation.

Governor Morton's career has singularly fitted him to discharge the duties of President. His name is associated with success. As a business man and financier he has no superior. As a member of Congress, Minister to France, Vice-President of the United States and Governor of the Empire State of New York, he has rendered very eminent service to his country; he has earned the gratitude and respect and admiration of every true American citizen.

Many people believe that the nominee of the St. Louis Convention, whoever he may be, will be elected. I hope that this may be true, for the weakest Republican candidate would undoubtedly give the country a better and more satisfactory administration than the best Democrat that could be named. But, at the same time, it is not safe for the Republicans to assume that they are going to have a walk-over at the Presidential election in November. Manifold as the blunders of the Democratic party have been, combined with the imbecility and incompetency of the present administration, they will not prevent the Democracy

from making a hard struggle to retain control of the government, and they will not keep the mass of the Democratic voters from going to the polls next November and v ting their ticket straight. It is, unfortunately, a confirmed habit with Democrats to support their party right or wrong.

The Republicans should present to the country as their standard bearer, their strongest candidate, a man whose name will in itself be a guarantee of success. But admitting that whoever may be nominated at St. Louis will be chosen President in November, that fact in itself ought to make the Republicans all the more careful in the selection of their candidate. The election of a weak or incompetent Republican President would perhaps prove more disastrous to the party than a defeat at the polls in November. Such a man would give the country an administration which would drive the Republicans out of power at the succeeding Presidential election and prevent them perhaps from regaining control of national government again during the lifetime of the present generation.

Much will be expected of the next administration. The mistakes of the Democratic administration will have to be rectified. The finances of the country must be placed upon a sound foundation. Sufficient revenue will have to be provided to pay the current expenses of the government. Foreign complications will also confront the next administration, and the President should be a man who by experience has demonstrated his ability to guide the ship of state with safety and credit to the country and his party.

The tariff is not the only issue before the American people. No one can deny or doubt that the great principle of protection to American industries and American labor will be as safe in the hands of Governor Morton as in those of any other man.

Some people are disposed to argue that Governor Morton is too old to perform the duties of President. History has shown that there is practically no arbitrary limitation as to age in the usefulness and ability of public officials to serve their country. Some men are old and broken down at fifty, while others are as capable of attending to all the duties of active life at a much greater age. The great statesmen of Europe are mostly old men.

No man who knows Governor Morton personally would think of

suggesting that he had reached an age which unfitted him to hold important public positions. The duties of the Governor of New York are fully as exacting and laborious as those of the Chief Executive of the nation. There has not been a day since Governor Morton took the oath of office at Albany that he has not given his personal attention to the discharge of his official functions as well as the equally exacting social duties. He has in fact shown a marvellous capacity for work and endurance both physically and mentally. He is younger to-day in all that goes to make a man young, than the average man of fifty or sixty.

The Republican party has been in existence forty years. During that time it has elected seven Presidents, but no candidate has ever been taken from the State of New York by the Republicans, although for a good many years the electoral vote of this State has been a very important if not a deciding, factor in the election of President. In the judgment of conservative observers, the electoral vote of the Empire State this year will be necessary to the candidate who is elected. New York Republicans have a valid claim on the nomination, and I am confident that the St. Louis Convention will, after careful and deliberate consideration of the situation, give its decision in favor of Governor Morton.

T. C. PLATT.

II.

NEW YORK will present Governor Levi P. Morton to the Republican National Convention at St. Louis, and its delegates will unanimously ask his nomination for the Presidency. Though the Empire State has been repeatedly honored in the selection of candidates for this office by the Democratic party, the Republicans have never selected as their standard-bearer a citizen of this Commonwealth. New York has been for more than a quarter of a century a pivotal State in national politics. Its commercial and industrial interests are so preponderating in the family of States, so varied in character and so in touch and sympathy with every part of the Union, that its majorities are sometimes in favor of the one, and sometimes of the other, of the great parties of the country. Confident as we Republicans are that we shall win in the next election, there are still dangers which

confront us of too serious moment to permit us to take success for granted. In presenting her candidate, New York will say of him that it is not problematical whether he can carry the State. His record of 156,000 majority shows his overwhelming popularity and vote-getting power. He has proved his fitness for the presidential office as a citizen and a business man, a Member of Congress, Minister of the United States to France, Vice-President of the United States and Governor of the State of New York. In each of these positions he has conspicuously displayed a high degree of intelligence and singular capacity for wise administration in both private and public affairs. He has the courage of his convictions and both by vote and voice is on record and in line with the principles of the Republican party. He is for protection, reciprocity, sound money, and a vigorous and intelligent assertion of the American principle embodied in the Monroe Doctrine.

The Venezuelan question has demonstrated the value, in the presidential office, of diplomacy. Governor Morton while maintaining the rights of America, and strongly and intelligently enforcing her impregnable position upon the Monroe Doctrine, would have done it in a message so clearly and decisively as to raise no question for argument upon the language of his paper as to the American position upon that doctrine, and at the same time to leave the ultimate question of war where the Constitution places it, among the representatives of the people.

As Vice-President of the United States, Governor Morton won for himself, by the impartialty of his decisions, his uniform courtesy in the chair and wise counsels to his party friends, the regard of those of his own faith and a measure of respect from those opposed to him which has seldom been accorded to the presiding officer of the Senate.

The position of the Governor of the State of New York is always a difficult one, because of the different conditions and often antagonistic needs of the cities and the rural communities. These questions are more acute here than in any other State of the Union. The Governor's influence upon legislation has been so conspicuous for reform and good government as to command, even while he is a candidate for the Presidency, approval by the press of all parties. Our country is, beyond all things else, a business nation. In the United States to a larger extent than in any

other country the change is more frequent from poverty to wealth, from nothing to competency, from employee to employer, and from a subordinate to a superior officer. This phase of American possibilities in American opportunities is conspicuously illustrated in Mr. Morton's career. Beginning as the son of a country clergyman in New England, without acquaintance beyond his village, or financial assistance of any kind, he has become by his business talent and commercial foresight one of the successful merchants and bankers of the country, and he has won distinction in these two most difficult branches of active life.

Beyond any other nation, the United States needs a business administration. Wrecked enterprises, the closing of mills, furnaces and factories, hundreds of thousands of workmen out of employment, and a paralysis of industries, have clearly established what can be done where this faculty is lacking in the government of the country. Uncertainty in finance which assails national credit, produces wide fluctuations in values, and prevents the advent of the era of permanent prosperity, affords additional reasons, and among them the most urgent ones, why a business man should occupy the Presidential chair. A business man would know that the revenues of the country must be greater than its expenditures, or public and private disaster will inevitably follow. The experience of the last three years presents lamentable evidence of this truth. A business man as President would have suggested the measures and devised the remedies to prevent a condition of the Treasury which should call for the borrowing of money and the issuing of bonds to maintain the national credit and meet the necessities of the Treasury. Certainly, Governor Morton with his experience and wisdom in financial affairs, if a necessity had arisen for the sale of our securities, would have so keenly appreciated the high credit of our country and known so well how to maintain it, that the Treasury would have been many millions of dollars richer. Governor Morton, as the Republican nominee, would be in his career, in his business success, in the wisdom of his public actions and speeches, and in his position upon the questions affecting the national credit, the welfare and the honor of the country, a most attractive and popular candidate. Farmers and merchants, manufacturers and artisans, professional and laboring men, would all feel assured that in his election the country would enter again upon a long period of development

and prosperity, and would know once more an era of universal employment and of good wages, and that general happiness which comes from the increase and distribution of national wealth.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

III.

THE selection of a candidate for the Presidency by the Republican party at the present time is of the greatest importance to the party and to the whole country for the reason that the belief is almost universal that the candidate chosen at the coming convention at St. Louis will receive a majority of the votes cast at the election in November.

During the thirty years that the Republican party controlled the Government it always selected as its standard-bearer a man who represented the principles of the party and who gave the country a wise and economical administration of public affairs, the results of which were shown in the reduction of the debt, in the improvement of the credit of the country, in the reduction of the rate of interest and in the general improvement of the condition of the people. Every industry was flourishing, manufactures increased much more rapidly than during any other period of the nation's history, facilities for transportation were largely improved and cheapened, and the wages of all classes of labor were nearly double over what they were in 1860; and the total wealth of the country was augmented fourfold. In 1893 the administration became Democratic in all its branches for the first time since President Buchanan retired from office. The policies of the Republican party were reversed. As a result, our industries were prostrated, our transportation lines were, to a large extent, bankrupted, laborers were thrown out of employment, wages were reduced and the consumption of our products largely diminished. The masses of our people believe that these disasters were due to these changes of policy in the national administration; and they now see no prospect of an enjoyment of the prosperity of Republican times, except by returning the Republican party to control. Republicanism, as understood by the people to-day, means a protective tariff, sound money, opposition to the free coinage of silver and a strong and conservative foreign

policy maintaining the Monroe doctrine in its entirety and protecting American interests at all points by means of an adequate navy and perfect coast defences.

Governor Morton's record as a public officer is a sure guarantee that in his hands all these policies and interests may be securely trusted, and will be absolutely safe. He is known to be a thorough protectionist and a sound money man of the soundest character. If he is nominated and elected President there will be no longer any doubt in the minds of our people, or in any foreign countries, as to what our financial policy will be, and our securities everywhere will be taken without hesitation and without fear that they will be paid in money other than the best money of the world. Our credit will be restored to the condition it was in when General Harrison turned the Government over to the Democrats. At that time we were able to borrow money at two and a half per cent.

The business of the country can never be restored to the prosperous condition of 1892 until all doubt has been dispelled as to the re-enactment of a protective tariff law and the settlement of the financial question upon the basis above stated.

Governor Morton is a man easily approached and one who would listen to the advices of his party; and when a decision is finally reached, he has the firmness to carry it into execution, at whatever cost.

The President of the United States is the servant of the people, not their master. Looking at the subject from every possible standpoint, it will be seen that Governor Morton has all the requisites necessary to make a successful President. He is a man who would strengthen his party instead of weakening it, and would doubtless receive the approval of a great majority of our people, without regard to party.

WARNER MILLER.

IV.

AT a juncture in the history of the United States when the paramount questions which are most likely to present themselves through the next four years are those affecting the financial policies to be pursued, our international relations, and the adequate protection of our home industries without unnecessary disturbance of the vast business arrangements which have been based on

prevailing tariff schedules, it would seem that if a citizen otherwise qualified existed, whose life had been spent in acquiring special experienee in these branches of political and economic science, the country would be fortunate if his services, as the Chief Executive of the nation, during the period of the solution of the intricate problems to be adjusted, could be secured.

To me it appears that the present Governor of the State of New York possesses this qualification to an extent that makes him singular and unique in this respect. His steady progression from one plane of activity to another, as a farmer, a merchant, a manufacturer, a banker, a legislator, a foreign minister, a Vice-President, and Chief Executive of this State, have presented unequalled opportunities for diversified and all-embracing knowledge, acquired by personal experience in every important sphere of industry and occupation which will be materially affected by the decision of the great pending national questions.

There is one inborn attribute in which he seems to be prominent, which is the possession of a sound conservatism, never swayed by sudden impulse, or shaken by what may appear to be, often mistakenly so, an exigent public demand. He seems always to have been able to distinguish between such prevailing policies as were destined to be ephemeral and those which were found to be sound and lasting, and to have been able to determine with rare judgment, and unswayed by the excitement of the moment, as to the wisdom of the adoption or rejection of principles governing public action. Then, too, he is a man who possesses the rare attribute of being unspoiled by success; he is still as simple, as straightforward, as approachable, as honestly congenial, as he was at the beginning of his career.

The Republicans of the Empire State have been modest and self-sacrificing. To them, since the creation of the party, has not yet been accorded the privilege of the selection of a nominee for this proudest office in the gift of any people. The destinies of the party and the fortunes of the country have uniformly depended upon its political attitude, which has only in very exceptional cases proved unreliable. Doing much, giving much, sacrificing much, it has hitherto been accorded scant consideration by the Republicans of other States. It seems but simple justice to acquiesce in its unanimous suggestion for the elevation of its favorite son to the post which it covets for him as the crowning

and deserved glory of a private and public life of singular merit and desert. His nomination, and the election which, of course, would certainly follow it, would secure the certainty, not only of the perpetuated Republicanism of the State, but of the real stalwart, unfaltering Republicanism of this great metropolis. Its citizens, by a vast majority, would respond to the compliment of the nomination of their fellow-citizen, by affiliation with the party whose courtesies to him he has repaid by an unswerving devotion to its great principles and purposes.

EDWARD LAUTERBACH.

V.

THE Presidential situation in 1896 differs essentially from that which has prevailed in any Presidential year since the formation of the Republican Party. The nation has suffered from an unprecedented depression in every department of business activity since the inauguration of Grover Cleveland in March, 1893, and it has suffered without hope of relief so long as either of the great departments of the Government remained in the hands of the Democratic Party. The popular feeling against the Democracy is so strongly marked that for more than two years it has been perfectly plain to every intelligent observer that the Republican candidate for President this fall was practically certain to be elected by a very great majority. It therefore comes about that for almost the first time in the party's history a nomination is deemed nearly equivalent to an election. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find every business interest in the whole nation uniting in an appeal to the delegates to the St Louis Convention to place in nomination a safe man, and to give the business men a candidate for whom they can cast their ballots with the serene confidence that in voting for the man they are not taking a leap in the dark. This is no time for experiments, and the interests at stake are too vast to allow any thoughtful mind to consider the wisdom of making an experiment by electing an untried man for the Presidency.

The Republicans of New York have no hesitation in announcing that in Governor Levi P. Morton they present a candidate for President who in every way answers the requirements of the hour. He has been tried in public position over and over again,

and in no instance has he failed to rise to the demands made upon him. He was an excellent Member of Congress; he was a model Minister to France; he was a model Vice-President of the United States. All the nation knows the reputation he has gained and is gaining as Governor of the State of New York. No one is in doubt as to his position on any and every public question. He believes in protection; he believes in reciprocity; he stands for sound money; he believes in upholding the honor and the credit of the Union everywhere and under all circumstances; he believes in dealing with foreign powers as we would have foreign powers deal with us; and he knows the value of a thoughtful, considerate and temperate treatment of all national affairs.

Governor Morton is an advocate of the strictest economy in public expenditures. His untiring effort to prevent unnecessary appropriations by the State Legislature is most convincing proof of his attention to the needs of the taxpayers. And, while this is true, his equally watchful care for the welfare of the working men has been demonstrated by his course in providing work for the laborers on the Capitol in Albany when the regular appropriation had been exhausted. His practical benevolence has been often and widely attested, and his generous contributions to the sufferers from the famine in Ireland, and for the relief of the victims of yellow fever in the South, are matters of familiar record.

We believe that in Governor Morton we have the strongest candidate before all the people that could be designated at St. Louis. His name has now been before the country for nearly half a year and not a word has been uttered against him. His record of a quarter of a century of public life and public effort is an absolutely spotless one—as clearly spotless as his equally honorable and equally long connection with active business undertakings. He knows the necessities of the great business concerns of the nation; he is in thorough sympathy with the hopes of the men who wish to promote the material welfare of the nation and of the individuals of the nation, and we believe that welfare would be surely and well served by his nomination.

C. W. HACKETT.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE REGENERATION OF RUSSIA.

THE body politic of the Russian Empire is a synthesis of six widely differing elements—army, clergy, nobility, peasantry, bureaucracy, and Czar—of which the last three only may be said to be factors in the solution of the problem.

To those who have drawn their mental portraits of the Czars from the works of Swinburne and Kennan, the following conception, based upon the history of their policy, will doubtless appear startling and perhaps untrue.

It was the Czars who united the Slavonic tribes, introduced Christianity, enforced commercial intercourse, established schools and universities, waged a war of extermination upon sorcery and superstition, translated the Bible, codified the laws, annihilated the Golden Horde, broke the iron bonds of Tartar tyranny, imported the arts and artists of Italy, the learning of Greece, the mechanics and engineers of Germany, reformed the abuses of the church, humbled the nobility, introduced printing, established markets for transcontinental trade, reclaimed Siberia and would have saved Turkey. They gave freedom and property to 25,000,000 serfs, self-government to the provinces and new charters to the cities, facilitated foreign intercourse and travel, enlarged the freedom of the press, reformed the courts, permitted trial by jury, provided State-paid attorneys for the people, and made Russian influence paramount in Europe.

All this has been accomplished by the Czars despite the antagonism of that powerful party whose blindness and egotism have ever been well expressed in their motto, "*La Russie pour les russes.*" Theoretically beneath the Czar, but practically far more potent and widespread in its influence, this bureaucracy controls all the offices of the empire. This monster of oppression, like the institution of serfdom, was in its inception by Peter the Great in 1722 but another effort of the Czars to benefit the people, by limiting the power of the hereditary nobility, which had been increased rather than diminished by the quite unexpected results of the ukase of Boris I., and to which the abolition of the latter in 1862 gave the death blow.

Oh, the infinite wisdom of Goethe's prayer that we might "comprehend the consequences of things!" Consider the unexpected results of these two reforms. The first, the establishment of the bureaucracy, by binding the husbandman to the soil, annihilated "the people;" the second by humbling the nobility destroyed the balance of political power within the empire. Thus the bureaucracy was left without restraint in the exercise of any policy, however arbitrary, short-sighted, or corrupt, which its origin and desire for political existence might dictate. Hence, in its inception a power-

ful machine for centralization, it now forms a distinct class of individuals knit together by iron bonds of official subordination—an *imperium in imperio*. While seeming to obey the Czar, they hold the real power, and cast the responsibility upon him. They control all the sources of popular education and enlightenment—religion, politics, the schools, the press, the judiciary, the ministry, and all the immense police power of the state.

From thraldom such as this there is but one postern of escape for the Czars. That is by way of the people. That the predecessors of Alexander have been aware of their precarious position is evidenced by their policy. "The Emperor," says Prince Delgoruki, himself a Russian exile, "animated with excellent intentions, wishes for reforms; you (the bureaucracy) put every imaginable obstacle in his way. Take care! Remember that the defenders of old abuses in France, for having hampered and paralyzed in 1789 the good intentions of Louis XVI., that true father of his people, brought on a fearful anarchy of which they were the first victims." Russia is at 1785, approaching 1789. May God save her from '93!

The entire population of Russia is 120,000,000, of whom 100,000,000 are peasants, and may therefore be said to constitute the people on whom rests the financial, military and political future of the state. Though ignorant, poverty-stricken and oppressed, the people never die.

On the other hand, it is the well-nigh unanimous sentiment of travellers and historians that they are capable of the highest civilization and intellectual culture. A people who risked all the horrors of a mediæval rebellion—the knout, the *oubliettes* and the mines of Siberia—to save their beards from the sacrilegious hands of that iconoclast Peter the Great, or to prevent a change in the sign of the cross, will not suffer by comparison with those who gave $150,000,000, 400,000 lives, and risked a traitor's death to save a three cent tax on tea. Brave, industrious, patient, self-respecting, self-sacrificing and democratic; loving their *mir*, their country and their Czar with a love that passeth knowledge; blindly faithful to one form of fatalism, that whatever the Czar decrees is for the best; rejecting with alarm the proposal of the bureaucracy to limit the power of the autocracy, preferring the kindly rule of the latter to the tyranny of the former; rising in mass to reject civil freedom from the hand of Napoleon, and accepting death to save a country that offered no other reward than the mines of Siberia or the *oubliettes* of the Bastile of Peter Paul—this people presents a spectacle at once sad and awe inspiring. That they are perfectly capable of managing their own political and civil affairs, no student of the Village Community or Communism in general will deny. As members of the *mir* from a time beyond which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the peasants have managed the land, the forests, the fisheries, the renting of the public buildings, the distribution of taxes and the elections of the executive and the judges of the Volost.

Under these circumstances there is but one solution of the problem of Russia's political future, one method of closing the chasm between the civilization of Russia and that of the rest of Europe. The people and the Czar must unite to throw off this incubus—this drag on the wheels of progress. History furnishes innumerable examples of such a coalition. Russia herself has once witnessed the abolition of the political privileges of a class by the combined efforts of Czar and people, when the Boyards attempted to impose restrictions upon the Romanoffs. The sentiment of democratic equality

inclines them to hate all politically privileged classes and to support the one supreme power which is equally above all.

But to this union there are on the part of the people two obstacles, and these it has ever been the aim of the Czars to overcome and that of the bureaucracy to uphold: First, the non-ownership of the land, and secondly, the want of elementary and professional education. That the peasants' cry, "*My vashi zemlia nasha!*" ("we are yours but the land is ours"), will be answered, that enlightenment will become general, that the supremacy of the people must come—is but the necessary conclusion of the logic of events. History *is* a science and evolution a fact.

In view of these facts we cannot but agree with the dicta of all writers, Russian and foreign, that the Czar and the people are the chief living organic forces in Russian society. The gradual elevation of the people, through the continued efforts of the Czars, notwithstanding the most determined bureaucratic opposition, is the undoubted precursor of a sudden and perhaps violent union of these elements, in a constitutional monarchy by which all other factions and parties shall be ground to powder.

ARNOLD WATSON SHERMAN.

TWO REPUBLICS OR ONE?

A SHORT time ago a merchant in San Francisco posted the following proclamation in front of his store:

"CITIZENS, READ THIS!

"Eastern manufacturers are starving your industrial classes and bankrupting our business men. The crisis cannot be kept up much longer. Our only relief is a Pacific republic. We tax certain foreign goods. Why not protect ourselves against the East?"

It is easy enough to understand that a sentiment such as is here expressed becomes exaggerated in its importance through the publicity given to it by the newspapers. One wonders, however, whether it does not contain the germ of prophecy. In other words, will the time ever come when the United States will divide itself peacefully into two republics, with the Mississippi river as the natural line of separation?

The question is not altogether new. Frequently, as the debates in Congress amply attest, the possibility of a western republic has been intimated. It has been more of a warning than a threat. No one has ever believed that such bisection would come in this generation or the next. Nobody wants it to come at all. Against the working of natural forces, however, human desires are proverbially weak and it may be that these forces will in themselves work out an inevitable destiny.

At present there is little affinity between the East and the West. The two sections are apart on almost every vital principle. This is so evident in the one instance of money that no argument is needed. One has but to refer to the numerous and bitter struggles in the last Congress to note how party lines can be obliterated and sectional lines be drawn. The East is the center of the money power, the home of the holder of the mortgage and of the bond. The West is bending under a burden of debt, suspicious of financial bondage, anxious for a freer and more elastic currency. The East abhors silver as a money metal and clamors for the further appreciation of an already scant supply of gold. The West wants silver recognized, and believes that in no

other direction does permanent prosperity lie. Within the past two or three years the chasm between the two extremes of the country upon this money question has perceptibly widened.

From the records of Congress, also, could be written the story of the lack of sympathy between the East and the West upon the tariff. It has been impossible to keep the Western Republicans in line with their eastern colleagues, while the low tariff Western Democrat has seen the Eastern Democratic protected manufacturer join the Republican ranks. The representatives of the two sections have little in common. They stand for people of diverse views.

These are but two subjects out of many. The ocean-bound East, lying at the mercy of bombarding fleets, fails to awaken the genuine sympathy of the inland West in appropriations for the navy. On the other hand, the West appeals to almost deaf ears when it pleads for generous sums for irrigating vast arid tracts, for surveying public lands and for developing the untouched resources of sparsely settled empires. That there are exceptions to this broad statement simply confirms the rule. A thousand points of difference could be emphasized. They are even now slight causes of irritation. The future may develop them into unhealable wounds.

But there is another view, most potent of all, which must be considered as affecting the solidity of the United States as now constituted. Until the present time the West has been bound to the East by ties of parentage and home. The Western man who was sent to the Senate or the House of Representatives was born in the East; the Western merchant who had accumulated a little money turned his face to the East to visit the old homestead or the last resting places of his parents. He loved the East because it gave him birth. The present generation in the West feels no such thrill, is bound by no such endearing tie. It is of the West, Western; it has breathed a new atmosphere, it has imbibed new likes and dislikes. In the generations which are yet to come the bond of sympathy will be still further removed. The representative in the Fifty-fourth Congress from Wyoming, until he visited Washington recently, had never been east of Chicago. There are men in California to-day to whom Washington is as distant, in every sense of the word, as China is to us here in the East. When President Harrison went to the Pacific slope a few years ago he was as a visitor from a strange country. The present Chief Executive has never seen the Rocky Mountains, much less set foot upon the broad domain which slopes from their snowy peaks to the ever blue Pacific.

It may be said that with the increase of railroad facilities and the development of the telegraph and telephone, we will find distance annihilated and will be enabled to clasp hands figuratively, if not literally, with our farthest brother. This may be in a sense true; but the fact still remains that the newspapers of the East to-day contain more news of London and Paris than they do of San Francisco. A handful of Eastern people travel across the continent; hundreds of thousands voyage over the Atlantic.

The time may come, therefore—though heaven grant it otherwise—when the bustling, ambitious, independent West will see that its highest development depends upon the management of its own affairs. To avert such a catastrophe there must be a broader, warmer sympathy than now exists; a more intense spirit of patriotism must be inculcated; and, above

all, there must be an unstinted and undying, a genuine and universal, pride in the greatness and the glory of an undivided republic.

HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST.

BIRDS AND THE ATMOSPHERE.

I HAVE read with much interest an extract from an article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, by Mr. Hiram S. Maxim, on "Birds and the Flying Machine." In 1891 I suggested that the soaring of birds might sometimes be done by means of upward currents, caused by the heating of the lower strata of the atmosphere by the sun. My explanation is derived from the theory of equilibrium of the atmosphere, given by the late Mr. William Ferrel in his "*Popular Treatise on the Winds.*" It occurred to me that a similar state of unstable equilibrium of the atmosphere to that which causes destructive tornadoes might, when the degree of instability is much less, give rise to ascending currents, which birds could use for flight with motionless wings. In *Nature*, October 1st, 1891, I wrote: "These birds," sea gulls and harriers, "begin to soar at a height of about 200 feet, and rise in slanting spirals to 2,000 feet and under. The gulls are much the most numerous, and flocks of them may be seen soaring nearly every fine day in summer. Sometimes a number assemble, and after going round in circles for a short time, without rising, or rising very little, they come down, the condition of the air being apparently unfavorable for soaring. Whenever I have seen a flock finish an ascent, they all reached the same height, which is consistent with the supposition that they go as high as they can. They never remained at the limit of their ascent, even for a short time, but separated, sailing away downward to great distances.

"The explanation of soaring at great heights, which presents fewest difficulties seems to me to be—that it is done by means of upward currents. This has been suggested by several observers, its main difficulty being the uncertainty that there are such currents of sufficient strength. I shall try to show that upward currents may be caused in two ways.

"Everyone who has watched the working of a windmill, must have seen that the force of the wind varies frequently, and sometimes rather suddenly. It is evident that there must be an ascent of air in front of a current moving faster than the average speed, and a descent of air behind it. As an example of this, when a cold southwest wind was blowing, with showers of rain at intervals, accompanied, as often happens, by increased force of the wind, I once saw a flock of gulls soaring in front of one of these squalls. There can, I think, be little doubt that there was an ascending current, of which the gulls took advantage.

"Mr. W. Ferrel has shown ("*Popular Treatise on the Winds*") that if the rate of fall of temperature with increase of height, be greater than the rate of dynamical cooling of an ascending current, the atmosphere is in an unstable state—that is, if by any cause a mass of air be started in an upward direction in such an atmosphere, the density of the ascending air is less than that of the surrounding still air, so that the former would be driven upwards and an ascending current established which would tend to rush up to the top of the atmosphere, if the instability consequent on the vertical decrease of temperature should extend all the way up; but if the instability did not extend to the top, then, at its limit, the impelling force would cease, and friction would soon bring the ascending current to rest. Conversely in an unstable atmosphere, if a mass of air be

started downward, the density of the descending air is greater than that of the surrounding still air, and the descent tends to continue down to the ground. Mr. Ferrel says (page 440): 'The unstable state in unsaturated air occurs mostly on very dry and sandy soils with little heat conductivity, when the weather is very warm and the heat rays of the sun are unobstructed by any clouds above. The heat thus accumulates in the surface strata of the soil and the lower strata of the atmosphere, and thus is brought about the unstable state, at least up to a low altitude even in clear dry weather.' And in speaking of what may be called a multiple tornado (page 412): 'As the tornado originates in air in the unstable state, it often happens that there is about an equal tendency in the air of the lower stratum, to burst up through those above at several places in the same vicinity at the same time.' This tendency of the lower strata to burst up in separate spots may exist where the instability is much less than that required to cause a tornado, as in the case of a plain strongly heated by the sun and in the absence of any gyratory motion round the center of an ascending current, there would be no whirlwind, only a quiet ascent of air, in a slanting direction if there were any wind. Such ascending currents may be of small area, not much larger than the circles described by birds when soaring. It seems possible that the object of describing circles may be to keep within the ascending current.

"It is obvious that upward currents over a plain caused either by variations in the velocity of the wind, or by the unstable state of the atmosphere, must be almost insensible near the ground, and could not attain their full strength under a considerable height. This accounts for the fact that over plains birds do not begin to soar at less than about 200 feet. If soaring were possible in a uniform horizontal current, they would save themselves the muscular effort of rising 200 feet and over by the active use of the wings, and would begin to soar immediately on leaving the ground."

As under a hot sun the air is seldom without horizontal motion, masses of air may be started in an upward direction by any obstacle, such as a rising ground, a bush, etc., and an ascending current so caused will draw in air all round, and tend to increase in area. Also when an upward current is started, it necessarily follows that a downward current must start somewhere else, probably on the outside of the former current. Mr. Ferrel has shown that in an unstable atmosphere, descending air is impelled downward by a force equal to that which impels ascending air upward. When the downward current approaches the ground, it must, by Mr. Ferrel's theory, be colder than the surrounding air, and the stability of the column of air at that point is restored, so that the ascending and descending currents cease.

In hilly country the motion of the air must be modified by the diversion upwards and downwards of the horizontal current, and upward currents of larger area and greater force than over plains may result.

Mr. Hiram S. Maxim says: "With the albatross and sea-gull, it will be found that they always occupy the same position as relates the ship, . . . but whenever they find themselves in front of the ship, or on one side, where there is no ascending column of air, they have to work their passage very much as other birds do." This is true as to the gulls on the New Zealand coast, but the albatross Mr. Maxim is speaking of must be a different species from the giant of the Southern Ocean. For a description of the flight of the Southern albatross, I may refer to a letter in *Nature* of May 2, 1889, by me, and to one by Lord Rayleigh in the following number.

A. C. BAINES.

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THE ENGINEER IN NAVAL WARFARE.

BY COMMODORE GEORGE W. MELVILLE, ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY; W. S. ALDRICH, PROFESSOR OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERING IN THE UNIVERSITY OF WEST VIRGINIA; IRA N. HOLLIS, PROFESSOR OF ENGINEERING IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY; GARDINER C. SIMS, OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERS; AND GEORGE UHLER, PRESIDENT OF THE MARINE ENGINEERS' BENEFICIAL ASSOCIATION.

I.

"*The naval supremacy of Great Britain rests in the hands of the engineers.* War rumors force such truths home, and they will be driven yet more forcibly home to the Admiralty before the year is out. Mr. Goschen (the First Lord of the Admiralty) *must* take steps to add to the number of engineers. Men cannot be had now, because the position and pay are not good enough. Is it too much to hope that the First Lord of the Admiralty will use his own eyes, and his own ears, and his own great common sense, and instead of allowing himself to be led by others, take the initiative, and, recognizing the importance of the naval engineer, place the profession on such a footing that entrance to its ranks may come to be sought for with eager anxiety?"

That great scientific periodical, *The Engineer*, of London, in its leader of February 7, 1896, thus startled the rulers of Britannia, and before the appeal had been read in the colonies of

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Queen Victoria, the authorities had promised that reforms would be made in the relation of the engineering to the other branches of Her Majesty's Navy.

The same journal also declared that "while peace prevails it is possible for the Admiralty to pursue a policy of foolish economy" in trying to get along without a sufficiency of naval engineers; "but when war threatens—when, in fact, it is within measurable distance—any policy which endangers the national safety becomes criminal."

La Marine Francaise, in its issue of February 10, 1896, and speaking from a standpoint of loyalty to the sailor, affirms:

"Whether we like it or not, there is strife between the deck and the engineer officer. While the *rôle* of the former is growing less every day, that of the latter is constantly increasing in importance. Everything is engines in the Navy. We refuse to admit it, but strife does exist, and it is only when compelled and forced that we give the engineer due rank and authority. Formerly everybody *had* to be a sailor, now everybody *should* be an engineer."

The *Engineering News* of New York, of February 20, 1896, in a conservative editorial, declares that the demand for reorganizing the Engineer Corps of the United States "is probably not exceeded in importance with respect to our national defences by that of any measure which will come before Congress at this session." It further declares that:

"The existing demands of modern naval construction, maintenance, and tactics, are such that naval engineers, in order to proficiently perform all of the many duties demanded of them, ought to be the most highly-educated and scientifically-trained officers of the service. To say that any man loses caste socially by entering this branch of the naval service is silly and unworthy of a sailor. The work of the engineer officers in the creation of our new navy has called forth the heartiest praise from the experts of all nations; and anything that tends to deteriorate the quality of future graduates from the Naval Academy in the engineering branch cannot be swept away too soon."

Is it not significant that these representative technical papers of the three wealthiest and greatest manufacturing nations should publish such forcible and similar views within a few days of each other, although looking at the matter from different commercial, political, geographical, military, and national standpoints? It can only be accounted for by the fact that the military officials of these countries were suddenly aroused to the necessity of preparing a defence for a time of emergency. A careful study

of their respective naval organizations convinced experts that a spirit of caste and service traditions of mediæval origin had prevented the engineer from placing the modern battle-ship in a state of efficiency. The technical journals thus simply reflected the views of those who had this military and engineering problem to solve.

This is the age of the engineer, and he will be the great factor in modern warfare, whether the contest be waged by land or by sea. The rapidity with which the division of an army can be moved by mechanical means may decide the destiny of a nation. The skill of the mechanical engineer in mounting and protecting a gun, and in devising arrangements whereby it can be served and worked more readily, determines the value of the weapon whether it is placed in a fortress on shore, or in a turret on board a ship. The ability of the superintendents of our great industrial plants to provide munitions of war will be of more importance than the enrollment of brigades without rifles and cartridges.

The work of engineers like Bessemer and Siemens forced the construction of steel fleets. But the passing of ships of oak to make way for these vessels of steel should have been accompanied by corresponding changes in the organization of the crews. The requirements of a modern battle-ship are not founded upon the necessities of wooden frigates, and unless a radical change is made in the internal policy of our warships we invite a calamity in the day of battle.

The efficiency of the modern battle-ship, which is a series of separate compartments, must depend upon others besides the commander. It will be influenced by the endurance of the fireman behind the ram, that unseen stoker whose station is in front of the roaring furnaces. It may be determined by the skill of the machinist, who maintains in order the hydraulic gear connected with the gun mounting; for it will take but few weeks to train a man to sight a weapon and pull the lockstring, while it may require years to master the difficulties which are encountered on board ship in making hydraulic joints. The training of the men around the decks will be a simple matter compared with the organization of an efficient force in the engine and fire-rooms.

The trained engineer is a combatant in naval warfare,

for he is not only exposed to all the dangers from the ram and the torpedo, but also to the perils that confront him in managing the great boilers and engines. Is that man "a non combatant" who has the supervision of three sets of propelling engines, the management of a half dozen batteries of boilers and the maintenance of scores of auxiliary machines installed in places almost inaccessible for repairs but absolutely essential to the efficiency of the vessel?

Within the limits of a short article it is impossible to show the developments that have taken place. It is a certainty that the changes have resulted in the possession, by a warship, of three weapons—the gun, the ram, and speed. In the days of sail the vessel had one weapon only—the gun. It may surprise a layman to be told that speed is a weapon, but an element which permits the commander to seek or avoid a conflict, which allows him at will to move without the range of the enemy's guns, which will enable him to drive from the sea the commerce of his opponent, is a positive arm, and it is so regarded by all who have studied war as a science. *Speed, and particularly its control, is the cardinal element of tactics.* As the Earl of Hopetoun said a few weeks ago, in his presidential address before the Institution of Naval Architects, in London, "the weather-gauge of to-day is the power to out-steam the fleet of the enemy."

Ability to manœuvre is now more dependent upon the shape of the hull, and the number, form, and position of the propellers, than it is upon the skill of the most expert commander. With the advent of steam the possibilities of the warship vastly increased. As each successive auxiliary was installed the potency of the vessel was augmented, particularly when these machines were placed in the charge of trained men who were able to maintain them in a state of efficiency.

Steering engines and twin screws have improved the manœuvring qualities of vessels, and thus increased the offensive power of warships. No comparison can be made between the tactical possibilities of steam vessels and the sailing craft of a former decade. The engineer's work has determined absolutely the tactical diameter of the vessel, and when this is once established, the commander can secure it at will, for it is simply a question of using sufficient engine power to secure a given speed. In ancient days, skill in seamanship regulated the tactical diameter of the brig,

and as a result victories were won by the way in which the sails were handled.

The change in our warships will necessitate the development of one talent which was not so essential to the commander of the sailing craft. That quality is "nerve" and absolute reliance upon others. Inclosed in the conning tower, the commander will be dependent to a remarkable degree upon his chief engineer. Fortunately for the good of the service, the engineer in the day of battle will not be told how to manage the motive machinery by a trinity of men claiming to be vested with supreme authority. The captain of the vessel will be compelled to depend upon the ability of the engineers. The master of an old ship-of-the-line had a better knowledge of his crew than the commander of a modern battleship possesses of the feelings and resources of the men below the protective deck and of the efficiency of the machines under their charge. The capable commander will be as much concerned about disablements within the vessel as he will fear shots from without. In times past an inspiring act might revive the courage of depressed crews, but something more than courage will be required to secure efficiency from impaired machines.

The training of a Naval Engineering Reserve of officers is an important military question, and the scientific institutions of the country have a duty to perform in this matter. I have noted the work of engineer officers taken into our naval service by the many methods attempted. It has been my pleasure to have been associated with nearly every strong man who has been a member of the Corps of Naval Engineers. Friends like Isherwood, Haswell, and Copeland were among the officers who designed the excellent machinery of the ships of the Civil War. My contemporaries are the chief engineers of battle-ships like the "Indiana," and they have most efficiently supervised the construction of these vessels. Nearly all my assistants have been engineer graduates of the Naval Academy, under the system which obtained prior to 1882, when cadets were specially entered for the Engineer Corps. Advantages have thus been given me to study the question of how our naval engineering *personnel* should be educated. It is imperative that they receive military training, but the safety of our fleets demands that all should obtain more engineering instruction than is now given at the Naval Academy, where the cadets

assigned to the Engineer Corps are given but one year in marine engineering. The co-operation of the many scientific colleges and schools should be secured without delay.

The institution at Annapolis must be brought into competition with the scientific colleges. This policy would be of advantage to the cadets, to the competing institutions, and to the navy. Annapolis is either unable or unwilling to train naval engineers, and if its work is brought into comparison with that of other institutions, the Naval Academy will be compelled to extend its engineering curriculum or show cause for its existence.

The naval engineer has attempted to use industrial methods in the design, construction, and management of the machinery of our warships. He has urged that the military routine, which may be necessary for a marine guard, cannot be applied to the management of the fire-room force. He has been thwarted in his laudable efforts to reform the service by the words "strategy" and "tactics." Improvements proposed by him are said to interfere with the tactical rules that have been handed down from previous centuries. A policy suggested by the engineer is declared not in harmony with the strategy of naval warfare. His future usefulness thus compelled the engineer to give some consideration to the study of war. It was not long before he learned that strategy was a science, and tactics a very simple art which often related to routine duties that could be acquired by the drill sergeant. The Commander-in-Chief of the English army declares that any competent captain of a company can teach tactics to his subordinates.

Strategy is a science. It has been defined as: "The work and genius in the accomplishment of a military design." The engineer soon discovered that his work was of importance in the accomplishment of naval designs. In designing propellers, in shaping the hull, in controlling the power which will determine the efficiency of the gun mount, in providing reliable steering engines, in planning ventilating systems which will always be serviceable, in arranging a forced draft system which will be useful in emergencies, and in accurately placing about fifty miles of piping and seven hundred valves which are required on board a modern battle-ship, the engineer realizes that the strategic possibilities of a modern fleet of battle-ships are greatly dependent upon his thought and handiwork. He knows that strategy is important, but he

knows all strategy will fail which does not recognize the fact that success will be dependent upon the efficiency of the machines as well as upon the courage of the few men around the guns.

The engineer's work is carried on in a vitiated atmosphere, in cramped quarters, and he will be subjected to a strain whose intensity can only be realized by those who have taken part in a full powered trial of a modern cruiser. The successful torpedo boat builder of England, Mr. Thornycroft, says :

"In making the tour of his department, the chief engineer will find that the beat of the propelling engines will be confused by the addition of a number of auxiliary appliances, each adding its own peculiar series of sounds to the din and confusion of the roaring steam and the rush of water. This discord will be further complicated by the fact that the auxiliary machines in their rate of working keep no constant ratio to each other or to the main engines. The sense of feeling will have to be exercised, for the changes of temperature which may disable the auxiliaries can only be detected at times by touch. The eye is even put to a great disadvantage, for the motion of the reciprocating parts will be so rapid that no particular position of any working portion can be assigned to it. With a spray of water and oil thrown in their eyes, all those below will have their vision temporarily impaired."

While undergoing this ordeal, the engineer must have a clear mind for directing repairs, avoiding accidents, overcoming casualties and arranging stations. He must be cool in emergency, ready in resource, and possess physical and moral courage of high degree.

The artificers, engine drivers, warrant machinists, call them what you please, will have a light burden in battle compared with the trained engineer. This officer will have to supervise all the machinery below the water line. When the ship is cleared for action he must inspire that isolated band of firemen and mechanics hermetically sealed below the protective deck. Looking, therefore, to the engineer for instruction, for direction, for advice in emergency, and for support in danger, will be that body of unappreciated men who constitute his force.

The physical history of the Engineer Corps for the past five years has been impressively told by the Surgeon General of the United States Navy, and shows conclusively that men cannot endure this work for a protracted period. Those in charge of the machinery of an ocean greyhound or modern battle-ship will have but a short official life, and it behooves this nation to prepare a powerful engineering reserve for future needs.

In building battle-ships without providing for a trained and

sufficient corps of naval engineers, there is a royal road to disaster and defeat. There is a path to victory by recognizing the fact that the advent of the engineer, with his industrial methods, is a direct gain to the efficiency and glory of the naval service.

If the engineer is not worthy of official recognition, and of some of the emoluments of the naval service, as he stands in that magazine of death, with clear brain and steadfast courage, holding in his firm grasp the heartstrings of the ship, then a new lexicon is required to define his worth. If he falls beneath a maze of wrecked machinery, or within a blast of scalding steam, or sinks to ocean depths in the closed compartment, either he dies as heroes die, and his career has been honorable, or the world's ideal needs revision.

GEO. W. MELVILLE.

II.

SUCCESS in naval warfare is often developed out of conditions over which it has no control. Usually such conditions mark the epoch and form the distinguishing characteristics of the period. From the trireme to the "Minneapolis" was a great stride. There was only one intermediate step, however, and that through the epoch of sail power, if we accept the following dictum of one of the ablest tacticians of the new navy :

"The object of all manœuvres in action is to get and keep the enemy within effective range; to blank some of his fire by getting a superior position; to hold an advantage gained, or, losing it, to manœuvre for a fresh one; to concentrate fire on an exposed flank of the enemy in order to reduce the tactical efficiency of all his ships by crippling one or more."

These great principles are eternal. They were as applicable over two thousand years ago with oars as motive power, as in the days of the "Constitution" and "Guerriere," or in the more recent naval battle of the Yalu. What then has changed? Simply the motive power and the method of handling it, as called into requisition in carrying out the formulated principles of naval tactics. We are not now discussing the evolution of the weapons of offence and defence, nor the possible minute changes in naval tactics wrought by the developments of ordnance. Whether attacking with arrows or with shot and shell, the one thing needful is "to avoid waste of ammunition; but, of all things to keep up an effective and destructive fire."

Singularly enough history is repeating itself in naval tactics.

Steam power permits of massed formations, if the units can manœuvre adroitly together, even as in the days of the trireme. In fact, this is the distinguishing characteristic by which modern tactics differ from those of sailing days. But what a transformation meanwhile! And with it the passing of the sailor and the advent of the engineer! We shall not stop to discuss whether he has come to stay. As long as he can obtain coal, oil, or some other source of motive power than the capricious winds, there shall not be stretched another stitch of canvas on any naval vessel.

Steel warships are now propelled by engines of over twenty thousand horse-power and costing over one million dollars. In almost innumerable compartments are placed the auxiliary machinery and accessories. The ship is lighted by electricity, heated by steam, cooled by compressed air, and steered by hydraulic power. These four great agencies are also used for all sorts and conditions of service, capable at any moment of being called into operation by "pressing the button" on deck, while the engineer below deck does the rest. Passing from compartment to compartment one is almost lost in the bewildering maze of complicated machinery, demanded not alone for the propulsion of the ship, but for operation of the hoists, guns, steering gear, heating, lighting, and ventilating systems, and for the internal organization and management of what has not inaptly been termed "the engineers' ship."

This transformation has brought about conditions which must be fulfilled if all of this machinery is to be obtained of the best type and maintained in the highest state of efficiency. Engineering research is the new instrument of service in the hands of the engineer. Without some attention to it, present developments had been impossible. Without systematic work along these lines in the future, failure in naval warfare is a foregone conclusion.

In selecting the mechanical, electrical, hydraulic and compressed-air machinery used on board naval vessels, the questions of first cost and of yearly maintenance are vitally dependent upon being able to pre-determine its economical performance. Such machinery can only be operated most economically while cruising by making use of the latest experimental results along these lines The warship in commission is no place in which

to try such experiments. Repeated failures have occurred to many appliances which have been placed on these vessels simply upon the recommendation of the manufacturers or of others interested.

Preliminary experimental work would cost a trifle compared to the present yearly outlays of the government for the maintenance of the uneconomical machinery, auxiliaries and accessories on board several of our modern men-of-war. Very few of these have had their performance pre-determined. Such information cannot be obtained by the navy from private corporations and manufacturing establishments. The gravity of the situation respecting the value of naval engineering research is fully recognized in England. *Engineering*, of London, remarks:

"A private contractor works for private gain. The results of his experiments are as much his capital and property as the tools in his shop or the balance he may have at the bank. In the case of the navy it is the public that pays; and it is the public that has a right to know its money is not wasted."

The private establishments of our country may lead the world and be able to furnish the navy all the material it needs; but it is a fact only too well-known that of all purchasers the government can obtain the least information concerning the materials, mechanism and machinery it is about to install on its war vessels. Such engineering data and information must be obtained by the government, through the navy, at its own expense and for its own use.

Engineering research is now demanded by the exigencies of business, the keen competition of trade and the development of industry. The large manufacturing establishments, railroads and steamship companies have their testing departments or experimental staff to inspect their purchased supplies quite as much as to test their own manufactured products. Several British steamers of late construction have incorporated many minor improvements suggested by researches made by the engineers of their company. Along this line, *Engineering*, of London, takes occasion to remark:

"Our great shipping firms have long recognized that they can only maintain their national supremacy as the carriers of the world by reducing their 'running expenses' to the lowest possible minimum. . . . Some firms have allowed and encouraged their engineers to prosecute scientific research. . . . The various questions are treated not only scientifically,

but as they affect the owner's pocket, for this, after all, is the ultimate factor in problems in marine engineering. . . . The whole question of marine engineering testing and research has assumed a national importance of the most pressing nature. . . . The results of Admiralty trials leave much to be desired: many practical points are either omitted, or are given in an incomplete form."

Speed trials, builders' trials, contract trials, coal endurance trials, and "Admiralty" trials are all adapted to furnish just such information as they are designed to supply, and no more. The trend of modern engineering development is along inductive rather than deductive lines. The great achievements of engineering now witnessed on every hand are very largely due to the progressive and systematic development of research.

Foreign governments have long recognized the value of experimental work as directly affecting the efficiency of their naval establishments. England has a thoroughly equipped and organized chemical testing laboratory at Greenwich. At the Kiel navy yard, of the German Government, double-ended marine boilers are tested under all the conditions under which they are ever likely to be used on board ship; and while being thoroughly tested before going into the ship, every opportunity is afforded to note defects and remedy them. In France, Italy and Russia most elaborate experiments have been carried on by individuals, boards and specially-appointed committees, for the promotion of Naval Engineering progress. In a former article we pointed out the great value of the French Government experiments, in 1884-5, on the specially-fitted triple-screw steam launch "Carpe," as warranting the introduction of this system of propulsion for the new cruisers "Columbia" and "Minneapolis."

The problems of the naval engineer are essentially dynamic. They admit of the most intelligent solution only by the use of experimental data and the pre-determination of similar problems, investigated on a small scale, as in the case of the triple-screw experiments of the "Carpe." With the larger questions of marine engineering involved, such problems are quite beyond the range of private research.

Much valuable work has been done by individuals, such as Froude, Yarrow, Russell, and Marchal, for foreign navies, as well as by the research committees of technical societies, such as that on Marine Engine and Boiler Trials of the British Institution of Mechanical Engineers. In our own country, Isherwood,

Loring, Emery, Thurston, and others among our naval and ex-naval engineers, as well as Government Experiment Boards, have rendered like valuable services.

The problems of to-day are without precedent. Research must be made a business and not a passing pleasure. Organized efforts are now an absolute necessity to cope with the difficulties, bear the expense and successfully prosecute the experimental work now demanded by engineering in general and by naval engineering in particular. There is a growing recognition of the fact that the most efficient work can be done and the most satisfactory results obtained with a permanently located equipment in naval engineering experiment stations, with thoroughly organized staff working with clearly defined objects in view.

The efficiency of the machinery of the cruiser, ram or battleship involves such problems as can be best satisfactorily settled in an experiment station. In no other field of professional work can research and investigation yield such fruitful results and so greatly increase the efficiency of the United States Navy as in this one of engineering. The intelligent design of the mechanism, motive-power machinery and accessories of naval vessels is being more and more based upon the results of tests, trials, researches and scientific investigations.

At the Naval Engineering Experiment Station which it is now proposed to establish and maintain at New London, Connecticut, various engineering problems would be investigated on a small scale, similar to those long carried on by foreign governments, to obtain data for the intelligent solution of the larger problems of naval engineering design. New appliances would be thoroughly tested that they might be rejected if found wanting in efficiency and economy. New methods would be subjected to searching investigation. There would be thus secured for the naval service the very best materials and the highest types of motive-power and other machinery and accessories for warships and other naval vessels. Only in this way can our navy maintain any supremacy which it may now seem to have in the intelligence and skill of its engineering department.

Experimental engineering is capable of rendering the most valuable assistance in building up the new navy and maintaining the same in the most efficient condition. Future progress will be slow and will be attended with great risks and frequent fail-

ures if the United States navy does not recognize the efforts, now being made in all branches of marine engineering, to improve older types and present forms of the several varieties of mechanism, auxiliary and motive power machinery.

Federal aid for the promotion of engineering research in the several States has not yet received the recognition accorded to agricultural science by the Hatch act, of 1887.

During the past few years there has been growing a belief that every State College and University which is a beneficiary of the Land Grant bill, of 1862, and the Morrill act, of 1890, should receive a new national endowment. This should be devoted exclusively to the establishment, equipment and yearly maintenance of State Engineering Experiment Stations. The relation of these to engineering education and scientific investigation, to the diffusion of practical information among the people and the industrial development of each State, would be analogous to that now borne by the several State Agricultural Experiment Stations to agricultural science. Moreover, advisory and co-operative relations with government are vital to the mutual advantage of the government and the cause of each State's industrial development. In much the same way that the agricultural stations have established such relations by and through the Department of Agriculture, it is proposed that the engineering stations shall establish similar relations by and through the Department of the Navy.

The several State Engineering Experiment Stations will form invaluable aids to the government and materially assist its prosecution of scientific investigation and engineering research for the best interests of its naval service. These stations will afford facilities for post-graduate work and research to properly accredited graduates of technological schools, as well as the detail of naval engineers which the government may direct for such purpose. Being located in the several States they will be able to enlist the co-operation of builders, manufacturers and industrial establishments in the prosecution of such experimental engineering work as will secure to the government the best materials and the highest types of motive power and other machinery and accessories for warships and other naval vessels. The Secretary of the Navy may indicate from time to time such lines of inquiry and research as shall seem most important to the government,

and which may be most advantageously carried on in some one particular State.

Many engineering students in the Land Grant or federally-endowed institutions, receive military training and instruction This makes possible an organization and development of combined engineering education and military training along such lines as have been worked out at the naval and military academies. The State colleges and universities, therefore, which are in some official way connected with the federal government and receive the national grants of money on condition of providing for such military instruction may become valuable agencies in supplying trained engineers should they come to be recognized as proper fitting schools for the government's naval service by Civil Service examination and appointment. The present co-operation of government with the States in engineering education and the proposed co-operation in engineering experiment, similar to that now existing for agricultural education and research, will strengthen and elevate the standard of engineering education, form powerful factors in the development of the industries and natural resources of the several States, and be of mutual advantage to the naval service and to the general government.

WM. S. ALDRICH.

III.

IT is strange in a country so democratic as the United States to find the engineer making a plea for recognition. His work and influence have been more potent than the efforts of the statesman in forming our Republic. The inventors of the steam engine and the steel rail have done more to weld together the parts of the continent than the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the influence of James Watt is likely to survive all changes of governmental forms. In 1819, when England was struggling with vast economic problems, and when the steam engine and mechanical appliances were still in their infancy, Lord Jeffrey wrote of Watt and his inventions:

"It would be difficult to estimate the value of the benefits which these inventions have conferred upon this country. There is no branch of industry that has not been indebted to them; and, in all the most material, they have not only widened most magnificently the field of its exertions, but multiplied a thousand fold the amount of its productions. It is our improved steam engine that has fought the battles of Europe, and exalted and sus-

tained, through the late tremendous contest, the political greatness of our land. It is the same great power which now enables us to pay the interest of our debt and to maintain the arduous struggle in which we are still engaged."

If this was true in the days of Nelson and Wellington, how much truer it is in our day and in our country. The history of the world contains few influences which have entered so fully into the lives of a people as the mechanical appliances which have had their origin in the steam engine, and nowhere else have these appliances worked greater changes than in the means of transportation. Instead of the lumbering stage coach, we have the limited express; instead of the sailing clipper, the ocean "greyhound." Our warships have felt this quickening. The death-blow of the old system of sails and wooden hulls was struck when the ram of the "Merrimac" entered the hull of the "Cumberland." Since then our ships have changed to steel, and the sails have made way for steam. No government would dream now of putting sails on an ironclad. Few modern cruisers are fitted with them. The warships have become great workshops. The "New York" contains seventy-three engines and pumps, and the "Columbia" ninety-four.

We know well that within the last generation the engineer has advanced greatly in social and business consideration in civil life, that schools have been founded all over the country for his education and training, and that he bids fair within the next generation to take his rightful place as an acknowledged leader in all that concerns the material welfare of the human race.

It is well, then, to inquire how he has fared in the service of the government and what rewards he has there found under these changing conditions. In 1865, after the experience of a long war, the numbers of line or executive officers and engineers on the list of regulars in the navy were about equal, being 493 and 474, respectively, including all grades; in 1864, there were 2,846 line officers and 1,728 engineers, including volunteers; in 1896, after a complete transformation into a steam navy, there are 775 officers of the line and 198 officers of the engineer corps. The duties of the engineer have grown more important and multifarious, as the number of engineers has decreased and the number of his commanding officers has become greater. During this period, there has been a growing struggle between

the engineers and the group of line officers surrounding the Secretary of the Navy, so that now all legislation looking towards that change of system made necessary by the advent of machinery is effectually checked. The engineers have become discontented and unhappy in their official relations and our ships have lost largely in their effectiveness. Congress has received dozens of memorials urging that the educated engineer is an unnecessary factor on our ships and that it is the practical mechanic who is needed. This mechanic is expected to enlist, to sleep in a hammock and to be content with a maximum pay of seventy dollars per month. The engineer's force, from one-fourth to one-half of the whole crew, is to be in charge of one commissioned engineer officer. These memorials invariably insist upon having highly educated men at the helm and at the guns. Congressmen may not be well informed on naval affairs, but they are not devoid of common sense and this distinction between the two classes of officers is difficult to make clear. As a matter of fact, any of the duties on board of a man-of-war can be learned in course of time by any American citizen of average intelligence and fair education, even though he is not graduated from the Naval School or a College. The main object of education, therefore, is to enable a young officer to learn his profession more quickly, to endow him with a higher sense of duty, and, perhaps, to introduce into our ships the liberalizing and refining influence of culture so necessary to men who for long periods live together cooped up in a small cabin ; but this applies alike to engineers and deck officers.

We have heard much about our splendid *personnel*, and yet the stress of war would force us quickly into a complete change of system, both in administrative matters connected with the office of the Navy Department and the methods on board ships. There is scarcely a ship in commission to-day which is run with a due sense of economy to the government.

We read in the reports of the Secretary of the Navy that the line, or executive branch, is suffering from lack of promotion and that prompt measures must be taken in Congress to restore the efficiency of the corps by increasing the numbers in the "command grades"; not a word about the change which has actually taken place, that sails have disappeared, and with them a large element of the responsibility of the sailor. We have never had a

Secretary who has had an insight into mechanical and technical matters. They have been lawyers, no doubt actuated by patriotic and fair-minded motives, hampered by too great a sense of the legal status of every question, and too often forgetting that a new ship may become a source of disaster, instead of a prop, to the country if her crew is not organized to meet all requirements of modern science.

There is no doubt that naval officers, both line and engineer, are actuated by a sincere desire to promote the interests of the country and to make our new ships successful in peace and war. We find, however, that the traditions and discipline of a military system too often blind the sense and enthrall the conscience of even the wisest and best of men. It may have been for this reason that our ancestors dreaded the effect of a permanent military force upon this Republic. We are suffering to-day from the effects of tradition continued from the days of sails; and the commanding officers educated when steam was auxiliary rarely comprehend the duties of the engineer, or the responsibilities of his position. As an instance of this we have in the navy regulations a fiction that any line officer in charge of the deck represents the captain, and must, therefore, have the right to interfere with everything on board ship. This is a survival from the days when the propelling power was sails and everything was in sight of the watch officer, to the time when the ship is a huge mass of machines and nearly everything is out of his sight. It has been a cause of much soreness, as it has served to multiply the number of commanding officers on board our ships beyond the patience and endurance of the engineer. In the controversy which has resulted, there has never been a hint from the engineer against the authority of the commanding officer or the prompt obedience to a signal from the bridge, even if that signal be made by the powder boy; but he, nevertheless, feels that he has been defrauded of proper consideration, that his corps has been cut down without reason, and that he has never been allowed to develop, unhampered, the highest efficiency which can be obtained in our ships.

The attitude of the line officers may be gathered from a few extracts taken from a paper, prepared in 1888 for a line committee, by Lieutenant S. A. Staunton, and presented to Congress:

"The line officers of the Navy are the military branch. They carry out all executive and responsible duties in ships and squadrons, and are respon-

sible to the country for their preparation and readiness for action. His (a line officer's) training is purely military, and in his early manhood he finds himself fitted for nothing but a naval career. A naval engineer occupies a place radically different. All that is demanded from him is fair knowledge and skill and careful performance of duty. Engineers in the navy have at no time the responsibility of independent judgment which at any moment may fall upon the officer of the watch when in an emergency, with no time for reference or advice; he must decide at once to save the ship entrusted to him from loss or injury. Furthermore, the occupation of an engineer is not peculiar to the naval service. He takes employment in the navy as he might take employment in a steamship line, or with any other private firm. The line offers a career, while the engineer corps does not. A line officer rises, however slowly, to positions of dignity and trust, and enjoys all the social and official considerations which pertain to them. The engineer at sea begins and ends in the engine-room and never enjoys those gracious advantages to the same extent."

When one considers that the line officers and engineers are educated together at the Naval Academy, taking the same military drills and largely the same course of studies, one can understand why such theories as the above carried into practice should tend to drive every engineer out of the service. The engineers very properly feel that they have the same interest in the country and the flag as other officers, that the emergencies below decks are far more frequent than those above decks. The record of broken shafts is a long one and the detentions at sea from accidents to machinery are familiar to all. The judgment and skill which prevent accident, or deal with a break when it occurs, are fully equal to those required on the bridge in steering a ship. So far as the emergencies in action are concerned, there is little to choose between the gun deck and the fire room. No part of a man-of-war in action can be said to be safe. Even the chaplain may suffer the same fate as a combatant. Little needs to be said on the subject of a naval engineer's career when we consider that the speed of our ships is one of their chief glories. Almost all the machinery which produces this speed is designed by the naval engineer. If he has no career in the navy so much the worse for the service and our country.

Fortunately for the country, Mr. Staunton's theories do not prevail throughout even the line of the navy. The social relations on board ship are usually harmonious, and affectionate memories between line and staff often survive long after a cruise of three years. There is, however, a lack of uniformity in methods on our ships which tends to reduce efficiency. In some cases, the hands of the engineer are so tied by absurd regulations, especially

in the control of his men, that the engineer's force is disorganized; in other cases there is an exercise of good sense which transcends even the naval regulations. The boilers, which form the vital part of a ship, usually suffer most from the lack of co-operation. They are often treated like mere salt water tanks. The interference in mechanical matters by men of no mechanical training would not be tolerated in the merchant service. If, as is fairly claimed, the exigencies of the naval service make it necessary that the commanding officer should have entire control over everything in a ship, including machinery, his education should begin as an engineer, so that that control may at least be intelligent. As a matter of fact, the only men on board of merchant and naval steamers who under modern conditions cannot be spared are the engineers ; for without the power to go, our ships would become the playthings of the waves and of no more use in coast defence than derelicts.

The only logical outcome of the present condition of the navy, where the engineers have too few men to enable the ships to run full speed after an enemy and the deck force too few to fight him after catching him, is to fuse the two forces into a homogeneous body of men, so that the greater part of the crew may work at the engines when steaming and at the guns when fighting. This would have come about long ago but for the steady determination that the engineer should have no part in the military organization. He has to-day only what has been yielded to him because of absolute necessity.

Several bills have been introduced into Congress for the improvement of the *personnel*. One of these deals with the engineer corps. It provides for an increase in numbers, for definite military rank instead of the present assimilated rank, for a better definition of command over the engineer's forces, for placing the design and management of all machinery under a Bureau of Engineering, which is to take the place of the present Bureau of Steam Engineering, and finally for making appointments from the enlisted force and from civil life to the Engineer Corps of the Navy. This last feature of the bill may prove of immense importance to the country in founding a great engineering reserve, as it provides for taking on board our ships every year a number of graduates from Technical Schools. They are expected to serve two years, and then to stand a competitive examination for commissions in the

navy. As only existing vacancies are to be filled, the great majority of them would at the end of two years be mustered out of the service and become members of a national reserve. This seems to be the true way to form a naval reserve, by beginning with the schools. There is safety in numbers and the more our people understand about the technical details of naval and military affairs without actually being members of an organization permanently under arms, the more certain will be our defence, and that, too, without the dangers to civil liberties attendant upon great standing armies and huge navies. There is another side to the question, in the great benefit to our Scientific Schools in the uniformity of method that would follow. A yearly examination set by the officers of the government, or a commission of scientific men, would form a standard toward which all could strive. The system would pay a hundred fold simply as an investment for the industries of our country. In these days of keen competition it might add materially to our success in trade with foreign countries by lifting the standards of schools, thus giving the young men entering our shops better preliminary training. Many private institutions could supply graduates well equipped for the duties on board ship. They would lack the military setting up obtained at the Naval Academy, but they would have in compensation a broader and more liberal education. There would be little difficulty in adding to the Scientific Schools instruction in Marine Engineering, particularly on the seaboard. One good effect would inevitable follow from bringing the schools into closer contact with the navy. The people all over the country would take a greater interest in our ships and also in the growth of a merchant marine.

IRA N. HOLLIS.

IV

I AM asked to write on the engineer in naval warfare; on repairs to war vessels during the progress of war and immediately after; on the means of securing speed in repairs to steam war vessels in time of war, and on the desirability of having the great engine-building shops of the country, especially those near the seaboard, the great lakes, and the Mississippi, converted into auxiliary naval repair stations in war time.

No more important subject could be presented to the serious

thought of our countrymen. A valuable service to the nation is being rendered by this REVIEW in dispelling the apathy so generally manifest, and in helping to clear away the dense ignorance of the great mass of American citizens on this subject, which should receive the serious consideration of the Navy Department and of the Congress. In order to fit engineers for the onerous and responsible positions they will be obliged to assume, it will be necessary not only to increase their education, but it will also be necessary to open new and subordinate schools for their preparatory education. Departments of steam and naval engineering should be provided for by the government and the States in all the various State colleges organized under the Hatch act.

The Squire-Wilson bill now before Congress, to increase the usefulness and numbers of the Corps of Naval Engineers, and to establish an experimental station for the investigation of problems connected with naval construction and engineering, is a move in the right direction and should become law.

As Professor Hollis, himself for many years an engineer in our navy, says: "It is directly in line with a fuller recognition of engineering as a profession worthy of the respect and rewards due from a great nation whose material prosperity and industrial growth have been made possible by the engineer."

In addition to this, the act relating to the Naval Reserve Corps should be made more thorough by an amendment providing for the enrollment of engineers and machinists in each State or district. In case of emergency, our navy would thus be provided with the means of calling into service those who would be needed, and of putting the right men in the right places, to serve while needed by their country. The crisis passed, they could return to civil life and to the practice of their calling in the various private manufacturing establishments and machine shops where they are now efficiently at work.

From the graduates of young engineers in these departments, after they have taken their college degree, picked men should be sent to a naval college of applied engineering, or to such a department in our naval college where these young men should not only receive a finished technical education as sailors, but also as engineers of the first rank, in all the various fields of engineering, and they should also receive there the benefits of a liberal education, such as is already provided by the government

at West Point and Annapolis. Such graduates as these would soon scatter forever the common prejudice felt by officers of the line against the engineering department.

It is easy to see that from the class of engineers thus created, and especially from the young men thus at work in the various State colleges, in addition to the body of engineers already in existence and those training with the same end in view at the various technological schools, we should be providing the brains that will be able to repair war vessels in time of war.

From the results of the naval battle at the Yalu, between the Japanese and the Chinese, we have learned that in future sea battles great havoc will be wrought to both fleets. That force which can the soonest repair the damages of such a contest can strike a blow upon its antagonist while still in a disabled condition. It is clear that such a power will in the end conquer.

Thus we see that besides possessing the strongest battle-ships we must also be in a position to repair damages the first. Not having the powerful navy of the English, we are all the more dependent for final success upon our facility in repairing damages during action and immediately thereafter. To do this we must provide the necessary plants, and also the means of setting such plants in immediate operation.

The exigencies of modern war are recognized to be such that speed in such repairs at such a time must be secured at whatever cost. In order that we may then use speed, the right conditions must be prepared beforehand. We should begin by selecting a landlocked bay, capable of protection from the enemy at its mouth; of course with deep water and, necessarily, in that part of the country where mechanical skill is accessible. Several such sites should be chosen on both sides of our mighty continent, on the Mississippi River, and on the great lakes. Owing to the absence of harbors on our Pacific coast, and the difficulty of procuring coal, it would be almost impossible to blockade it. It is also beyond the reach of European countries, and we may, therefore, address ourselves more particularly to the question of naval warfare on the Atlantic coast and Gulf coast. Narragansett Bay, as one site, fulfils these conditions. Its mouth could easily be defended against entrance by the enemy's fleet. Our entire navy, if necessary, could ride securely upon its waters, while it is di-

rectly and immediately connected by inland communication with every centre of mechanical industry on the Eastern coast, to say nothing of the mechanical ability and the manufacturing facilities of Rhode Island itself.

On this coast we find only five navy yards with repair plants. These are Portsmouth, Boston, Brooklyn, League Island, and Norfolk. The poor management and bad policy of our government has allowed the plants at Portsmouth, Boston, and League Island to become so obsolete that repairs to modern ironclads could not be made without remodelling these establishments throughout. This leaves but two navy yards for repairs in case of emergency, Norfolk and Brooklyn. In time of emergency there would be no reserve artisans within easy reach of Norfolk, except those in the shipbuilding plant at Newport News, built as a necessity for a great railroad system. Therefore, the capability of this yard for the expeditious repairs of disabled cruisers is very limited. Navy yards should be located near great manufacturing cities where thousands of mechanics can be gathered for an emergency at short notice. If the Navy Department had listened to engineers, the plant at League Island might have been made an excellent repair station. The location is unexcelled, but the tools are not there. Indeed, it is said that there is now an efficient corps of watchmen on duty in this yard to keep interlopers from going over the neglected buildings.

Having thus provided both the brains and the hands necessary to carry on repairs during naval warfare and immediately after a battle, there remains one essential step necessary—to give the President of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the navy, the power to make these resources available beyond peradventure. Although the patriotism of the owners of shipyards and manufacturing establishments is unquestionable, in time of war and under pressing necessity we should not be dependent upon their voluntary action. Power should be vested in the President, in time of war, acting under the advice and consent, perhaps, of his cabinet, under the exercise of eminent domain, to condemn and take for public use whatever manufacturing establishments may be necessary to carry into instant effect the proposed system for immediate naval construction and repairs. Of course, under the provisions of the constitution, the rights of the owners will be amply protected, for they must be paid the full

value of their property thus taken for public use, and in case of disagreement as to this value, it must be fixed by a jury trial.

In addition to these measures intended to provide for immediate repairs, our fleet should also be furnished with floating workshops or repair-ships. In case of emergency they could be manned by members of the proposed Naval Reserve Corps; for in this fine body of men will be found many skilful artisans. It is not intended that these repair-ships should be floating dockyards, but they should be so equipped as to be capable of being laid by the side of any vessel needing repairs, not of such a nature as to require her to go into a dock, but still of such a nature as to require assistance outside of the vessel herself. For instance, it may be necessary after a battle or an extended cruise, to make general repairs, the result of injuries from forced duty. With such a repair-shop as above indicated, alongside of the cruiser, with the necessary power transmitted directly, these repairs could be immediately and efficiently completed.

It seems hardly necessary to add that in case of a great naval battle at the present day between great rival war vessels entirely dependent upon machinery and steam for propulsion, it would be necessary to provide powerful, fast tugboats, ready at any moment to lie alongside of a disabled vessel to tow her out of danger or into a harbor of refuge, when directed so to do by the admiral in command.

Recent international events, as well as the necessity of protection to our commerce, prove unmistakably that our peace and dignity as a nation can be best preserved and maintained by an efficient navy. Such a navy is also necessary to make ourselves felt in the councils of the great powers when a canal, constructed and controlled by our own government, shall connect and control the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The important question of building up a good navy, and then of its maintenance in proper condition, has not been adequately considered in our Congress. It is manifest, however, that we have not the means for building modern cruisers, for keeping them in repair, and for repairing them after damage in battle, in any of our national navy yards; nor are these yards properly protected from injury by the enemy in case of war. They are still looked upon as the sport and prey of political intrigue.

The manner of carrying on business by our government in

these navy yards is not in accordance with modern business and industrial methods. Official routine and red tape, combined with want of proper business methods, cause such delay that, where time is an object, government navy yards cannot compete with outside firms. It is to private firms, therefore, that we must look for relief in time of emergency. We are fortunate in having many industrial establishments, not only upon the coast, but in inland cities within easy reach of deep water, whose plants could be readily adapted to the work and where the repairs would be quickly carried on. Thanks to these engineering establishments and to the genius and ability of the engineers of our country, we can quickly produce any required war material and we can quickly make any necessary repairs in case of injury arising in battle or otherwise. It is to them and to the naval and mechanical engineers we must turn for relief, both before the battle and after the battle. These engineers and the machinists and artisans who under their direction prepare the modern warships for battle, maintain the numerous engines in efficiency during action, and repair damages after the conflict, will be the men through whom success must be largely secured.

It is fortunate we have excellent private machine shops and yards scattered along our seaboard States. Here, again, the pre-eminence of Narragansett Bay is manifest, for it is here we find many of the most skilful mechanics in the country, and manufacturing establishments with various departments under the management of men who rendered valuable engineering services to the country during its last war. On its shores and in Providence any repairs needed for the navy can be speedily done. At Bristol the world-famous establishment of the Herreshoffs, in any emergency, stands ready to devote its services to anything our navy may call for. The Taunton shops are near by. Worcester is but forty-four miles off, up the valley of the Blackstone, and along the whole distance, the traveller is never out of the sound of factory bells, marking the sites where, in case of emergency, the government would find trained engineers and machinists ready to serve their country.

The pre-eminence of Narragansett Bay as a site for our merchant marine, and for the landing of passengers and freight from Europe for distribution throughout the country, has never yet been sufficiently recognized. Between Wickford and Whale

Rock lies a natural harbor where passengers and freight can easily be landed within two hours of Boston and within three hours of New York. Both this harbor and the eastern passage between Newport and Tiverton are directly accessible to ocean steamers, thus avoiding the intricate channel of Boston, that has so seriously handicapped her as a port. Were these natural facilities taken advantage of by the establishment of suitable wharves, docks, and repair shops for our merchant marine, in time of peace, they would be directly available for use by our government for naval repairs in case of war.

In every-day life, common sense teaches us when we want anything done to go to a man who makes that thing his business, but matters are managed differently in the United States Navy. At the head of a navy yard is a line officer who has been taught seamanship, but who, unless he is also an engineer, has no knowledge of what is necessary to be done to repair condensers, pumps, or separators, and miles of piping, disabled engines, or boilers. This is certainly wrong, and, from a business point of view, a marine engineer of recognized ability should be made director of repairs. Such a man should possess great physical powers, for the work would be of severe character. He should be in touch with men of his profession, and he should be known to have progressive ideas. He should also possess knowledge of the ships and of their machinery. Such a man could call upon the heads of the great manufacturing establishments in this country for assistance in time of emergency. He could learn beforehand what kind and number of men each establishment could furnish him, and also what repairs each establishment could undertake. The patterns for parts that might require duplication should be distributed among these establishments. Just as the great engine manufactories in this country now build their engines, in duplicate interchangeable parts, many at a time, thus reducing cost, so should our government build vessels in duplicate, thus reducing their cost. This system would prove of great service whenever repairs became necessary. Such a director of repairs, with assistance at each repair station, would bring the system into business order.

Trained inspectors should also be supplied to test all construction and repairs, and to pass upon the acceptance or rejection of material. These men should be engineers. Under the present

policy of the Navy Department, officers of the line are sent to do this work. Many of them are not familiar with the various metals and alloys used, and, in many cases, having had no training as engineers, they cannot understand machinery specifications. The inevitable result is, that both the government and the naval constructor suffer from this system.

It is easy to see that the engineer will play a more important part in naval warfare, and, unless this is recognized, we shall lose in large measure the good we may otherwise derive from our warships. The weapon has changed from the catapult and spear of the galley, propelled by oars, through the matchlock and smooth bore of the sailing frigate, to the battle-ship of the present day—a huge fighting machine whose soul is steam power. A new weapon has come and with it must come a change in the organization of the navy. The naval engineer must be given the standing to which he is justly entitled. Being responsible for repairs on board ship, he must have control over the men who make them. He can only succeed in the prevention of derangement by having the power to supervise all machinery on board the vessel. Next to the commanding officer, the engineer on a modern warship is the most important officer, taking into consideration the duties he has to perform. He and his assistants must, therefore, be given the rank and title that are their due.

We cross the Atlantic Ocean on some magnificent English steamship and learn that both ship and officers are liable to instant call to serve as auxiliaries to the English navy, in case of war. What similar resource have we? Will it do for us longer to remain supinely indifferent, trusting to luck should war come suddenly upon us? It is only in the cases of the last two merchant ships, the St. Paul and St. Louis, we have followed this example.

By the terms of the existing treaty with England, each country is limited to one gunboat on the great lakes. But England keeps in constant readiness, in case of war with us, four gunboats that could reach the lakes through Canadian canals and waterways. Once upon these lakes, before we could build gunboats to meet them, they would control the lakes, every city upon them, and the railroads from the West passing by the lake shores. What measures have we provided to anticipate this possibility?

The purpose of my few words will be met, if through them I can help in arousing our country to some sense of its present naval inferiority and the means to be adopted to remedy it. To this end nothing will contribute more than the recognition of the importance of the steam engineer in modern warfare. Through him is to be supplied the essential to success in the modern navy—power. Already have we more than doubled the steam horse power of the world in the past seven years. That great man, Gladstone, but voices the recognition of our services when he characterizes steam as an agent that has revolutionized the world. When George III. asked Watt what he had, his answer was prophetic: "I have what every subject of your Majesty wants—Power."

GARDINER C. SIMS.

V.

THE registered and licensed tonnage of our merchant marine comprises 6,919 steam vessels, on which serve 21,006 licensed masters, mates, and pilots, with 17,530 engineers for duties relating to the motive power. In our navy, before the ending of the Civil War, there were 2,463 deck officers and 2,279 engineers. It will be seen that, with the business methods of the merchant service in peace, and for the needs of the navy in warfare, the number of officers below decks is nearly equal to that doing duty above.

The entire force of merchant engineers as given above would not be available in the event of war. Of the ships noted, 4,000 are under 200 tons in size, and are also of such construction that but few of them could be adapted for war purposes. On these steamers there are 8,000 engineers whose licenses do not permit them to take charge of a watch on a sea-going vessel. We have remaining then about 2,500 steamers with 9,000 engineers. While we have no official physical examinations, it is safe to say that, of the latter number, at least one-sixth would be debarred, by constitutional impairments or by injuries received in line of duty, from entering the naval service, which receives only men in perfect health. This would leave, as possibilities for war requirements, a force of about 7,500 licensed engineers.

During the year 1864, the time of its maximum strength, the regularly commissioned navy consisted of about 600 vessels, in-

cluding about 100 on the western rivers. In addition to these, the Quartermaster's Department of the Army built, purchased, chartered, or otherwise employed about 650 steamers of over 150 tons' measurement; and the other military departments had undoubtedly in their service 150 more vessels of such size. We have, then, an approximate total of 1,400 steamers used by the Northern forces for guarding but a part of our coast-line and for furnishing supplies to the armies. If we should have, in the future, both coasts and the lakes to defend, as well as several armies on the Canadian frontier to supply, it would be but a moderate estimate which would give us 2,500 steamers for all war-purposes.

In the construction, repair and maintenance of so large a fleet as this, the engineers of the merchant marine would have a work which would occupy fully their whole available force. It is not to be supposed, however, that our coasting trade would be completely paralyzed; and, further, war would stimulate, not depress, business on the rivers and a part of the lakes, so that the commercial demand for engineers in these localities would be increased rather than lessened. Again, a great number of our engineers are attached to river boats, and would therefore be likely, if they volunteered, to connect themselves with the military, and not the naval, service. With these facts in view, it is evident not only that the entire available force of merchant engineers would not be employed on war duty, but that also they could, least of all, be depended upon to fill vacant places in the warships of the navy.

A further point must be considered in connection with the presumed availability of our engineers for duty on war-vessels. Although they see and know more of these ships than any other class of our citizens, they are the last to enter the naval service. Despite the substantial pension and other benefits which should result from such a course, with the opportunity for extended foreign travel, the records of our organization show that very few ever enlist in the navy. Its whole system is distasteful to them, founded as it is on the tradition of the past and exalting as it does one class of officers unduly, while it minimizes the importance of the engineer. There has been, and is, an urgent demand for machinists on our warships and the younger members of our organization would doubtless be welcomed, if they cared

to enter this service. This, however, they will not do and the navy has been compelled, therefore, to secure machinists from the industrial plants—young men who have never been to sea, and who are ignorant of the humiliation and persecution awaiting them. Even these are not always available, and, in some cases, firemen and oilers, who are not mechanics, are, through necessity, advanced to the machinist-rating. Yet, we hear constantly, that, in time of emergency, the engineers of the merchant marine will seek these difficult and dangerous positions, which, in times of peace, have no attraction for them. Very little is said as to the readiness of the masters, pilots, and mates to take the places of the captains and lieutenants of the navy, although they are far better fitted to command the vessels of the transport-service than are the latter officers. A competent commander can be developed in a less time than is required to train a chief engineer; and yet an excess of deck officers is maintained for unexpected emergencies in the navy, while no provision is made for the sudden needs of the engine-room.

Our merchant vessels are not over-crowded with engineers; there are too few rather than too many; and there will surely be no over-sufficiency when, with war, the work grows harder. There are hundreds of tug-boats running with but a single engineer, and official records show that it is not unusual for one of these men to remain continuously in the engine-room for over twenty-four hours, sleeping only when the engines are stopped. There are, in addition, other confirmatory facts which prove that there is an insufficient number of engineers to care properly for the machinery of the merchant marine. The evil of the excessive period of continuous duty above referred to, has been considered by our association, which proposes that it shall be corrected.

We recognize fully that the Corps of Naval Engineers must have a military and scientific training in order to direct the large engine and fireroom forces which are under their control, and to design, construct, maintain, and supervise the working of the numerous and complicated engines, for many varied purposes, which are placed in their charge, and which, for important military reasons, are crowded into unusually contracted spaces on war vessels. It requires special training of a high order for such work; it has cost the government at least $15,000 to educate

each of these officers, and it would be surprising if they did not possess special attainments. Our own sphere of duty is, as well, a broad and honorable one in peace; and if, in warfare, we shall maintain the machinery of the great transports and privateers in a state of efficiency, we shall do a military work of the highest importance, for the value of a modern fleet will be determined, in a great measure, by the proper service of its auxiliary vessels.

If, despite the facts which have been presented, it is still assumed that our members will, in war, enter the naval service, it seems pertinent to inquire where the trained men shall be found to fill the places they leave vacant. The man who does not know presumes to tell us that the locomotive engineer will be transferred to the ships of the mercantile marine. Will railroads stop running in time of war? Will not their traffic be increased rather than diminished? The men composing the Locomotive Brotherhood possess qualities which make them, as an organization, respected and feared. They must be of strong physique, quick of judgment, fearless in danger, and with all the attributes innate with men of sturdy mental fibre and of good moral character. The locomotive driver is undoubtedly at the head of the artisan classes, but it is not always requisite that he shall have a trade. It has been repeatedly stated in print by leading officials of great railway companies that, in many cases, their engineers are forbidden to carry any but the simplest tools. It is not expected that they shall make repairs, since all overhauling of the parts is done at the terminal stations. On the other hand, the necessities of the merchant service require that those in charge of the engines shall be able not only to manipulate but to repair them. It is apparent, then, that only on a few ships, with simple engines, can the Locomotive Brotherhood relieve marine engineers. That this should be so is not a reflection upon the former; it is but seldom that skilled workers of any class can replace others whose vocation differs from theirs in character.

The only man who seems unaware of these and other existing engineering conditions, within and without his service, is the sailor officer of the American navy. Since he has possessed for a century nearly all of its emoluments and honors, the reform of the naval organization will never take place with his approval; it must come from the Congress.

The distinguished engineer-in-chief of the navy is not only a

friend, but an honorary member, of our organization. For years, Commodore Melville has studied the problem as to the most effective use of our force in war, and our executive officers have conferred with him repeatedly in regard to it. There can be no better man than he, with his years of experience and his wide knowledge, to suggest a measure which shall utilize for the national defence the service of the Marine Engineers' Association, a body which is powerful both in number and influence. The full measure of its patriotism and of its regard for law and order has been signally shown on more than one occasion. The maritime bodies of Chicago know that it was the conservatism of the marine engineers which prevented the great strike of 1894 from being a success, and which saved that municipality from being turned over to riot. It is needless to state the inducements which were then offered our members to desert their ships and paralyze the trade of that port. Our organization has never attempted a strike. In the conflict between capital and labor, the marine engineers have invariably won. Nearly all of our people have trades; and, if it shall ever be necessary for them to leave their ships, they can earn a living elsewhere and prolong the contest indefinitely.

The tradition and conservatism of the sailor have retarded the development of our naval strength, not only afloat but ashore. The force of the Naval Reserve, as officially stated, is something less than 5,000 men. The rosters of the organizations of the various States show that but three engineer officers have been authorized in the entire complement; and yet the Naval Militia receives national bounty and is under the control of the Navy Department. If these facts were fully known, the national appropriation for this purpose would be imperilled. A naval reserve cannot be efficient which fails to recognize the engineer as an integral part of its force. If, in peace, we are denied entrance to this body, wherein are we fitted for usefulness in war?

The most pressing naval problem is that of providing for the great and sudden expansion of the work of the Corps of Naval Engineers in time of emergency. As with the worthless designs for machinery purchased in England for our navy by officers who were not engineers, so signal failure has resulted always from the attempt of others to do the work of naval engineers, and yet there are too few of the latter in our service. They have been crowded out of our warships to make room for an excess of deck

officers. Our organization now realizes the power which it possesses. We propose that the Congress, and not the regulations prepared by a few sailors, shall settle the question as to how we shall co-operate with naval engineers. This is under discussion by the 100 local associations which compose our membership.

There should be extended to the navy the system of the merchant marine which gives engineers immunity from the interference of mates on deck. The directors of our corporations find this necessary. With this system in the navy we should hear no longer the complaints as to the unsatisfactory organizations of our war-ships.

There is now before the Congress a measure demanding that none but Americans be placed in the engine-rooms of our naval vessels. This precaution is the due not only of patriotism, but of wisdom, since, when urgent need shall come for these ships, their machinery, at least, will not be manipulated by aliens. In this connection it may be said that, while all steamship lines receiving subsidies assumed in a measure reciprocal responsibilities to the nation, those companies which have been the greatest beneficiaries of this government gratuity are the least inclined to employ American marine engineers.

Of the several bills which have been introduced for the reorganization of the *personnel* of the navy, there is none so important for the efficiency of the service, none so patriotic in its purpose and scope, none so worthy of the nation's knowledge and approval, as the Wilson-Squire Engineering and Educational Bill. From the standpoint of our organization, it is the greatest naval measure which has ever been presented to a Congress of the United States.

As a supplement to this, the Squire–Hopkins Bill, whose object is the increased efficiency of the engineer service of the merchant marine, will add materially to the usefulness of the transports and other auxiliary vessels.

A change is imperative in the organization of our naval service. The Corps of Engineers must receive the recognition which its importance demands. With this change, the mechanical and scientific branch of the navy will offer inducements sufficient to attract the engineers of the merchant marine.

GEORGE UHLER.

MARS AND ITS INHABITANTS.

BY CAMILLE FLAMMARION.

I HAVE upon my table a good many letters from various countries, inquiring of me whether, in the present state of science, we cannot form some idea as to the conditions of life upon the surface of the planet Mars, and the nature of the beings who might inhabit this neighboring world. I have always hesitated to reply to these letters because the solution of the problem is complex, difficult, and cannot be made entirely satisfactory. But a letter recently received from the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW does me the honor to press for an answer. It would be ungracious to play the deaf mute. I accordingly comply, and I will endeavor again to discuss, with the aid of the latest lights of science, the question which I have already many times touched upon in my works. These new lights are, however, at best but feeble, and insufficient to warrant anything more than an attempt.

I.

IT IS not that we have not already reached certainty upon many points. Thus, for instance, we know that the years of Mars, almost twice as long as ours, are composed of 686 days, 23 hours, 30 minutes, and 41 seconds, and surely nothing need be more precise. We know also that the duration of day and night, or, to speak more exactly, that of the diurnal rotation, is 24 hours, 37 minutes, 22 seconds, and 65 hundredths of a second. We know further that, since the inclination of its axis of rotation is 24° 52′, the seasons there are sensibly of the same intensity as upon our planet. Besides, with our own eyes we see the polar snows melt during the summer and reappear in the winter.

Furthermore, we know very exactly the geography of this

neighboring globe, and in this respect there is hardly any more mystery for us than in its calendar. We have observations and detailed drawings of its continents, its seas, its streams, its islands, its capes, the mouths of its great rivers, and its canals—there is not, one might say, a single point upon the surface of Mars which has not been the object of perpetual study on the part of various observers.

Still further; we know also the density of this globe as well as the intensity of gravity upon its surface, and these are two dominating elements in the organization of its living residents. The whole globe of Mars, which has a diameter of about half that of the earth (528 thousandths—6,728 kilometres or 4,281 miles), weighs only 105 thousandths of our globe, or 625,584 quintillions of kilogrammes. The density of the materials which compose Mars is inferior to that of the substances which compose the Earth, in the proportion of 711 to 1,000. If we compare this density with that of water, for example, we find that the mean density of the Earth is five and a half times (5.50) greater than that of water, or in other words, our globe weighs five and a half times as much as a globe of water of the same dimensions. But Mars weighs not quite four times (3.91) as much as a globe of water of its dimensions. Its component substances are then less dense than ours.

Once more, gravity there is much less powerful than upon the Earth, in the proportion of 376 to 1,000; that is to say, that a mass of 1,000 pounds transported to Mars, and there weighed by a spring-balance, would weigh only 376 pounds, and that a man weighing 160 pounds upon the Earth would weigh only 60 pounds upon the surface of this neighboring globe. Here we have absolute data, demonstrated mathematically and indisputable—data with which imagination has nothing whatever to do. Let us now pass on to consider the planet's climates and atmosphere.

II.

MARS is more distant from the sun than the Earth is, in the ratio of 152 to 100. Its distance is 226 millions of kilometres (140 millions of miles), while that of the Earth is only 149 (93 millions of miles). The quantity of heat received from the central luminary of our system is therefore less than half as much

as here; it amounts only to 43 hundredths of that which we receive upon the Earth.

Are we, then, to suppose that the mean temperature at the surface of the planet is lower than here? It is probable, because, on the one hand, this globe receives not quite half as much of solar radiation as we do; and because, on the other hand, its atmosphere is lighter, more rarefied than ours. Since gravity at its surface is much less than at the surface of the earth (0.376), all bodies then weigh less in the same proportion, and the atmosphere comes under the same rule. If each square yard of the surface of Mars supported a similar atmosphere to ours, the presence of this Martian atmosphere would be reduced in the proportion stated above—that is to say, the barometer on Mars, instead of standing at 30 inches at the sea level, as upon the Earth, would there indicate only 11.28 inches. This is the pressure which we find in a balloon at an elevation of 8,000 metres (26,250 feet), and this elevation is that of the highest mountains. At the summit of Mt. Blanc the barometric pressure is 16.69 inches.

The habitual clearness of the Martian atmosphere is additional evidence of this rarefaction; clouds and condensations hardly ever form in it. Such an atmosphere does not retain the solar heat so well as ours, but permits it more easily to radiate and dissipate itself in space.

It is then *probable* that there the temperature is lower than upon the Earth; but we add immediately that it is not *certain*, because if the Martian atmosphere were constituted a little differently from ours this would suffice to make it operate very efficaciously upon the solar heat, and retain it as in a hot-house.

Water-vapor suspended in the atmosphere keeps in this heat incomparably better than dry air. It is also the same with the vapor of the ethers, sulphuric, formic and acetic, with the vapor of amylene, iodine, ethyl, chloroform, bisulphide of carbon, etc., etc. Extremely rarefied as it is, the atmosphere of Mars might certainly hold in suspension vapors of this sort, and thus maintain upon the surface of the planet a temperature equal to the mean temperature of the Earth, or even higher.

At any rate the difference of climates is not very great: it is doubtless a little cooler there than here—that is all. If the atmosphere there did not behave in the way we have indicated, we should have upon the planet the temperature of mountains

clothed with eternal snow, and its surface would be perpetually frozen from the equator to the poles. Now, observation proves to us that the climates of the planet are much more temperate. The snow-caps which form around the poles during the long winters—winters twice as long as ours—melt almost completely under the warmth of the summer. This summer heat must then be rather powerful to effect such a fusion. The polar snows of Mars melt even more completely than do our own, either because the heat stored up during the long summer really acquires a very considerable intensity, or because the sheet of snow has very little thickness. We have here a settled fact of observation. During the last summer of the southern hemisphere of Mars between the months of July and November, 1894, we saw, at our observatory of Juvisy, the polar snow-cap shrink from a diameter of three thousand kilometres to four hundred. There remained finally only a mere point, so to speak, a little on one side of the geographical pole.

Moreover, one sometimes, in the winter, observes snowfalls of considerable extent, which likewise melt rapidly. In the month of April, 1890, for instance, Mr. Pickering photographed a fall of snow upon Mars which covered an area of 2,500,000 square miles a surface almost equal to that of the United States.

The thermometry of the Martian atmosphere does not appear to differ essentially from ours, but as this atmosphere is less dense han ours, certain differences follow of necessity. The boiling, point of water, for instance, must be below 212° F., as is the case upon our high mountains, because this point depends on the atmospheric pressure; every one knows that on the summit of Mont Blanc water boils at 184° F. The freezing point on Mars is perhaps not the same as here, since the water there can hardly be identical with ours in chemical composition. Each different substance has its own point of congelation and its own point of evaporation. While water solidifies at 32° F., mercury becomes solid only at 40° below zero; alcohol vaporizes at 172.4° F.; wood spirit at 149.9°; sulphuret of carbon at 116.6°; sulphuric ether at 100°, etc. We must not be in haste, therefore, to infer the identity of Martian meteorology with terrestrial. It may be that snow on that planet is formed not at 32° F., but at a temperature a little lower.

We are accustomed in the climates of the Earth to a definite

temperature. The mean annual temperature of Paris, for instance, is 50° F., and between summer and winter the temperature oscillates between 32° and 68° F., overpassing these mean limits, however, rather frequently. From the equator to the poles each country of the globe has its own climate, depending upon its latitude, upon its distance from the ocean (which tends to equalize all temperatures), upon its elevation above the level of the sea, upon the prevalent regimen of winds and clouds, etc., etc.

Plants, animals, men live in each climate in a medium with a temperature to which they are accustomed. They feel cold when the temperature falls below this normal mean, hot when it rises above it. But these effects are relative and not absolute. Beings accustomed to live in Siberia, at a usual temperature only a few degrees above the freezing point, get along perfectly well in it, while others living within the tropics consider a temperature of 25° C. (77 F.) extremely agreeable. We make a gross blunder if we assume that the inhabitants of Mars, whatever sort of creatures they may be, must have the temperature of Moscow, of Paris, of Caracas, in order to be comfortable. They may have temperatures entirely different, lower or higher, and yet feel themselves to be under natural conditions, with normal surroundings.

Let us now remark that the Martian meteorology is less complicated and more pleasant than that of the Earth. There the weather is almost always fine, especially during summer. Very seldom are there clouds even in winter. Generally when we are unable to distinguish through the telescope the details of the geographical configurations upon the planet the fault is in our own atmosphere and not in that of Mars. It is very rarely the case that when our atmospheric conditions are good we are unable to see these details. During the last period of observation of Mars in 1894, I, to speak for myself, encountered only fifteen days (from October 10 to 25) when the surface of the planet was veiled by its own atmosphere. Clouds are excessively rare on the surface of Mars, and perhaps exist at all only as fogs or light cirrus : they are not clouds of rain or storm. These veils are very infrequent there while they are perpetual upon the earth. Probably there is not a single day in the year when the entire surface of the earth is uncovered so that it could be satisfactorily observed

from space. The two planets have two meteorological systems that are absolutely antithetical.

Furthermore, in the rarefied atmosphere of Mars there can be no powerful winds, like the trade-winds and the predominant atmospheric currents which rule terrestrial climates. Occasionally, however, observers have noted long streaks of snow which appear to have been produced by currents in a tranquil atmosphere. Schiaparelli, for instance, observed such streaks (" *traînées* ") in November and December, 1881, around the northern pole, and extending a considerable distance from it. But such things are exceptions. *The normal condition upon Mars is fine weather.*

After what has preceded, we may consider ourselves virtually transported to this little neighbor world with full knowledge of its conditions of habitability. It remains to add a few words upon its topographical and geographical organization, and our " visit " will be finished.

III.

WHILE three-quarters of the globe of the Earth are covered with water, the seas occupy only about half of the surface of Mars. There are no great oceans like the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Indian Ocean : only Mediterraneans, long and narrow. The northern hemisphere is almost wholly dry land. All the seas are situated in the southern hemisphere, chiefly on one side, that which contains the prime-meridian, and between the longitudes of 260° and 60°.

The depressions which are covered with water occupy this region mainly ; the opposite hemisphere is a little more elevated. It is somewhat the same upon the Earth, for Europe and Asia extend towards the North, while the great oceans extend southward. But we note upon Mars a very great difference from the Earth besides that of the extent of the seas : it relates to their depth. Not only are the Martian seas less extensive, they are also very shallow. In a great number of places they are hardly more than marshes, sometimes dry and sometimes overflowed. Many tracts along the seashore are at times covered with water and completely inundated. Moreover, at certain moments of most satisfactory observation it seems as if one could see the bottom of the sea. It would probably be no exaggeration to say that over half of the Martian seas the depth of the water is only a few fathoms.

The mechanism of the distribution of the water in the atmosphere and on the surface of the globe of Mars is not at all the same as here. Here the mechanism is sufficiently simple. All quarters of the globe are covered with water, the evaporation is considerable, the atmosphere is dense, the solar heat removes continually a great quantity of water from the surface of the seas, raises it in the state of vapor to a certain height where it condenses into clouds, and there the winds, which are strong because of the density of our atmosphere, transport these clouds over the continents. Resolving itself into rain or snow, the water thus transported gives birth to springs, to streams and rivers, which return to the ocean the water that had been removed.

Things do not go this way on our neighbor. The evaporating surface of the Martian seas is far less extensive than here. The solar heat there is only about half as much. But on the other hand the seasons are twice as long. The waters, less deep than ours, can become more easily warmed during the summer and evaporate as upon the Earth. The snow can extend itself around the poles during the long winter, and finally the heat of the long summer may be sufficient to melt almost completely the snow-sheet, which doubtless is not very thick.

Direct observation proves that the snow-sheet does melt almost entirely (something which never happens upon the earth) and sometimes very rapidly.

It is this fusion of the snow which rules the water circulation. No clouds, no rains, no springs, no streams, no rivers carry back water of precipitation to the sea.

The snows begin to melt long before the summer solstice (we see it from the earth). This melting produces almost always extensive inundations, which we also see from here. Sometimes hundreds and thousands of square kilometres are overflowed, and the sea coast is pushed forward into the land. Then an ingenious system of "canals" (whatever they may be, natural or artificial) distributes and regulates these waters over the whole surface of the continents. As the water arrives the canals become visible, at first narrow and pale, but soon wide and dark.

These canals may be natural furrows, produced in the very process of the planet's evolution, like the English Channel and the Channel of Mozambique upon the Earth, or they may be grooves excavated by the inhabitants for the distribution of the

water, or they may be both ; that is to say, natural formations improved by intelligence. What is certain is that they serve to give circulation to the waters, and constitute a hydrographic system of extreme ingenuity. One might object that this fine system does not prevent inundations. No, but it regulates them. It is a "rise of the Nile" controlled and directed.

The periodical inundation caused in each Martian summer by the melting of the snows is distributed far and wide by the network of canals, which constitutes the principal mechanism—if it is not the only one—by which water, and, with it, organic life, can be diffused over the planet's surface. At this time some of the canals appear to be bordered by a darkish fringe, due, without doubt, to some kind of vegetation. The canals of the surrounding region become, at the same time, darker and broader, and cover wide areas. Things remain in this condition until the moment when the polar snows are at their minimum. Melting has ceased. The width of the canals diminishes, the dark regions brighten up, and the continents resume their yellow color. This grand phenomenon takes place over the whole region between the pole and the sixtieth degree of latitude and recurs each season. Over the whole surface of the planet the system of canals is variable. When they are indistinct and their contours become uncertain and ill-defined it seems likely that the water in them is very low, or may have entirely disappeared. Nothing is left of the canal, or rather we see only a yellowish streak, differing very slightly from the surrounding soil. In the months which precede and in those which follow the great northern inundation, about the time of the equinoxes, the canals become double ; in consequence of a rapid change, which is effected in a few days, perhaps even in a few hours, this or that canal is transformed in all its length into two parallel lines, which run with the geometric precision of the tracks of a railway, and follow exactly the direction of the original canal. These new canals have, like the original ones, widths of from fifty to a hundred kilometres, and even more, and are separated by an interval varying from fifty to five or six hundred kilometres. We have here something besides water ; for instance, a rapid vegetation produced by the moisture. From the height of a balloon the prairies, which occupy the slopes on each side of a river, mark out the course of the river, which itself appears like a slender

thread, hardly differing in color from the green ribbon beside it. The color of the double canals upon Mars varies from black to red, and is easily distinguished from the yellow tint of the continents. The space between them is generally yellow, sometimes whitish. The gemination occurs also in the lakes, which divide into two.

Whatever may be the explanation of these facts, unparalleled upon the earth, we are able to conclude that upon the surface of the planet Mars the water circulates, not by a system of clouds, of rains, and springs as here, but by the melting of polar snows, and by a system of canals, horizontal and intersecting, which distribute it over the whole extent of the continents. Then it evaporates, to be condensed almost entirely in the cold polar regions, which re-collect it in the state of snow.

It is obvious from this entire array of physiological conditions that the world of Mars is a world vigorously alive, offering both analogies and contrasts with our own. In this present state of our knowledge can we scientifically form for ourselves any theory as to the nature of its inhabitants ?

IV.

This question of the state of life upon other worlds involves all the sciences, as has been already evident from the preceding discussions. It is a question of natural history, of zoölogy, of physiology, of paleontology, of chemistry, of physics, as well as of astronomy. It invites us first of all to inquire how life made its appearance on our own planet, what are the laws which have directed its development, and why the human race, to which we belong, is constituted as it is. If we consider the aggregate of terrestrial life we notice in it three grand divisions : the inhabitants of the waters, the dwellers upon the ground, and the winged tribes. The forms, the dimensions, and the structure of these different species depend upon the medium which they inhabit, upon their specific gravity, and the manner of their nourishment. The beings which do not eat, as the plants, have no alimentary canal. One can conceive of plants without roots, able to move like animals, and living on air : beings without digestive organs, without stomach, without bowels, resembling us in no respect. This essential difference of structure would not prevent these beings from living, from feeling, or from thinking. That would be evidently quite another world.

In a medium illuminated by an entirely different light from ours, more distant from a sun, or receiving the rays from a sun of color red, blue, green or violet, or in which the rays were infra-red or ultra-violet, our eyes would not be at all what they now are. The sense of sight would be replaced by another, which would see what now we cannot see. We might not have two eyes in the countenance, but perhaps three, or only one ; or even, doubtless, a wholly different kind of visual organ.

Each of our six senses (everybody knows the sixth sense) has been formed and developed gradually since the primordial period of terrestrial life. In place of six we might have seven, eight, ten, twenty, fifty. We have received only those with which *terrestrial* nature has supplied us.

Every form, animal and vegetable, is determined in its medium and by its medium, as the fossils testify clearly and irrefutably. At first the waters covered all the globe, and then there was no terrestrial animal that breathed by means of lungs.

To have wings, that is a very great advantage : the birds hold a rank above us. Upon the earth the progress of thought has been wrought out through the mammals. The lions, tigers, bears, horses, dogs, and apes, the wild men of the paleolithic caves, have all preceded us. If the birds had been worked out to perfection in this progression the human soul would have dwelt in some winged form, instead of being embodied in a form that cleaves to the earth.

Gravity, and the density of the materials of which they are composed, play a great part in determining the organization of beings. In the bosom of the sea, animals lose a portion of their weight equal to that of the volume of water which they displace, and they can therefore, without much inconvenience, attain the colossal dimensions of the whales. It could not be so on solid ground where the elephants already meet with some difficulty in moving. Gravity opposes a limit to the size of creatures.

It is this which prevents the birds from reaching a stature comparable to that of men. Eagles, vultures, condors seem to be at the limit.

If the attraction of the earth were less powerful our winged tribes might have received a much greater development. In virtue of the unquestionable principle known as "the struggle for existence," these winged creatures, dominating all others,

would have been the strongest. Progress would have been effected along this line. The superior race, the human race, would have been a winged race. These simple considerations, which it would be easy to extend much farther, are enough to convince us that our human form is essentially terrestrial, and that the inhabitants of Mars cannot resemble us. They are *different*.

Upon Mars, for example, one might suppose, without scientific heresy, that the remarkable lightness of their bodies may have developed the winged race more highly in the direction indicated, and that the inhabitants of this planet may have received the privilege of flight.

Does this amount to saying that, for this reason, they must necessarily have the form of birds? No. The bats, are they not mammals which suckle their young?

Is it saying, then, that we must imagine them under this form? Not at all. May they not rather be like dragon-flies fluttering in the air above the lakes and the canals?

As to this point we can imagine everything and prove nothing. It is even highly probable that the reality is something absolutely different from all our terrestrial conceptions.

On the one hand the lightness of the Martian beings is favorable to their winged constitution. On the other hand, however, the atmosphere is hardly well fitted to sustain them. But still we recall that terrestrial zoölogy furnishes instances of birds, which are very heavy, such as the condors and the vultures, and these are just the ones which fly highest in the most rarefied regions of our atmosphere; they have been observed even above the summits of the Himalayas, the Andes and the Cordilleras at elevations of from 8,000 to 9,000 metres (27,000 to 30,000 feet) where they can still soar freely, thanks to the enormous spread of their wings.

Nor must we lose sight of the fact that a human being weighing 70 kilogrammes (154 pounds) would weigh no more than 26 kilogrammes (56 pounds) if transported to the globe of Mars.

We can also imagine beings chemically different from ourselves. The human flesh, like that of all other living beings (on the Earth), is a compound of carbon with hydrogen, nitrogen, and oxygen. By what authority do we condemn nature to abstain from creating, in other worlds, any other organic combinations than those of carbon? Silicon, for instance: might

this not have been the basis of another kind of organic protoplasm ?

The Universe is infinite. We are atoms.

Everything leads us to believe that the planet Mars, older than the Earth in chronologic order, more quickly cooled on account of its lesser volume, more advanced in its planetary life, is at present inhabited by beings more intelligent than we, and less imperfect. But what are they ? We need to be able to enter into telephotic communication with them. We do not despair of this, and we believe in progress.

C. FLAMMARION.

MEN WHO MIGHT HAVE BEEN PRESIDENTS.

BY JOSEPH M. ROGERS.

THE twenty-eighth Presidential election will take place in November. Six months ago it was generally conceded that the Republicans would elect their candidate by a very large majority. While Republicans are still confident, and the State elections of the past three years tend to confirm their belief, recent political events have made the result fairly debatable. Indeed nothing is more uncertain than a Presidential election at any time, and prophecies of political wiseacres are worth little. Four years ago in April there was a general feeling that a Republican would be elected, and this lasted well into the campaign. But Mr. Cleveland was elected by an immense majority in the Electoral College. So great was that majority that it seemed as if the Republican party had gone to pieces, and few scanned carefully the popular vote, which showed that Cleveland only had a minority and not a great many more votes than the Republican candidate.

The Presidential elections of the past are especially worth study at the present time. Few of them were foregone conclusions, and at a time when in theory electors could exercise their personal choice, and when a Congressional caucus dictated nominations, there were some surprising results, and a number of men narrowly escaped the Presidency.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 no important question received so little attention as the manner of electing the President. A number of impracticable propositions were put forward. The matter was referred to a select committee, which reported the Electoral College system as detailed in Article II., Section I., of the Constitution. This was accepted almost without debate or dissent. It was intended that this college of wise

men should pick out the best men for the two offices, and be entirely unfettered in its choice. Curiously enough this feature was the most popular when the Constitution was published, and it has proved the most unsatisfactory. It was amended during Jefferson's administration, but is still the most undesirable feature of the Constitution. The Constitution provides that electors shall be appointed as the Legislatures of each State shall direct. At the beginning the electors were chosen by the Legislature, and South Carolina continued to do so down to the Civil War. Some States early provided for the popular election of the electors by districts, while others adopted the State ticket plan, which is now practised in every State. In 1892 Michigan voted by districts, but the law therefor has been repealed.

Washington was unanimously chosen President in 1789. Only ten States were represented in the College. Rhode Island and North Carolina had not ratified the Constitution, and New York's Legislature had made no provision for appointing electors. Two electors from Maryland and two from Virginia did not vote. In 1792 Washington received the votes of 132 electors from the fifteen States, but again two electors from Maryland and one from Vermont did not vote.

The canvass of 1796 was one of the most exciting in our history. Party lines had by this time become clearly drawn. John Adams was the logical Federalist candidate, but he was somewhat in the position of Benjamin Harrison four years ago. Some of the leaders of the party disliked him. They wanted a candidate they could manage after election, much as certain politicians do to-day. They concluded to take up a Southern candidate for Vice-President, and while the Federal electors North were to vote equally for the two candidates, it was hoped in the South that personal popularity would give the Vice-President enough votes to elect him President. It is to be remembered that at that time the electors simply voted for two persons without naming either for President or Vice-President, and the one receiving the highest, if a majority, was elected President. Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was selected as the ostensible candidate for Vice-President in the hope of pulling him through for first place. Adams soon learned of the plan, and his New England friends in the Electoral College frustrated it by scattering the vote for second place. When the vote was cast Adams had

71 votes; Jefferson, 68; Pinckney, 59, while 78 were scattered. Pinckney lost 5 votes from Connecticut; 3 from Maryland; 3 from Massachusetts; 6 from New Hampshire; and gained 1 from Pennsylvania over the vote for Adams, while South Carolina gave him her 8 votes, but supported Jefferson also. If the Federalists had all voted for Pinckney he would have been elected President in place of Adams. This was the first real test of the electoral system, and it made a sensation. Indeed it was declared that two electors chosen in the interest of Jefferson voted for Adams. While there could be no legal objection to electors voting for whom they pleased, it was considered a breach of trust to do so.

In 1800 there was another exciting contest. Adams was still personally unpopular with Federalist politicians, and the game of 1796 was tried again. This time the Federalists took up Charles C. Pinckney, of South Carolina, a relative of Thomas, for Vice-President. In Pennsylvania the two branches of the Legislature were deadlocked, and a compromise was effected, by which Jefferson got 8 votes, and Adams 7. Could Adams have received all the votes he would have been elected. Maryland could have elected him with her solid vote, but here the district system prevailed. The expectation was that South Carolina would give eight votes each to Jefferson and Pinckney as in 1796, but this failed, and Burr got the second choice votes. To prevent a Federalist tie a Rhode Island elector voted for John Jay instead of Pinckney. Had the Federalist plans gone through, Jefferson and Pinckney would each have had 73 votes. The actual result was:

Jefferson	73
Burr	73
Adams	65
Pinckney	64
Jay	1

Thus there was a tie between Jefferson and Burr instead of between Jefferson and Pinckney. Then followed days of political plotting disgraceful to the nation. Although Jefferson was easily first choice, Burr was not inclined to concede it, and resolved to stand on his rights as a candidate. The Federalists controlled both branches of Congress, and a number of plans were put forward to defeat Jefferson, now that the Pinckney plot had failed. A Federal caucus decided to elect Burr if pos-

sible, making the best bargain possible for Federalism in future. But Bayard of Delaware, who cast the vote of his State, refused to abide by the caucus decision, and three other members followed him. A plan was proposed to keep up the contest until after the 4th of March, and in the meantime pass a law by which a Federalist President could hold over. But this was not well received, as it was revolutionary in principle, and, in any event, a second election would result in Jefferson's triumph. In the meantime balloting began in the House, each State delegation casting but one vote, according to the Constitution. Thirty-five ballots were taken without result. Jefferson had eight States; Burr six; and in two States the delegation was equally divided. This was the unvarying result from February 11 to 17. In the meantime the attempt to draw out Burr went on, but the longer it proceeded the more unsatisfactory were the results, and the Federalists finally concluded that Jefferson was the safer man. On the thirty-sixth ballot the contest was decided by a number of Federalists casting blank votes. The result was:

For Jefferson—Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Vermont and Virginia—10 States.

For Burr—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island—4 States.

Blank—Delaware and South Carolina.

Thus under the original method of electing Presidents, Thomas Pinckney, Charles C. Pinckney and Aaron Burr might have been elected, not one of whom was a candidate for the office. The Constitution was amended in 1804 so as to prevent any such perversion of the popular will, by providing that electors should vote separately for President and Vice-President.

In 1804 Jefferson had a walk-over. The only votes cast against him were: Connecticut, 9; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 2—all for Charles C. Pinckney.

In 1808 Madison had a large majority. Charles C. Pinckney received only 47 votes, while Madison had 122. George Clinton had a slightly smaller vote for the second place.

By 1812 the Federalist party had disappeared from national view, and Madison received 128 votes against 89 for DeWitt Clinton, the latter carrying Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island,

and five of the eleven votes from Maryland. The contest was much closer than the figures show. The war question was then rife, and there was great dissatisfaction over the Congressional caucus nomination of Madison, while all over the country there was a feeling that Virginia was getting an undeserved monopoly of the Presidency. Embargo and the war question were the main issues. Had Pennsylvania supported Clinton and a peace policy, he would have been elected. This was not expected, but the Clintonians did expect North Carolina and either Vermont or Ohio. They failed unexpectedly, and another man who might have been President retired to State politics.

In 1816 Monroe carried every State, except Connecticut, Delaware and Massachusetts, whose 34 votes were cast for Rufus King. In 1820 Monroe received every vote cast but one from New Hampshire, which was given to John Quincy Adams. It was said that this elector wished no man to share the honor of unanimous election with Washington.

In 1824 took place one of the most interesting elections in our history, and one that is unique. Of four candidates, all nominally Republicans, none had a majority. The House then balloted, each State casting a vote, between the three highest on the list. The electoral vote was:

Jackson	99
John Quincy Adams	84
Crawford	41
Clay	37

131 being a majority. Adams was easily the best equipped man for the place, and his public services should have insured him the honor. But he was a poor hand in practical politics, and failed to make combinations that would have insured him success. When the House came to ballot, Clay had thrown his support to Adams, not, as now seems certain, as a result of a bargain for the portfolio of State, but the fact that he did receive that reward was made the basis of the scandal that stuck to Clay for many years. On the first ballot Adams received the vote of thirteen States, Jackson of seven, and Crawford of four. The vote did not follow entirely the decision as given by the States at the election, as there was no obligation that it should, the House having been elected in 1822. Of the States that voted for Jackson, he received the vote in the House of all but Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland and North Carolina. The three former

supported Adams, and the last Crawford. Adams in addition to the States he carried wholly or more than half in the Electoral College, received the votes of Kentucky, Missouri and Ohio in addition to the three States captured from Jackson.

At this election the States in which the people choose electors were more numerous than ever before. Of the popular vote Jackson received 155,872; Adams, 105,321; Crawford, 44,282, and Clay, 46,587. This, however, was a small portion of the voting population. John Quincy Adams was the only President who received a smaller popular and electoral vote than his leading rival. In 1828 Jackson had a greater majority in the Electoral College than Adams had votes, viz.:

Jackson	178
Adams	83

But where a popular vote was taken there was no such disproportion. Jackson received 647,231 votes, while Adams received 509,097. At this election fewer Legislatures chose electors than ever before. Nearly one-half the qualified voters voted directly for electors, so that Adams' showing was by no means contemptible, and but for the Clay scandal and his peculiar temperament he might have been re-elected.

In 1832 Jackson was triumphantly re-elected, receiving 219 votes to 49 for Clay; 11 for Floyd, 7 for Wirt and two vacancies. But the electoral vote was again no criterion of the popularity of the men. The popular vote stood:

Jackson	687,502
Clay	530,189

with 33,108 divided between the other candidates. The proportion was nearly the same as between Jackson and Adams in 1828.

In 1836 Martin Van Buren, the political legatee of Jackson was elected by a large electoral majority, the vote standing:

Van Buren	170
Harrison	73
White	26
Webster	14
Mangum	11

But on the popular vote Van Buren received 761,549, while the combined opposition cast 736,656. Van Buren owed his election chiefly to his enemies. When Jackson was foiled in his attempt to make society receive the wife of Secretary Eaton, a reconstruction of the Cabinet became necessary. Van Buren resigned and was sent as Minister to England. When the election

of 1832 came on Jackson had broken with Calhoun, and had determined on some one else as a running mate. While Van Buren may have been his choice, it would not have been politic to recall him from the mission he had just begun, and the President was in a quandary. But the Senate was opposed to Jackson; and Calhoun, Webster and Clay resolved to give the administration a slap in the face. Van Buren had been sent abroad during a recess, and when his name was sent for confirmation the Senate rejected it. This meanness brought its just reward, for Van Buren came home, was triumphantly elected Vice-President, and presided over the body that had so recently rejected him. His succession to the Presidency followed, but this would hardly have been the case but for the attempt of his enemies to disgrace him.

In 1840 William Henry Harrison was elected President in the first hurrah campaign in our history. He received 234 electoral votes to Van Buren's 60. The popular vote stood:

Harrison	1,275,017
Van Buren	1,128,702
Birney	7,059

James G. Birney was the candidate of the Liberty party pledged to abolish slavery. Harrison's early death brought to the Presidency John Tyler, who wrecked his party, and provided politics with a term of contempt. Tyler was an accident. The National Convention met at Harrisburg, Pa., in December, 1839. Clay was the leading candidate, and would have been nominated if the ballot had been taken by polling the Convention by delegates, but the Convention adopted a rule requiring each State delegation to choose a candidate, and vote as a unit. Under this ruling Harrison was nominated. Among Clay's ardent supporters was John Tyler, of Virginia, who was so chagrined over the defeat of his chief that he wept bitter tears. The Convention was desirous of placating Clay's friends, and seizing on these tears as evidence of warmest personal and political friendship. Tyler was nominated for Vice-President. It seems likely from all reports that the choice would have fallen on John M. Clayton, of Delaware, but for those tears. If Clayton had been President instead of Tyler, how different might have been the history of the Whig party!

In 1844 Tyler's perfidy made Whig success impossible, and James K. Polk, the first Presidential dark horse, was elected by

an electoral vote of 170 to 105 for Clay. But the popular vote was closer, viz.:

Polk	1,337,243
Clay	1,299,068
Birney	62,300

Thus of the popular vote cast Polk failed of a majority. But Polk's nomination was an accident. At the Democratic Convention in Baltimore Van Buren was the leading candidate. He led for several ballots, having a majority, but not the necessary two-thirds. But by the seventh ballot his support began to go to Cass, who would probably have been nominated but for adjournment. A combination was made over night, and Polk was nominated next day. But for this totally unprecedented move in politics either Clay or Cass would have been elected President, with chances in favor of Clay. Neither ever won that goal.

In 1848 Zachary Taylor was elected President by 163 electoral votes to 127 for Cass. The popular vote stood:

Taylor	1,360,101
Cass	1,220,544
Van Buren	291,263

Taylor thus fell short of a popular majority, and would not have been elected at all but for the Free Soil diversion under the rejected candidate for the Democratic nomination in 1844. Van Buren did not get a single electoral vote, but he prevented Cass from carrying New York, and this elected Taylor. But Taylor's nomination was a political surprise. He was the first President absolutely without experience in civil affairs, and only his military renown gave him finally the nomination over Clay. Again did Clay and Cass, the logical candidates, fail of the Presidency by unforeseen political complications. In this contest Webster threw away the only chance he ever had for the Presidency. He was offered the nomination for second place but refused it. Had he accepted he would have succeeded Taylor at the latter's death, and such were his conservative views that he might have been elected in 1852 if he had lived, which is quite probable, as his death is supposed to have been hastened by his political disappointments.

In 1852 Franklin Pierce was elected President by 254 electoral votes to 42 for Winfield Scott. The popular vote stood:

Pierce	1,601,474
Scott	1,386,578
Hale	156,149

Pierce had a small plurality of the popular vote. But Pierces' nomination was again the result of convention machinery, and not of popular favor. At the Democratic Convention in 1852 at Baltimore, Cass, Buchanan, Marcy and Douglas were the chief candidates. But for the two-thirds rule Cass would again have been nominated, but another dark horse in the person of Pierce was trotted out, thus preventing the popular choice between Cass and Scott at the polls. There is little doubt that Cass would have won this year.

In 1856 James Buchanan was elected President by an electoral vote of 174 to 114 for Fremont, and 8 for Fillmore. Pennsylvania and New Jersey turned the scale for Buchanan. The popular vote stood :

Buchanan	1,838,169
Fremont	1,341,264
Fillmore	874,534

Again the successful candidate received a minority of the popular vote.

Abraham Lincoln was chosen President in 1860 by an electoral vote of 180 to 72 for Breckinridge, 39 for Bell, and 12 for Douglas. The popular vote stood :

Lincoln	1,857,610
Douglas	1,365,976
Breckinridge	847,953
Bell	590,631

Lincoln was in a large minority. Particularly conspicuous is the disproportion between Douglas' popular vote and his twelve votes in the Electoral College. Abraham Lincoln's nomination was unexpected in the East. How it was accomplished has been told too frequently to require repeating here. Seward was his chief competitor, and there is no reason now to believe he would not have been elected if nominated, as was anticipated by his friends.

Leading men in the Union party movement have claimed that the election of Lincoln was largely due to the diversion of Bell and Everett votes in the South from Breckinridge. This on its face is not demonstrated, as the Breckinridge and Bell votes, together with the States which the latter saved to Lincoln, would not have elected Breckinridge. The further claim is made, however, that the Bell and Everett ticket strengthened Lincoln, because it kept many Northern people from supporting the Southern candidate as they had done in 1856, believing that a

compromise with the South was essential to the preservation of the Union. There is some merit in this claim. Lincoln had the smallest percentage of the popular vote of any President ever chosen by the Electoral College. He was triumphantly re-elected in 1864, but Johnson was an accident. The nomination for Vice-President was offered to General Benjamin F. Butler, who declined it.

Grant was twice overwhelmingly elected, but there were vacancies in the Electoral College each time. The Hayes-Tilden contest is too recent to need reviewing. But Blaine would probably have been nominated in 1876 had not the gas been turned off in the Convention Hall. Garfield, who was the darkest of dark horses, owed his election to the efforts of Grant and Conkling, Arthur became President solely through the favor of Conkling, who secured his nomination as Vice-President. General Butler in his memoirs says that thousands of votes cast for him in New York in 1884 were counted for Cleveland. If true, Mr. Blaine was really elected, as the Democratic majority in the State was only about 1,200. Blaine could have been nominated almost without opposition in 1888, and possibly could have been elected, thus, like Clay and Cass, narrowly missing the Presidency three. times.

This account shows that the following men came within an ace of the Presidency: Thomas Pinckney, Charles C. Pinckney, Aaron Burr, DeWitt Clinton, Henry Clay, John M. Clayton, Daniel Webster, Lewis Cass, Benjamin F. Butler, James G. Blaine, and Samuel J. Tilden.

These Presidents were either accidents of politics or barely gained election: John Adams, Thomas Jefferson (first term), James Madison (second term), John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, James K. Polk, Zachary Taylor, Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, Abraham Lincoln (first term), Andrew Johnson, Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, Chester A. Arthur, Benjamin Harrison (owing to Blaine's declination), and Grover Cleveland (first election).

Indeed, the only Presidents ever elected who were the leading choice of their party before nomination were: Washington, Jefferson, Madison (first term), Monroe, Jackson, Lincoln (second term), Grant, and Cleveland (second term).

In the thirteen Presidential elections since 1840 a winning candidate for the Presidency has but once polled 50 per cent. of the whole vote excluding the three elections 1864–72, when some of the States did not vote. The exception was Pierce who polled 50.9 per cent. William Henry Harrison polled less than 53 per cent., but would have had less than 50 per cent. probably, had South Carolina chosen electors at the polls. In 1836 Van Buren polled 50.83 per cent., but the Tribune Almanac estimated a Whig majority of 30,000 in South Carolina, which would have put him below 50 per cent.

The Electoral College is based on 357 units of population, to which are added 90 units representing states, or 447 in all, thus the voter casts on an average about $1\frac{1}{4}$ votes. In the next election there will be 447 electoral votes cast. Fifteen states have no more than four votes. These represent about six per cent. of the population, and twelve per cent. of the electoral votes. Thus each voter casts 2 votes instead of $1\frac{1}{4}$. Illinois with a slightly greater population casts only 24 electoral votes, or less than 6 per cent. of the whole. New York and Missouri cast the same number of votes as the fifteen small States, but represent 14 per cent. of the population. Wyoming casts $\frac{1}{148}$ of the electoral vote, but represents less than one-thousandth of the population, so that each voter has practically seven votes, making no account of the female vote. The following table shows the figures above given (Utah is included as it votes this year):

	Electoral Vote.		Population. 1890.	
Colorado	4		412,198	
Delaware	3		168,493	
Florida	4		391,422	
Idaho	3		84,385	
Montana	3		132,159	
Nevada	3		45,761	
New Hampshire	4		376,530	
North Dakota	3		182,719	
Oregon	4		313,767	
Rhode Island	4		345,506	
South Dakota	4		328,808	
Vermont	4		332,422	
Washington	4		349,390	
Wyoming	3		60,705	
Utah	3		207,905	
	53	about 12%.	3,732,170	about 6%.
Illinois	24	" 6%.	3,826,351	" 6%.
New York	36		5,997,853	
Missouri	17		2,679,184	
	53	= 12%.	8,677,037	= 14%.

The election this year will be peculiar in many respects. While the Republicans have, in the last three years, carried thirty-four States, representing 344 electoral votes, and the Democracy has retained only nine States casting eighty-nine votes, the chances this fall do not run in this ratio. Many cool-headed politicians think the Democratic party has a good chance to win under certain conditions. This table will be found interesting in making computations:

	Electoral Vote.	Electoral Vote. 1892.			Since 1892. State Elections.		
		D.	R.	P.	D.	R.	P.
Alabama	11	11	..	..	11	..	..
Arkansas	8	8	..	..	8	..	..
California	9	8	1	..	..	9	..
Colorado	4	..	..	4	..	4	..
Connecticut	6	6	..	..	..	6	..
Delaware	3	3	..	..	..	3	..
Florida	4	4	..	..	4	..	..
Georgia	13	13	..	..	13	..	..
Idaho	3	..	..	3	..	3	..
Illinois	24	24	..	..	..	24	..
Indiana	15	15	..	..	..	15	..
Iowa	13	..	13	..	..	13	..
Kansas	10	..	..	10	..	10	..
Kentucky	13	13	..	..	..	13	..
Louisiana	8	8	..	..	8	..	..
Maine	6	..	6	..	..	6	..
Maryland	8	8	..	..	..	8	..
Massachusetts	15	..	15	..	..	15	..
Michigan	14	5	9	..	..	14	..
Minnesota	9	..	9	..	..	9	..
Mississippi	9	9	..	..	9	..	..
Missouri	17	17	..	..	..	17	..
Montana	3	..	3	..	..	3	..
Nebraska	8	..	8	..	..	8	..
Nevada	3	..	..	3	..	..	*3
New Hampshire	4	..	4	..	.	4	..
New Jersey	10	10	..	..	.	10	..
New York	36	36	..	..	.	36	..
North Carolina	11	11	..	..	..	..	†11
North Dakota	3	1	1	1	..	3	..
Ohio	23	1	22	..	..	23	..
Oregon	4	..	3	1	..	4	..
Pennsylvania	32	..	32	..	..	32	..
Rhode Island	4	..	4	..	..	4	..
South Carolina	9	9	..	..	9	..	..
South Dakota	4	..	4	..	..	4	..
Tennessee	12	12	..	..	..	12	..
Texas	15	15	..	..	15	..	..
Utah	3	..	..	..	..	3	..
Vermont	4	..	4	..	..	4	..
Virginia	12	12	..	..	12	..	..
Washington	4	..	4	..	..	4	..
West Virginia	6	6	..	..	..	6	..
Wisconsin	12	12	..	..	..	12	..
Wyoming	3	..	3	..	..	3	..
Totals	447	277	145	22	89	344	14

* Free Silver Party. † Fusion with Republicans.

	Popular vote in 1892.	Percentage.
Cleveland	5,556,562	45.73
Harrison	5,162,874	42.49
Weaver	1,055,424	8.67
Bidwell	264,066	2.17
Wing	22,613	.94

The contest for the Presidency will be unusually interesting this year at the nominating conventions as well as at the polls. For twenty years past until now Blaine has been a candidate at every Republican National Convention with or without his consent. John Sherman has also been a leading candidate several times. This year the Republican candidates are practically new men. Though votes have been cast for Allison and McKinley neither has previously been an important factor in the situation. In the last five Republican Conventions the field has beaten the favorite every time, except in 1892.

The Democratic candidate is more uncertain than the Republican. While the Republican party has by odds the best of the situation, so many elements enter into the problem that Democratic hopes are not without a basis.

So many surprises have taken place at political conventions and at the polls that he is a rash man who dares predict who will be the next President.

JOSEPH M. ROGERS.

THE OLD TESTAMENT NOT A MILLSTONE.

BY REV. DR. GEORGE COULSON WORKMAN.

THE article entitled "Christianity's Millstone," by Prof. Goldwin Smith, in the December number of this REVIEW, has made considerable stir throughout the continent, and in some communities has created a sensation.

Dr. Smith is a practised writer, as well as an accomplished scholar, and his article is both interesting and stimulating; but his treatment of the Old Testament, with which his essay deals, is disappointing and unsatisfactory.

The aim of the essayist is, apparently, to foster a more rational view of the Scriptures, which is certainly a consummation devoutly to be wished; but the way in which he seeks to accomplish his object is extraordinary. Were a Biblical critic to discuss history as this critic, who is an adept in history, discusses Scripture, the distinguished historian would undoubtedly complain of unfairness, if not of incompetence. No impartial scientist would treat the subjects of his department, or suffer them to be treated, as Professor Smith has treated the writings of the Old Testament.

The method he has adopted is peculiar. Assuming that Biblical inspiration is equivalent to dictation by the Holy Spirit (a theory which no scholar holds), he shows that the Old Testament contains some things which are incompatible with such a view (a truism which no scholar doubts), and then he asks if these things are inspired (a supposition which no scholar entertains). Pursuing this plan throughout his article, he presents, perhaps, the most misleading, if not the most mischievous, critique of the Hebrew Scriptures that has ever been written by a reverent, religious scholar; so that to the superficial reader his

essay seems like a formidable arraignment of the Old Testament, whereas it is simply an arraignment of an obsolete theory of the Old Testament. That is to say, he arraigns the difficulties connected with an old-fashioned view of Scripture, which a recent, but truly evangelical, review removes.

To use the results of criticism, as Dr. Smith does, to arraign the misconceptions of traditionalism, without showing the elements of truth which the latter contained, is as unwarrantable as to take the established facts of chemistry to demolish the absurd superstitions of alchemy, without showing the important service which it rendered in the development of the more perfect science. By such an unfair use of facts, a modern specialist could make almost any ancient department of knowledge appear ridiculous.

The occasion of this elaborate essay, it appears, was an address, delivered before the members of the recent English Church Congress, at Norwich, England, by Professor Bonney, Canon of Manchester, who made a few harmless but unhappy remarks respecting the true character of certain parts of the Old Testament, which Dr. Smith considers "a bold and honorable attempt to cast a millstone off the neck of Christianity by frankly renouncing belief in the historical character of the earlier books of the Bible."

Taking as a text this statement, which is worth repeating here, Dr. Smith suggests that, in order consistently to make such an acknowledgment, the author of it must renounce certain unworthy conceptions of doctrine which there is no reason to suppose he holds.

"With the historical character of the chapters relating to the creation," says the essayist, "Canon Bonney must resign his belief in the fall of Adam; with his belief in the fall of Adam he must surrender the doctrine of the Atonement, as connected with that event, and thus relieve conscience of the strain put upon it in struggling to reconcile Vicarious Punishment with our sense of justice. He will also have to lay aside his belief in the Serpent of the Temptation, and in the primeval personality of evil."

Professor Smith is too profound a student not to know that the account of the Fall in Genesis, which was once regarded by theologians as literal history, is now regarded by Christian scholars as religious allegory, an allegory, like a parable, being a form of narrative employed by the sacred writers to illustrate and inculcate spiritual truth. This portion of Scripture is an allegorical or a parabolical representation of the beginning of moral evil in human nature.

Interpreted in harmony with its figurative style, the account contains neither irrational doctrine nor unhistoric fact. Inasmuch as the doctrine of a personal devil does not belong to Mosaism, and does not appear in the Old Testament before the time of the Exile, the best interpreters of Genesis do not hold that the story of the Fall teaches the primeval personality of evil. "The story apparently presupposes an ungodly principle which had already entered the world," says Oehler, "but does not give any further account of it." Inasmuch, too, as the serpent was used, from prehistoric times throughout the East, as an emblem of an evil principle in the world, a true interpretation of the account does not require us to believe in the actual appearance of a tempting serpent.

While Paul uses the familiar form of Genesis in introducing the doctrine of Atonement, and, in that sense, connects it with the fall of Adam, the Apostle really connects the doctrine with the entrance of sin as a moral fact into human nature. Consequently we are not required by anything in Scripture "to reconcile vicarious punishment with our sense of justice," because the New Testament writers nowhere represent God as punishing Christ for the sins of men. They simply represent Christ as, in loving obedience to the will of his Father, effecting the reconciliation of man to God.

Neither Canon Bonney, whose words have been so strangely used, nor the editor of *Lux Mundi*, whose views have not been fairly represented, needs anyone to hold a brief for him; but when, referring to certain mythical or traditional materials out of which the latter writer admits that some parts of the Old Testament were developed, Dr. Smith says, "It is difficult to see how myths can in any sense be inspired, or why, if the records are in any sense inspired, the Church should not be able to insist on their historical character," he must know that the writer in question does not assume that myths are inspired. He simply regards traditional narratives, such as those presented in the earlier chapters of Genesis, as containing "great inspirations about the origin of all things—the nature of sin, the judgment of God on sin, and the alienation among men which follows their alienation from God,"—inspirations "conveyed to us in that form of myth or allegorical picture, which is the earliest mode in which the mind of man apprehended truth."

In close connection, when the essayist asks, "Is it conceivable that the Holy Spirit, in dictating the record of God's dealings with mankind for our instruction in the way of life, should simulate the defects of human evidence?" he knows very well that such a supposition is as unworthy as it is irrational. He knows, too, that no scholar of repute to-day accepts the "dictation" theory of inspiration, because, in the closing paragraph of his article, he speaks of "Verbal Inspiration" as being but "a consecrated tradition." He must also know that, instead of assuming that the Holy Spirit dictated the records of Scripture, or simulated the defects of human evidence in dictating them, the editor of the volume already mentioned expressly says that "the recorders of Israel's history were subject to the ordinary laws in the estimate of evidence, (and) that their inspiration did not consist in a miraculous communication to them of facts as they originally happened." Holding with other Christian scholars that Biblical inspiration refers to the spiritual or divine element in the Scriptures, the same writer further says: "The inspiration of the recorder lies primarily in this, that he sees the hand of God in the history and interprets his purpose."

Moreover, when the essayist suggests that "the first step towards a rational appreciation of the Old Testament is to break up the volume, separate the acts of Joshua or Jehu from the teachings of Jesus, and the different books of the Old Testament from each other," he must certainly know that what he so sagaciously proposes is just what Christian teachers are doing, and just what they have been doing for a great many years. Modern scholars do not put all the books of the Bible on the same level, or attach to all parts of it the same importance.

In view of these well-known facts, it seems scarcely fair of the essayist to say, "We have forcibly turned Hebrew literature into a sort of cryptogram of Christianity," as though respectable scholarship were still pursuing such a foolish course. It is a good while since the Song of Songs, which all reputable scholars now regard as a lyric poem intended to display the triumph of pure affection over the temptations of wealth and rank, has been turned by intelligent interpreters into "a cryptogrammic description of the union of Christ with his Church."

Biblical scholarship is not in such a deplorable condition as Dr. Smith's article implies. It recognizes all the difficulties,

moral, historical, or theological, that really exist; but it sees a way by which, in every instance, the difficulty may be explained in harmony with the claims of Scripture, as well as with the claims of reason.

The following analysis will let the reader see how unfair to the Hebrew Scriptures Dr. Smith has been.

1. He criticizes the unhistoric character of the Old Testament record. Speaking of the mythical or traditional features of the subject-matter of the book of Genesis, he says: "The history of every nation begins with myth. A primeval tribe keeps no record, and a nation in its maturity has no more recollection of what happened in its infancy than a man of what happened to him in his cradle."

This statement is unquestionably true, but its implication is misleading. A myth is not a falsehood, much less an imposture. It is a presentation of truth in fictitious or rather tropical form. As the editor of *Lux Mundi* says:

"It is a product of mental activity, as instructive and rich as any later product, but its characteristic is that it is not yet distinguished into history, and poetry, and philosophy. It is all of these in the germ, as dream and imagination, and thought and experience, are fused in the mental furniture of a child's mind."

The narratives of Genesis, however, cannot properly be called myths. The earlier ones express the world's best traditional conceptions, at the time when they were compiled, respecting the origins of things; and they embody, in tropical form, not only important historic facts but also great moral and religious truths. Owing to their age and character, though, it should not be claimed for either the earlier or the later narratives of the Pentateuch that they furnish a perfect modern scientific ethnology, chronology, cosmogony, or synopsis of history, although from them each of these subjects may have derived important aid.

Canon Bonney's admission, therefore, that "the increase of scientific knowledge has deprived parts of the earlier books of the Bible of the historical value which was generally attributed to them by our forefathers," is one which does not at all involve the essayist's conclusions. Our forefathers thought that the first part of Genesis was the oldest piece of literature in existence; but the recent decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has revealed another still more ancient literature, one which

gives us an Assyrian account of the Creation, the Fall, the Flood, and the Tower of Babel, in a form that is shown by its mythological and polytheistic features to be much older than the Biblical account, the latter being a purified and spiritualized and monotheized version of the former.

Christian scholars have recognized for a long time that the ethnological statements of the book of Genesis are imperfect, just as they have recognized that the genealogical tables of the Evangelists are incomplete; but they do not claim that such matters were dictated by the Holy Spirit. They also recognize that the stories of the Flood and Tower of Babel, though having an historical basis, are characterized by a manner of expression which must be interpreted according to the habit of Oriental speech, and that they contain traditional elements which are peculiar to all such ancient accounts. But this latter fact does not lessen the value of either story as a primitive means of imparting religious instruction.

When Dr. Smith, therefore, complains in the language of the editor of *Lux Mundi* that "the Church cannot insist upon the historical character of the earliest records of the ancient Church in detail, as she can on the historical character of the Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles," it is sufficient to reply that the Church does not insist upon the perfect historicity of those ancient narratives which are known to contain traditional elements, and which are also known to have been compiled long after the events recorded are said to have taken place. She frankly admits that, previous to the time at which Abraham is believed to have emigrated with his family into Palestine, we cannot determine with certainty much of the history or the chronology pertaining to the primeval and patriarchal ages, because so little of the early record can be definitely traced to a period at all approaching the events.

2. He criticises the unscientific character of the Old Testament teaching. After mentioning several times the crude conceptions of the Mosaic cosmogony, he says, "The Old Testament is altogether geocentric, and not merely in the phenomenal sense."

That the Mosaic cosmogony represents the earth and not the sun as the centre of the universe, is a fact familiar to the most superficial reader of the Bible; but no fair-minded person thinks

of blaming Moses for this geocentric view, much less of holding him responsible for it. Up to a few centuries ago, the whole world held substantially the same view. Like every other Scripture writer, the compiler of the book of Genesis shared the scientific conceptions of the age in which he lived, and wrote in harmony with the ideas which then prevailed. Moreover, he does not profess to give us a miraculous history of creation, nor does the Church claim that he anticipated in any way the results of modern discovery.

Supposing the story of creation to be a miraculously revealed account of the origin of all created objects, theologians once believed that the whole universe was constructed piece by piece, that the first man was made directly from the dust of the ground, that the first woman was built out of a rib taken from his side, and that the world was formed in six days of twenty-four hours each. They now recognize, however, that some features of the story are not to be treated literally, but tropically ; and they also recognize that the aim of the writer was not to explain how anything actually came into being, or to tell how long the process of creation lasted, much less to give a complete history of our planet from the beginning, but rather to show that everything owes its existence to the creative energy of God, and to describe the divine adaptation of the earth to be the abode of creatures such as can subsist upon it.

Hence Christian scholars do not "play fast and loose either with words or with science," in order to bring the story of creation "into harmony with what we have learned from geology." They simply take the story for what it is, namely, a popular presentation of the more striking phenomena of creation for the purpose of teaching, not science or philosophy, in the technical sense of these terms, but moral and religious truth. In broad outline, they recognize that there is a substantial agreement between the narrative in Genesis and the teaching of science; and that is all we should expect, as well as all the Scripture, properly expounded, leads us to expect.

But, while the general order of Genesis is such as physical science now accepts, judicious teachers do not maintain that the narrative in the first chapter of the book is perfect geology. On the contrary, they perceive that the writer's description of the Spirit's operations as so many creative acts, occupying so many

solar days, though having a general foundation in nature, merely represents an orderly progress in the work of creation. Instead of claiming, therefore, that the story of creation coincides in all respects with the results which physical investigation has disclosed, such teachers, recognizing the popular and picturesque character of the account, do not attempt to correlate Genesis and geology day by day.

Since the first chapter of Genesis teaches neither geology nor chronology, there is nothing in it inconsistent with the doctrine of evolution that the world was formed by a gradual process of development in harmony with natural laws, or with the declaration of geology that animal life existed for ages before the human race appeared. That all created things are due to divine activity, and that spiritual death, or separation from God, is the outcome of human disobedience—these are two fundamental facts which the story of creation teaches, and which the testimony of the rocks does not gainsay.

Thus Christian geologists are not driven to the desperate shifts to which Professor Smith remembers that Dr. Buckland "was driven in his efforts to reconcile the facts of his science with the Mosaic cosmogony, the literal truth of which he did not venture to impugn." No competent instructor now finds anything in the story of creation to impugn, since, technically speaking, the account is neither scientific nor unscientific, but nonscientific. The book of Genesis gives us no theory, in the modern use of the term, either of the process of creation or of the origin of the world; it merely connects God with creation in an order founded upon the best conceptions of nature to which the mind of man had then attained.

3. He criticises the imperfect character of the Old Testament morality. Referring to a weak as well as an unwise defence, by the editor of *Lux Mundi*, of the most startling of the so-called imprecatory psalms, he says, "This is the way in which we have been led by our traditional belief in the inspiration of the Old Testament to play fast and loose with our understandings and with our moral sense."

The best expositors do not, in their interpretation of the revengeful imprecations of the Old Testament, play fast and loose either with understanding or with moral sense. While they perceive that, in the majority of vindictive passages, the speaker

or the psalmist, as the case may be, zealous for the honor of Jehovah, so identifies himself with God that he regards God's enemies as his enemies, and hates them simply because, being evil, they are enemies of good, they frankly admit with Dr. Moll, in Lange's *Biblework*, that Psalm cix. displays a spirit "which is not free from carnal passion."

The true explanation of the revengeful spirit here displayed is found in the difference between the view-point of the law and the view-point of the Gospel—a difference indicated by our Lord's rebuke to his disciples for manifesting the zeal of Elijah, when they desired him to imitate the spirit of the Old Testament dispensation by commanding fire from heaven to consume the inhabitants of a hostile village. Owing to the incomplete development of spiritual ideas under the old dispensation, men's conceptions of morality were necessarily imperfect. Hence the Old Testament characters could not reasonably be expected to speak and act according to the exalted standard of the Sermon on the Mount.

But is inspiration compatible with imperfect morality? Certainly; because, if a man honestly conforms to the highest moral standard of his time, he is a truly moral man. That inspiration is compatible with immorality no rational teacher maintains; but that inspiration is compatible with imperfect or crude morality may be consistently maintained, because, as Dr. Bruce says, "Crude morality is compatible with a good conscience."

Such examples of cruelty and treachery, therefore, as those to which Dr. Smith refers, those which he considers "responsible in no small degree for murderous persecutions, and for the extirpation or oppression of heathen races," were quite in keeping with the vindictive spirit, as well as with the crude morality, of Old Testament times. Such deeds of violence could, doubtless, have been justified by the persons who committed them, in harmony with the highest moral standards which then existed; but a wise apologist does not think of defending them. He simply claims that they should be judged, not according to the complete statements of Christian ethics, but by the crude conceptions of the age in which they occurred.

4. He criticises the inhuman character of the Old Testament warfare. Commenting on the cruelties connected with the settlement of Palestine, and complaining of the inconsistent replies

which foolish apologists have made to the objections raised by humanity against the slaughter of the Canaanites, he says, "We are in no way bound to believe that God so identified himself with a favored tribe as to license it to invade a number of other tribes which had done it no wrong, to slaughter them and take possession of their land."

True apologists do not attempt to justify the butcheries and barbarities of the ancient Hebrew wars, or to maintain that Israel had a legal right to the land of Canaan. They neither claim that, in conquering the country, the Israelites did but recover their own, nor hold that, having been driven by force from Egypt, they had a right to help themselves to a home where they could find it, by putting all the existing inhabitants to the sword, nor do they fall back upon the simple command of God, justifying it on the ground that the Canaanites were idol-worshippers and consequently ignorant of the true God. They believe it to have been the purpose of Providence that the Israelites should possess Canaan, just as they believe it to have been his purpose that the Puritans should possess New England; but they do not consider Providence responsible for the inhumanities either of Israelites or of Christians.

Instead of holding that "God so identified himself with a favored tribe as to license it to invade a number of other tribes which had done it no wrong, to slaughter them and take possession of their land," modern apologists hold that the Hebrew leaders so identified themselves with Jehovah that they regarded anything done in his name as a divine design. The explanation of this fact is very simple. The Israelites were not a philosophic, but a religious, people. Unaccustomed to philosophical speculation, but impressed with physical phenomena as manifestations of the Deity, they beheld God everywhere and traced his hand in everything Connecting everything directly with God, the Old Testament writers did not duly discriminate between a natural consequence and a divine design. As Bishop Perowne says, "The Biblical writers drew no sharp, accurate line between events as the consequence of the divine order and events as following from the divine purpose. To them all was ordained and designed of God."

Hence the Israelites saw no place for chance or accident in creation. Believing that everything was of God, they naturally

believed that everything was designed of him. All those expressions, therefore, which represent him as prompting men either to be cruel or to do evil should be interpreted as Hebrew forms of speech that originated in a Semitic mode of thought. Thus the harsher features of the Old Testament are capable of a rational explanation, and, in this sense, of a sufficient vindication. In their conquest of Canaan, the Israelites adopted the methods of warfare that were characteristic of their age; and, impelled by a religious motive, they dealt with their captives in such a way as they believed would, in the circumstances, promote the purest worship of Jehovah and the highest welfare of his people.

5. He criticises the irrational character of the Old Testament sacrifice. Discussing the leading features of Hebrew law, he comes at length to the sacrificial worship of the Israelites; and, though he remarks the absence from the Mosaic ritual of human sacrifice, which was practised even by the polished Athenians, he takes occasion to say that "all sacrifice is irrational."

Many of the heathen conceptions of sacrifice were, doubtless, irrational; but the sacrifices of the Old Testament present a marked contrast to those of the heathen, and express the deepest religious instincts of the human heart. In its devouter moods, at least, the soul of man is drawn by a sort of natural impulse to express in deeds, as well as in words, its obligation of indebtedness to God. That inward prompting which impels a man to offer prayer or praise impels him also to offer sacrifice of some kind, either outward or inward or both. The same instinct that leads him to perform acts of devotion leads him, according to his education and development, to perform acts of service or sacrifice. Strictly speaking, even propitiatory sacrifices are merely symbols of reconciliation and communion between man and God.

In an uncultivated and undeveloped state, man endeavors to establish a relation of reconciliation and communion between himself and his Maker by giving to the Deity a portion of what the Deity has given to him; in a more cultivated and developed state, man endeavors to establish this relation of harmony by consecrating himself and his substance to God. Thus in principle, sacrifice is simply the putting of a part of oneself, so to speak, into that which one devotes to God; and such an act can scarcely be regarded as irrational.

6. He criticises the anthropomorphic character of the Old

Testament language. Alluding to an event recorded in Genesis which represents Jehovah as appearing to Abraham and as being entertained by the patriarch, he asks, "Why should we force ourselves to believe that the Being who fills eternity and infinity became the guest of a Hebrew sheik?"

Dr. Smith asks this question as though modern scholars interpreted the anthropomorphic language of Scripture literally, whereas he knows that they regard all those expressions which seem to ascribe to God the possession of bodily parts and organs, such as hands and feet, eyes and ears, mouth and nose, simply as symbolic. The application to God, in a figurative way, of terms which properly relate to human beings, is as reasonable, however, as it is natural. In the sphere of representative thought, no religion can dispense entirely with anthropomorphic expressions. In accordance with our mental constitution, divine truths can be neither conceived by us nor conveyed to us without the employment of such figurative language.

When the essayist, therefore, asks, "Why should we force ourselves to believe that the Being who fills eternity and infinity became the guest of a Hebrew sheik?" he is well aware not only that the Old Testament teaches the spirituality of God, but also that the eighteenth chapter of Genesis, to which he here refers, contains an account belonging to a time when it was generally believed that men sometimes entertained angels and even gods, and that consequently the account is to be explained as an anthropomorphic representation of an ancient manifestation of the divine presence. Hence, we are not to infer from the language that the Deity really exists in the shape of a man, or that he actually appeared to Abraham with a human body, and walked and talked and ate with the old patriarch!

7. He criticises the partial character of the Old Testament covenant. Representing the Deity as having "entered into a covenant with the sheik's tribe," as he calls the descendants of Abraham, "to the exclusion of the rest of the human race," he asks, "Can we imagine the author of the universe limiting his providential regard and his communication of vital truth to his creatures by tribal lines?"

Here is a three-fold misconception. In the first place, according to the record in the book of Genesis, the covenant of Jehovah with Abraham was not made to the exclusion of any race, but

rather to the inclusion of every race. "In thee," or, "in thy seed," the record reads, "shall all the families (nations) of the earth be blessed." The gracious divine purpose of revelation and redemption, which is expressed in so many Old Testament passages, though it has a primary reference to Israel, may be shown to have an ultimate reference to mankind. As set forth in Scripture, the election of the Israelites was simply a conditional choice of a certain people, on account of a special fitness for a certain work.

In the second place, instead of teaching that God limits the manifestation of his providential regard to men by tribal lines, the Old Testament teaches a divine superintendence that extends to all men, so that they all are sharers alike in the care of Providence. The author of Psalm lxv., for instance, represents God as the hearer of prayer, to whom all flesh may come; and the prophet Amos (ix., 7) represents him as having granted the same providential guidance to the Syrians and the Philistines that was granted to the Hebrews.

In the third place, instead of teaching that God limits the communication of his vital truth to men by tribal lines, the ancient Scriptures teach that, while the heathen had some true knowledge of God, relatively it was not so large as that which Israel possessed. The whole tenor of Old Testament teaching is that, so far as its relation to him will permit, God does as much, in his protecting Providence, and by his revealing Spirit, for one nation as he does for another.

8. He criticises the tribal character of the Old Testament religion. Describing the Hebrew religion as a tribal monotheism, although, as he admits, a tribal monotheism of an eminently pure and exalted type, he asserts that "higher than to tribal monotheism it did not rise."

This assertion is singularly inconsistent with the facts of the Old Testament. The religion of Israel started as a tribal monotheism, but it rose to an ethical monotheism. That is to say, the idea of a tribal Deity, who had a special relation to a single people, developed into the idea of an absolute Deity, who has moral relations with every people. In the teaching of the prophets, there is a manifest advance upon the teaching of the Pentateuch respecting the doctrine of God. Many passages might be quoted to show that Israelitism, which commenced as a

national religion, restricted in some measure to a single nation, developed, with the progress of revelation, into a universal religion, which knows no national limitations, because it rests upon belief in a Supreme Being who is the Saviour of all the ends of the earth. Nehemiah ix., 6, is particularly full and complete.

Continuing his description of the Hebrew religion, Dr. Smith says, "It advanced no further than to the belief that its god was supreme in power as well as in character to all other gods, and thus Lord of the whole earth." This statement is contradicted by the explicit declarations of the prophets, who, from the time of Israel onward, proclaim not only the nothingness of idols, but also the absoluteness of God. The canonical prophets declare emphatically that the gods of the heathen are "no gods, but the work of men's hands"; "dumb idols," which cannot move, much less speak and help. With an equal emphasis they declare not simply that there is no god among the nations like Jehovah, but that there is no god anywhere except him. Hence they represent him as the Lord of the whole earth, not because he is superior in power and character to all other gods, but because all other gods are nothing, and he is God alone.

To this other assertion that the Jew, hampered by lingering tribalism, was unable to "form a conception of the universality and majesty of the moral law such as we find in Plato or in Cicero," one need simply reply that Israel's specialty was not philosophy, but religion. Her representative writers were religious teachers, most of whom lived and wrote before the time when philosophical speculation began to take definite shape in the scientific systems of Plato and Aristotle. Hence we should not look in the Old Testament for abstract statements of reasoned truth, but for practical statements of moral and religious truth. If, however, the Jew could not form a conception of the moral law as high and broad as Plato and Cicero could, he did form a conception of the moral Lawgiver as pure and exalted as they did; and, if his statements of moral truth were not as scientific as theirs, his ideas of moral duty were as adequate. His influence, too, on moral life and character was vastly greater than that of either the Roman or the Greek.

9. He criticises the inadequate character of the Old Testament idea of miracle. After making frequent allusions to the miraculous events recorded in the earlier books of the Bible, he

singles out "the strange episode of Balaam and his colloquy with his ass," and comments on "the stopping of the sun and moon that Israel might have time for the pursuit and slaughter of his enemies."

The story of Balaam is a traditional account of an ancient angelic appearance, belonging to a time when the idea of animals talking with men was practically universal, and is to be interpreted in harmony with that fact. The account of the sun and moon standing still also belongs to a time when men had no strictly scientific conception either of the nature of a miracle or of the constitution of the universe, so that physical phenomena which would now be called extraordinary would then be considered miraculous. The citation from the book of Jasher, to which Dr. Smith refers, is part of an ancient Hebrew poem, which must be interpreted as Oriental poetry. Hence, consistently with the character of the account, the best modern expositors regard the extraordinary phenomenon it describes as a prolongation of the daylight by the ordinary laws of atmospheric refraction.

10. He criticises the undeveloped character of the Old Testament conception of immortality. "Of a belief in the immortality of the soul," he says, "no evidence can be found in the Old Testament."

This assertion is both ambiguous and incorrect. Immortality, in the fullest sense of the term, is a New Testament doctrine. It was Christ, the Apostle declares, who "brought life and incorruption to light through the gospel." But, while its teaching on the subject is vague and indefinite, the Old Testament does contain evidence of a belief in a future state of being. The Hebrew Sheol, like the Greek Hades, represents, it is true, a shadowy abode of the dead; but neither the Hebrews nor the Greeks supposed that death was the end of personal existence, or that it involved the loss of personal identity. In the Old Testament, death is represented as a sort of sleep, out of which the shades of the departed in Sheol could be aroused into consciousness, as Isaiah xiv., 9–11, plainly shows. The continued existence of man after death is a conception that goes right through the ancient Scriptures. Even the book of Job, whether one uses the revised or the unrevised version, contains the germ of a belief in a future state of fellowship with God, though the conception is not so fully developed, perhaps, as it is in Psalm lxxiii., 24.

11. He criticises the indefinite character of the Old Testament prophecy respecting Christ. "No real and specific prediction of the advent of Jesus, or of any event in his life," he says, "can be produced from the books of the Old Testament."

This statement is incomplete, and its implication is untrue. It implies that the Old Testament contains no prophecies of a future Messiah which were properly fulfilled in the New Testament Christ, whereas, from the time of Isaiah, the canonical prophets put forth the conception of an ideal Coming One, whom they represent as a ruler, a counsellor, a teacher, and a deliverer or saviour, all of which representations were spiritually fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth; so that the Evangelists were not "simple-minded," as Dr. Smith says, but sensible-minded, when they found "in the sacred books of their nation prognostications of the character and mission of Jesus," because such prognostications or foreshadowings of him really occur in them. A number of passages set Christ forth in his character, in his office, and in his work.

It is not the Hebrew Scriptures regarded as a sacred literature, however, but these Scriptures regarded as a supernatural revelation, which renders them, in the estimation of the essayist, a millstone to Christianity. "The time has surely come," he says, "when as a supernatural revelation they should be frankly, though reverently, laid aside." Does Dr. Smith not know that the time has long come since the soundest Christian teachers taught that the Old Testament is not a revelation, but the record of a revelation? These Scriptures are now acknowledged by all scholars to be the record of a revelation which was received, during a long period of time, by a large number of men who spoke or wrote on religious subjects, as they were moved by the Holy Spirit, but who made use of a great variety of materials, traditional, historical, and philosophical, according to the fullest knowledge they had, and the soundest judgment they possessed.

Though he rejects the Hebrew Scriptures as a revelation in the obsolete sense which no modern scholar holds, yet, toward the conclusion of his article, he grants that the Old Testament may, so far as it is good, be a manifestation of the Divine. "As a manifestation of the Divine," he says, "the Hebrew books, teaching righteousness and purity, may have their place in our love and admiration forever." In making this admission, he

allows substantially the very thing which Christian scholarship maintains. If these books are a manifestation of God, they must not only, in some sense, be an inspired literature, but also, in some degree, contain a divine revelation. It is this divine element in them which distinguishes them from all other ancient writings.

In their inner spiritual contents, the Hebrew Scriptures are an organic part of the Christian Scriptures. The divine element in the Old Testament was the spiritual germ from which the Gospel evolved, the rudimental teaching out of which the doctrine of Christ was developed. Instead of being Christianity's millstone, therefore, the Old Testament is rather Christianity's foundation-stone, because it forms the spiritual groundwork, so to speak, from which the Christian superstructure rises, or on which the Christian system rests.

GEORGE COULSON WORKMAN.

WESTERN FEELING TOWARDS THE EAST.

BY SENATOR WILLIAM VINCENT ALLEN, OF NEBRASKA.

"The time may come, therefore—though heaven grant it otherwise—when the bustling, ambitious, independent West will see that its highest development depends upon the management of its own affairs. To avert such a catastrophe there must be a broader, warmer sympathy than now exists; a more intense spirit of patriotism must be inculcated, and, above all, there must be an unstinted and undying, a genuine and universal, pride in the greatness and glory of an undivided republic."—*Henry Litchfield West, in April number of* NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

I HAVE been asked to contribute a brief paper in the nature of a reply to Mr. West's article, from which the above quotation is taken, and especially to discuss the "dissatisfaction of the West with the East, showing what justification there is for such a feeling."

I fully realize that this is a delicate subject on which to write, that it is unpleasant to note the existence of dissatisfaction among the people of one section of the country with those of another, and that whoever attempts to do so, however impartial and conservative he may be in what he may say, will subject himself to more or less unpleasant criticism and be misunderstood. I also think the question is not stated with absolute accuracy, for I believe there is fully as much dissatisfaction among the people of the East with the West as there is among those of the West with the East, and that there is as much cause for asking for the justifying reasons therefor as there is in calling for reasons that justify Western dissatisfaction.

That some dissatisfaction exists in the West with the Eastern people, no one familiar with the truth will deny. It cannot be said, however, to be general, nor does it affect all classes, but it does affect a portion of the people.

I was born in the West, and forty years of my life have been

spent on the sunset side of the Mississippi. I have, within that time, witnessed that section of our country in the various stages of its development. As a boy I was familiar with it when it was inhabited by the buffalo and other animals indigenous to the latitude. I saw them driven from their homes and civilization take their places. I have seen powerful bands of Indians in the practical control of the country, driven, by force of white settlement and the civilization that followed, further westward, until they are now mere remnants of a once mighty people, living on the bounty and under the supervision of the government, and many of them begging from door to door. I have therefore had an opportunity of observing the growth and settlement of the West and the formation of Western sentiment, while candor requires me to say that I have not had an equal opportunity of noting the growth of Eastern sentiment, although I am familiar with it to some extent.

My experience in public life, and the knowledge I have gained by mingling somewhat extensively with my kind, have convinced me that the dissatisfaction is reciprocal, and that the Eastern people do not feel as friendly to the West and to Western development as they should. It must not be forgotten that there was a time, not many years ago, either, when every Western man spoke of his birthplace as in an Eastern State, and when it might be truthfully said that he was, to all intents and purposes, Eastern, and full of Eastern thought, energy, method, and sympathies. But as those men passed from the stage of action, and their children, who were born in the West, succeeded them, the sentiment changed, and the latter speak of their birthplaces as in Western States. Their education, sympathies, and impulses are Western, and many of them know little of the East by actual travel or contact. Eastern ties are mere matters of family history with them, while their associations and sympathies centre in the States in which they live and in adjoining States. Their relations with the East are, therefore, wholly of a general and business character.

But a few years ago the West was an unbroken wilderness. It required great energy, perseverance and self-denial to develop it. Its settlement and civilization were accomplished amid scenes of indescribable danger, privation and trial. The early Western settler was a hero. He took the lives of his family and

his own life in his hands, and went among roving bands of savages and, by singular self-denial and indomitable energy, established a home and laid the foundation of the marvellous civilization that followed. Having faithfully and conscientiously performed this prodigious work, and having opened the way to profitable investment of large sums of Eastern capital, he naturally had a right to think that at least in all national affairs he would be treated on terms of equality with his Eastern brethren. Much of the development of the West is due, doubtless, to a large use of Eastern capital; Eastern and foreign money has largely aided in the construction of our railways and materially assisted in opening our mines and farms. It has likewise been instrumental, in some measure, in building our towns and cities, and in these respects we are the debtors of the East. But it should be remembered that the obligation is not entirely onesided. The West thus afforded an enlarged opportunity for Eastern enterprise and capital, and large and secure returns on investments that could not otherwise have been made; and we have, in fact, offered a very fruitful field which the East has cultivated with great profit to itself. The opening of Western farms and mines, under proper industrial and commercial conditions, would be a source of great wealth to those who own them, and would enable the West to contribute largely to the aggregate national wealth, and would be productive of a prosperity that has hitherto been unknown, if Eastern greed could be held in check long enough to accomplish the work.

A sentiment exists in the West that it is the purpose of Eastern money loaners and capitalists to drain our industries of their profits by unfriendly legislation, and that they do not intend to permit an enlarged volume of money, and that by this and like means, it is their purpose to increase the national debt and issue interest-bearing bonds that will rest as a blanket mortgage on the entire property of the country; and our people believe that by the time these bonds mature, the West will be compelled to furnish the larger part of the money for their payment. We feel that, through the operation of a shrinking volume of money, which has been caused by Eastern votes and influences for purely selfish purposes, the East has placed its hands on the throat of the West and refused to afford us that measure of justice which we, as citizens of a common country, are entitled to receive.

The production of grains and meats fifteen hundred miles from the seaboard is not, under the most favorable conditions, highly remunerative. It is a long haul to market, and by means of exorbitant freight rates exacted to pay profits on watered stocks, a system of virtual confiscation has been inaugurated and the profits of farming have disappeared, and now by striking down silver, one of the principal products of our mines, another great source of profit has been unjustly taken away from us.

The East is wedded to an abnormally high tariff for a distinctively protective purpose; that is, for the purpose of enabling one class of citizens, through the means of high-priced articles, caused by diminishing the natural competition arising from the sale of imported articles, to transfer much of the earnings of all other classes to their own pockets. The Eastern people evidently do not believe in levying a tariff for the primary purpose of revenue, and incidentally for the protection of new industries, or industries that have not been securely established, but on the contrary, for the distinct purpose of creating a limited market with revenue to the government as an incident. It can be easily seen that the people of the West are compelled to purchase their manufactured goods from the East, with low-priced products of farm and mine, and pay the freight both ways, and are thereby put to very great disadvantage.

It may be truthfully said in this connection that a feeling exists among the people of the West, to some extent, that the East has, by unduly attempting to control the Western press, endeavored to create an unwarranted and false sentiment on the tariff, financial and transportation questions, as well as a false sentiment, through the agency of small Western banks, on the money question, that is inimical to the true interests of our country. It is believed in the West that there is a fixed purpose on the part of the East to continue this order of things, and thereby transfer the wealth of the West from the pockets of those who produce it to the pockets of those who have had no hand in its production, and no sympathy with its producers.

Another bond of sympathy formerly existing between the two sections was created by Western youth being sent to Eastern colleges, but this has been broken by the establishment in the West of academies, colleges and universities, of a very high order, that furnish ample opportunity for an adequate

education of our young men and young women. Formerly, also, our ministers, physicians, lawyers, editors and business men came from the East, but they have, in a large measure, disappeared, and their places have been supplied by men born and educated in the West.

Nor can it be said that the expressions, "rotten Western boroughs," "low mining camps," "ignorant Westerners," "dishonest grangers," "repudiationists," "criminal and vicious classes," applied indiscriminately by the Eastern press to the people of the West, have had a tendency to soften the feeling of dissatisfaction; on the contrary, they have greatly intensified it and widened the breach. A similar sentiment was recently expressed by the President of the United States in an address to a missionary meeting in the City of New York, which the Western people regard as expressive of a hostile sentiment among Eastern people.

But it must be understood that, after all, these evils will correct themselves by intelligent and conservative agitation and at the ballot box. The Western people are neither selfish nor disloyal. They are, on the contrary, extremely generous and intensely American. They believe in the Union of the States and the sacredness of the Constitution, and they will not listen to the advocacy of anything that looks like secession. Suggestions that have appeared in the Eastern press that a sentiment of discontent, bordering on disunion, exists among the people of the West, are untrue and do very great injustice to hundreds of thousands of splendid men who, in the hour of national danger, offered their lives as a sacrifice on the altar of their country, and in the interest of national peace and the truth of history such statements should not be made. I have never known of the existence of a disloyal sentiment, and I do not believe that the people of the West can be provoked into entertaining, much less expressing, a sentiment of disunion. It should not be forgotten that the West is the sleeping lion of this country. It has boundless natural resources, and is rapidly increasing in population. It is inhabited by an intelligent, active, brave and Christian people; a people entirely fearless of consequences in the discharge of duty, and the time is speedily coming when our vote in the national legislature, and our influence in all branches of the government, will be equal, if not

superior, to that of the East. It is to be hoped that when that time comes, the intelligence, forbearance and patriotism of our people will prompt moderation and justice, and will restrain them from inflicting on the East the great wrongs that have been inflicted on them.

I think I am clearly within the bounds of propriety in remarking that many Eastern young men and young women, from travel and observation, know absolutely nothing of the West and its people. It is not an uncommon thing to meet Eastern men who have made many tours of Europe and who have never seen the grandeur of the Rocky Mountains, or the splendor of the great plains, lakes and rivers of their native land. It may be said that such a person has a right to travel in Europe as extensively as he may see fit, and enjoy European civilization and surroundings if he desires to do so, yet it does not speak well for the patriotism of one who turns from the greatness and the glorious scenes of his own country and the study of his own people, to view and study those of older countries, and thus isolate himself from his country and countrymen and lose sympathy with them and their conditions.

The subject assigned me demands more lengthy discussion than I am able, at this time, to give it. It must, however, be impressed on the minds of the people of the East that the West is rapidly becoming able to care for itself in all respects, and this it will do, not to the detriment or injury of the East, nor to the detriment of any class of the people of our common country, but with justice and moderation toward all. The possibility of secession or disunion cannot be admitted. The United States, under its present constitution, must be preserved for all time. The glory that attaches to the name America, American history, and American citizenship, must be maintained. The blessings that were won in the Revolutionary struggle, and that have been consecrated by the blood of two wars since that great event, must not perish by the madness of the people of any section. Let it be understood now and for all time that no people in the United States are more loyal or more devoted to the cause of the Union, and, therefore, to the cause of humanity, than are the splendid sons and daughters of the West.

WILLIAM V. ALLEN.

THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN: A REPLY TO MR. DAVID A. WELLS.

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE.

THE leading article in the April number of this REVIEW, "Great Britain and the United States: Their True Relations," by Mr. David A. Wells, was evidently intended to describe, not what the relations of the countries named actually are, but what in the author's opinion they ought to be. The actual relations of two nations are, of course, defined not by the writings or speeches of private individuals, however worthy of esteem, but by the acts of their respective Executives and Legislatures; and from what is done at any given time by those official representatives of national opinion and feeling, especially if it be done with a close approach to unanimity, their future acts may be reasonably inferred. This will be admitted, no doubt, by Mr. Wells, and he will probably acknowledge, also, that the views expressed by him are at present held by only a very small minority of his fellow-citizens, if we may judge from the manner in which Mr. Cleveland's Venezuela message was received by both Houses of Congress, and by the mass of the American people. While conceding this, he would have us believe that the minority of which he is the spokesman is what Matthew Arnold used to call "the saving remnant," meaning by the phrase a body of men, numerically weak, but strong in intellect and virtue, who may be relied upon eventually to clarify and elevate the whole community. It is the views of this saving remnant which he undertakes to expound at considerable length, and the outcome of his exposition is, that there is no reason why Americans should not regard England with cordial friendship; but that on the contrary we ought to welcome the acquisition by Great Britain of the control

of the Orinoco, and inferentially, of the Amazon and La Plata river systems, because the South American countries concerned would thereby acquire the blessings of a better government and of free trade.

We purpose to examine, paragraph by paragraph, the article in which these paradoxical opinions are set forth, and to inquire what basis there is for the author's statements of fact, and whether the deductions drawn from them are logically sound.

I.

Mr. Wells begins with the assertion that, "The peoples of the United States and of England are essentially of the same blood, language, religion and political principles." There is no doubt that almost all Americans of both sexes who were born in the United States, speak, with varying degrees of correctness, the English language. It is also true that our political principles were, to a large extent, derived from the same source as those of Englishmen, although it is probable that our debt to Holland is generally underrated. The applications of those principles, however, differ materially in the two countries, not only our federal polity, but our State Constitutions being examples of the presidential type of government, as distinguished from the parliamentary system operative in the United Kingdom. It is not true, however, that "the people of the United States and of England are essentially of the same blood." The infusion of Irish blood which began in considerable volume during the years immediately preceding our Revolutionary War has acquired such enormous proportions since the Irish famine of 1846, that a large fraction of our population must now be recognized as wholly or partly of Irish descent. Even before the thirteen colonies achieved independence the Dutch constituted a large minority, if not a majority, in New York and the eastern section of New Jersey; Germans were numerous in Pennsylvania; there were some Swedes in Delaware and southwestern New Jersey; and a good many Huguenots had settled in South Carolina. When we acquired the Louisiana Territory, most of its white inhabitants were of French, and the rest of Spanish, origin. Since 1848, the inflow of emigrants from Germany has been many times greater than that which came from England to the colonies between 1607 and

1776. There are now, beyond doubt, more Americans who are, wholly or in part, of German lineage, than there were Germans in the Kingdom of Prussia at the close of the last century. There are more men and women of Scandinavian parentage in the United States than exist in the Kingdom of Norway; there are at least half as many Italians as can be found in the island of Sicily; there are more than half as many French Canadians as were returned by the last Dominion census in the province of Quebec. We understate the truth when, in view of the facts just cited, we assert that not one-half of the 62,000,000 human beings reported by the census of 1890 to exist in the United States could prove themselves to be of pure English descent for the last three generations.

So much for the statement that the people of the United States and of England are essentially of the same blood. Are they of the same religion? It is well known that Roman Catholics are incomparably more numerous in the United States than in England, not only absolutely, but proportionately to the total population. The same thing is true of the Methodists and Baptists. The Lutheran Church, which has a great body of adherents on this side of the Atlantic, has not, to our knowledge, more than a single congregation in England. Neither has the Dutch Reformed Church any representatives in England, although in the United States it is a powerful organization. The Church of England professes to comprehend more than half of the English population, although its claim is disputed by the Dissenters; it is certain that its counterpart in this country, the Episcopal Church, ministers to a fraction of the people which is numerically insignificant.

Obviously, then, we can aver that England and the United States are essentially of the same religion only in the sense that both countries are Christian. It would be more reasonable to compare the United States with the German Empire, from the religious point of view, because in Germany the Catholic factor, although not preponderant, is large, while in the Protestant majority there is a strong Calvinistic element. Of Mr. Wells's primary proposition, there remains, then, simply this, that only in respect of language can the term identity be applied to England and the United States. Even with regard to language, it is at least open to question whether, outside of the New England

States and a few seaboard cities, divergent tendencies are not acquiring considerable momentum. There is, then, no fundamental reason rooted in human nature by virtue of a community of blood and religion why Americans as a nation should regard England with instinctive sympathy and friendship. That mere identity of language is no guaranty of good will is one of the tritest lessons of history, taught by innumerable civil wars in England, by the wars of religion in France, by the Thirty Years' war in Germany, and by our own war of the rebellion.

II.

DIVERSELY constituted as are England and the United States in respect of descent and of religion and even of the methods of applying political principles, we should expect misunderstandings and prejudices, not to say antagonisms, to occur under the most favorable circumstances, historical and actual. There would be nothing more surprising in such phenomena than there is in the lack of sympathy evinced between Englishmen and Germans. Mr. Wells himself admits that "there is much of popular prejudice among the masses in the United States against England," but he attributes this to three causes, neither of which in his opinion has any moral justification. The greater part of his article is occupied with an examination of these causes, and it is this to which we now invite the reader's attention.

The first cause assigned by Mr. Wells for American prejudice against England is "the memory of two wars with the mother country." He adds that, "In each of these contests, the people of the Anglo-American colonies in the first instance, and the people of the United States in the second, obtained all for which they contended, and the parties and the measures responsible for what happened have long passed into history." If Mr. Wells's comments were warranted by the facts, the memories of the two wars mentioned would have produced no deep and rankling animosity; indeed, the War of 1812 would never have taken place if what he says in the passage quoted about the outcome of the Revolutionary War were historically correct. The Peace of 1783 was far from giving the American colonists all for which they had contended; it withheld from them some of the very things which they recognized as indispensable to the quick healing of wounds and the prompt and firm re-establishment of kindly rela-

tions between the mother country and the daughter State. They perceived from the outset of their war for independence the strategic importance of the Bermudas and of Canada to their projected confederacy. They knew that those coigns of vantage, if retained by England, would be the source of incessant friction and perpetual menace. They tried, though unsuccessfully, to gain possession of both, and their Articles of Confederation provided for the immediate and unconditional admission of Canada to the Union. There were men in England at the time who foresaw that if the restoration of cordial relations with the former colonies was desired both Canada and the Bermudas ought to be surrendered. Not only was their prescience disregarded, but the forts on the northwest frontier, which the treaty bound the British to evacuate, were long occupied by them; and it is a matter of history that the great Indian outbreak, which involved the disastrous rout of the American army under General St. Clair, was due in a large degree to British instigation. When the Indians in their turn were beaten by General Wayne they took refuge under the guns of a British fort, thereby betraying their reliance upon British sympathy. The odious oppression which American commerce suffered at the hands of England during the first twelve years of this century is set forth with a cogency and emphasis, which few Americans are likely to forget, by Mr. Henry Adams in his history of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. Mr. Wells is strangely mistaken when he says that by the Peace of Ghent, which put an end to the War of 1812, the people of the United States obtained all for which they had contended. It is well known that the treaty in question left us precisely where we were before, not even the exasperating right of search being renounced by England. The treaty left unsettled the inflammatory questions of the northeastern and northwestern boundaries, and the resultant controversies about the limits of Maine and Oregon kept alive jealousies, suspicion, and resentment, and brought the two countries more than once to the brink of war. Scarcely had the people of the United States begun to forget their irritation at the loss of the valuable tract lying between the Fifty-four-Forty line and the present northern border of Oregon, when the secession of most of our slave States took place, and the governing classes in England made no secret of their satisfaction at the prospective dissolution of the Union.

Before glancing, however, at Mr. Wells's attempt to palliate that unfriendly demonstration we should note a curious statement with regard to the fundamental wrong which drove the American colonies to separation from Great Britain. "It may not be uninteresting," he says, "to call attention to the fact that the grievance of the colonies which is generally regarded as the prime cause of the American revolution, namely, that the colonists were taxed by the mother country without representation in Parliament, was not in the nature of a special discrimination by the British government against their trans-Atlantic subjects, inasmuch as historical investigations have since shown that at the same time not more than one-tenth of the people of England had any vote for, or personal representation in, the British Parliament." It requires no extended historical investigation to acquaint ourselves with the fact that in 1776 no close approach to manhood suffrage existed in most of the American colonies, any more than it did in England. The colonies did not ask for manhood suffrage; what they said was, that, if they were to be taxed, they certainly had a right to the same kind of representation as was conceded in England, where the right to elect members of the House of Commons was shared by every county, and was distributed among a large proportion of the boroughs. Because representation was confined to only about a tenth of the English people, it obviously did not follow that the American people should have no representation at all. England never offered us a property qualification, whereby about one-tenth of the colonists would have been empowered to send delegates to the House of Commons. So much for what seems to us an unreasonable effort to minimize the capital grievance of our forefathers.

III.

We come now to a second cause which is acknowledged by Mr. Wells to have been "most influential for prejudice against England," namely "the policy of the administration of the British government under Lord Palmerston during the Civil War towards the United States." An endeavor is made to dissuade us from the resentment still felt on that account, by a plea which may be described as one of confession and avoidance. Mr. Wells does not deny that the rupture of the Union was desired by those classes in the British community which then controlled

and still control the government, the classes, in other words, which monopolize the House of Lords and preponderate in the present House of Commons. He would have us distinguish between the governing classes and "the masses of the the people of England" and "especially the British working people" who he says "followed without murmuring the advice of those earnest and constant friends of the Federal Union—Messrs. Cobden and Bright—rather than that of Palmerston and his Ministry." On this point we need only remark that, when the British working people control the House of Commons and have abolished the House of Lords, it is highly probable that comparatively amicable relations will be established between the British and American democracies. Meanwhile, our feeling toward England as toward every other European country, will be shaped by those who have the power to dictate the words and acts of its legislature and executive. It is true, as is pointed out by Mr. Wells in an attempt to show that the British working people were not powerless, that the motion made by Mr. Roebuck in the House of Commons for the recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy was defeated. The defeat, however, was due to a coalition of the Conservatives with the Radicals, and this temporary coalition was brought about because it was known to the leaders of the Conservatives, who as a body were quite as hostile to the American Union as were the Palmerstonians, that a recognition of the Confederacy's independence at that juncture would have caused a declaration of war on our part, and that in such a war we were assured of the support of Russia. That to give us such support was the intention of the Czar, Alexander II., is now known to every one familiar with the diplomatic history of the period, and both at London and Paris it unquestionably turned the scale in our favor. That Palmerston and the majority of his colleagues, including conspicuously Mr. Gladstone, longed for a specious pretext on which to interpose by force on behalf of the Secessionists, was proved by the eagerness with which they seized on the excuse afforded by our exercise in the case of the steamer "Trent" of the right of search, the very right which England had refused to renounce in the treaty of Ghent. It is probably true that Queen Victoria used her personal influence to prevent too much being made of the "Trent" incident, but the fact manifestly does not weaken the ground of our dislike of the governing classes.

When Americans say that they detest England, they mean that they detest the part of the English community which for two hundred years has, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, had the power to determine England's action. They do not think that a feeling justified by the almost unbroken history of two centuries should be materially qualified because, once in a reign of nearly sixty years, the Queen is said to have interposed in their behalf, or because they have now and then commanded the sympathy of the British working people, which from a political point of view has usually proved a negligible factor. As for another statement made by Mr. Wells in reference to our civil war, it is certainly true that the action of the French Second Empire stopped little short of actual hostility against the Union, but it is incorrect to say that it would have been more offensive but for the restraining influence of England. Notoriously, it was not Lord Palmerston who restrained Napoleon III.; it was, as we have said, Alexander II. In another assertion Mr. Wells shows himself oddly incapable of taking the American point of view: "It should also not be forgotten" he says, "that after the war Great Britain submitted our claim of damages against her as a nation to arbitration, and paid without grumbling $15,000,000 in cash into the United States treasury, a sum which in the opinion of the arbitrators covered all the legitimate claims of the United States against her." As for grumbling, Mr. Wells must have sealed his ears with wax, if he has heard none from Englishmen over the Geneva award. We scarcely need point out, however, that the award was given to cover only such direct damages as could be brought home to particular privateers. The arbitrators were strictly forbidden to consider the question of indirect damages resulting from the annihilation of our enormous *ante-bellum* share of the ocean-carrying trade. A few years before the civil war, we transacted at least as much of the ocean-carrying trade of the world as did England; when the civil war closed, we had practically none. For that almost incalculable loss we have to blame, not solely indeed, but largely, the depredations of Confederate cruisers, which were built in England and equipped therefrom. It would be strange, had we already forgotten to what extent England is chargeable with the disappearance of our merchant navy which was once second to none upon the globe.

Mr. Wells acknowledges that the above enumerated causes of

prejudice on the part of the people of the United States against England were powerfully operative in the past, but he thinks that they "ought not now to be, inasmuch as all the international differences involved have been amicably settled, undeniably to the advantage of the former, and are now only important as matters of history." We have shown that the international differences involved have not been settled to the advantage of the United States, and never will be, until British North America and the Bermudas are ceded to us, and until our ocean-carrying trade shall have recovered the proportions which it would have retained but for British connivance at the effort of Confederate privateers to drive our merchant vessels from the sea.

IV.

We pass to the consideration of a third cause of Anglophobia, which Mr. Wells terms "more potential than the aggregate influence of all other causes, and which is accepted and endorsed as in the nature of a rightful international grievance by nearly every member of our National or State legislatures, and by nearly every newspaper and magazine in the country." This third cause "is the assumption that the governmental and commercial policy of England is characterized by no other principle save to monopolize through arbitrary, selfish and unjust measures everything on the earth's surface that can glorify herself and promote the interests of her insular population, to the detriment of all other nations and peoples." Mr. Wells is mistaken in averring, that this third cause of American prejudice against England is far "more potential than the aggregate influence" of the causes previously named. We regret to say, but truth compels us to affirm, that, had we not repeatedly suffered at the hands of England wrongs which we are unable to forget, we might look with comparative indifference on the spoliative part which she has played in India, China, Burmah, South Africa and Egypt. Whether in the interests of humanity we ought to exhibit such indifference is another question. Mr. Wells devotes a number of pages to the attempt to prove that for the last half of a century, at all events, the period coincident with England's adhesion with a free-trade policy, her acts of aggression have been prompted by unselfish motives, and have had beneficial results for all parties concerned. He refers to the cul-

tivation of the cinchona tree in India as one of the blessings due to the British occupation of that country; but he overlooks the cultivation of opium there, and the employment of a fleet and army to coerce China into a consumption of the noxious drug. He bids us admire the increase in the amount of wheat exported from India, which in 1880 was 500,000 bushels and is now 30,000,000 bushels. He omits to note that there has been so great a coincident decline in the quantity and quality of the cotton fabrics manufactured by the natives, that in order to save them from extinction, the Calcutta Government has been obliged to impose a duty on the cheaper but formerly inferior cotton goods sent from Manchester. It is only, however, a question of time when the ideal outcome of England's notion of free trade will have been reached in India, when, namely, almost all manufactured articles will be imported from Great Britain, and the whole labor of the enormous population from the Himalayas to Ceylon will be applied to the production of food staples and raw materials. That is not England's view of what constitutes civilization at home, but it is the kind of civilization which she would like to promote in her dependencies. Unquestionably, there is peace and there is order under British rule in India, but the British rulers are disliked, and the mass of the people would prefer to work out the problems of social existence in their own way. They have the same right to such a preference that all other peoples have. This may be said of the Egyptians also. It is true that the land tax is much lower in Egypt to-day than it was before the British occupation; that the interest on the public debt is promptly paid, and that the national securities in the hands of foreign bondholders are worth several times what was paid for them. Nevertheless, all intelligent Egyptians, while recognizing the value of the temporary service rendered by Great Britain, are of the opinion that the occupation should now end, and that opinion is shared by almost every civilized country except England. Mr. Wells is apparently unaware that England's refusal to evacuate the Nile delta is a glaring breach of faith, committed in defiance of explicit promises made by successive British Governments.

V.

We have seldom seen a more extraordinary perversion of recent history than is presented in Mr. Wells's account of Great

Britain's relations with the Transvaal. What he calls a "striking and instructive exemplification" of England's beneficent treatment of weaker peoples is thus set forth: "Twenty years ago, when the safety of Europeans in South Africa was menaced by a general revolt of the dark-skinned races, England assumed the government of the Transvaal or South American republic; no other government coveting the expense or task of so doing. To provide for the common safety of the various people who, allured by the diamond fields and other inducements, were flocking into it, some rules of government became necessary. Accordingly, at a so-called Pretorian convention of South African representatives assembled in 1881, a code of rules or laws, drafted by the British Colonial Office in London, was adopted." One of these rules is then quoted by Mr. Wells, apparently for the purpose of conveying the impression that the alien residents of the Rand, who instigated Jameson's piratical expedition, have been deprived of rights to which they were legally entitled. The sentences in quotation marks are literally full of errors: it was not "twenty," but nineteen years ago, namely, in 1877, when the South African republic was not in the least endangered by a "revolt of the dark-skinned races" that England, we will not say "assumed," but flagrantly usurped, the government of the independent Transvaal Commonwealth. It is true that no other European nation coveted the task, for the reason that the burghers of the Transvaal were fully competent to govern themselves. As for emigrants being "allured by the diamond fields" in the Transvaal, the great deposits of diamonds are notoriously outside of the Hollander commonwealth. By "a so-called 'Pretorian' convention of South African representatives assembled in 1881," Mr. Wells apparently means the convention or treaty concluded in 1881 at Pretoria between Great Britain and the Transvaal State; but he neglects to mention that this convention was wholly superseded in 1884, whereby, although England secured the right to veto within six months a treaty made with any foreign power except the Orange Free State, the South African republic in all other particulars became entirely independent, and consequently qualified to make any laws for citizens or resident aliens that it might choose. How do the actual facts, as they are here narrated by us, constitute a striking and instructive exemplification of the benefits accruing from England's interference

with weaker communities? The Convention of 1881 was wrung from England by the victory at Majuba Hill, and the subsequent treaty of 1884 was conceded simply because the Boers refused to tolerate the former arrangements any longer.

VI.

It is admitted by Mr. Wells that the accusations preferred against England's foreign policy on the score of greed had formerly some foundation. For then, he explains, England was protectionist, as all the countries on the continent of Europe, as well as the United States, are now. But now, he says, England is not chargeable with greed, for the reason that her commercial policy is framed upon the free trade principle. The wider her area of conquests now the better for us, because the larger will be the market to which we, as well as she, will gain access. Elsewhere in his article Mr. Wells has recognized that England allows her self-governing colonies, and, to some extent, British India, to impose protectionist tariffs in their own interests, the result of which fact is that American cotton goods are no more admitted duty free at Calcutta, at Halifax, or at Melbourne than they are at Hamburg or Bordeaux. But assuming that through British Guiana's absorption of the whole of Venezuela our commodities would be admitted duty free to that vast region, are we on that account to justify the extinction of a Latin-American nationality? Mr. Wells says frankly that what England wants is Barima Point, and that she wants it for the sake of procuring the free navigation of the Orinoco; and he holds that it would be for the benefit of the world to throw open that great river system, of which the Caracas Government now claims exclusive control. The argument obviously proves too much. If the Venezuelans are to have no voice in the disposal of their own possessions, and if Great Britain is to be sole arbiter of what the interests of civilization require, the compulsory opening of the Orinoco to free navigation to-day may be followed by a like usurpation with regard to the Amazon or La Plata river systems to-morrow. Nay, England would be justified in trying to deprive us of our present exclusive control of the Mississippi River system, for we, like the Venezuelans, are, as Mr. Wells contends, discredited and cursed by tariffs formed upon protectionist principles. In a word, if the remarkable opinions propounded

by Mr. Wells last April in this REVIEW are pushed to their logical conclusions we should arrive at the assertion that a free trade country can do no wrong, while, on the other hand, protectionist countries have no rights that anybody need respect.

In the course of his article, Mr. Wells denies that the wrongs and abuses suffered by Ireland at the hands of England should have any influence on the feeling with which Great Britain is regarded by American citizens. It is out of the question that such wrongs and abuses should be entirely forgotten by that considerable element of the American population which is wholly or partly of Irish descent, or by those other elements which are brought into close and sympathetic contact with it. Sympathy for Ireland, indeed, had absolutely nothing to do with the fervent outburst of approval which greeted Mr. Cleveland's Venezuelan message. The voices of neither Irish Americans, German Americans nor Scandinavian Americans could be distinguished in the vehement response returned from all sections of the country.

A word more, and we have done. In one of his later paragraphs Mr. Wells acknowledges that England is hated by other nations. This hatred is attributed to fear, and the fear is in turn ascribed to the success of her commercial policy. On what ground, then, does he go on to say that the United States are hated in an equal degree? It cannot be for our commercial policy, because this is diametrically opposed to that of England. If then, both countries are hated, it is probably for some cause with which commercial policy has nothing whatever to do. As a matter of fact, we deny that "there is not a government on the American continent except Canada and Venezuela that does not both fear and hate us." The truth is that we are honored, esteemed and liked by every Latin-American republic with the possible exception of Chili; and even in Chili the Liberals are our friends, and if the Conservatives regard us sourly, it is only because we refused to favor their rebellion against President Balmaceda. Equally unjustified by evidence is the assertion that "all countries save England, and possibly Russia and Japan, would rejoice at the dissolution of the Federal Union." Now that France has become a republic, we know of no country in the Old World, with the exception of Spain, and possibly of England, that would wish to see the Union shattered.

M. W. HAZELTINE.

WILD TRAITS IN TAME ANIMALS.

V.—DOMESTIC CATTLE.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE study of domestic cattle should be of especial interest to us because they have undoubtedly occupied a more important place in our own ancestral history than any other species of animal. The Aryan tribesman from whom nearly all Western civilized folk are descended were cow-boys almost to a man. Like the Caffres and Damaras of South Africa to-day, all their thoughts were about their herds. This is shown in a curious way by the study of the early development of our language. The Sanskrit word for a king meant originally "a chief herdsman." The word for an assembly, or the meeting place of a congress, was the same as that for a cow-yard. A soldier was "one who fights about cows." It would seem as if they regarded nothing else as worth ruling over, or talking about, or fighting for. Prof. Max Müller traces the word "daughter" to the ancient term for a milkmaid. In the good old times they plainly did not take any account of young ladies who were not accomplished performers in the cow-pen.

The cow or the ox was for long ages the chief standard of value. Everything from a new coat to a new wife was priced at so many cows. Many of our words which refer to money bear traces of this, such as "fee" and "pecuniary," which are directly derived from the old English and Latin words for cattle. Doubtless, there were currency disputes when other materials began to be used for coinage, and difficulties arose about the adjustment of relative values. "Cow-metallism" might well have been an important plank in some of the Aryan political platforms.

So numerous are the useful qualities of the tame *bovidæ* that it would be quite out of the question to discuss them in detail within the limits of a short article. I will, therefore, follow the plan I have adopted with regard to other animals, and trace to their primitive origin some of the characteristics of the species which we find most valuable.

Our common domestic cattle are descended from at least two wild varieties. One, the *Bos primigenius* or *Urus*, was a magnificent beast, as tall as a moose and with enormous horns. It probably inhabited the open, park-like country and swampy, sparsely-wooded plains. Its great width of horn would not have been suitable for life in the dense timber. The wild white cattle still kept in Chillingham Park in Northumberland are supposed to be its direct descendants. The other, the *Bos longifrons*, was much smaller and had short horns. Its habitat was probably among the grassy glades of the forest, where it browsed with the roebuck and the fallow deer. Some naturalists consider that another wild species, the *Bos frontosus*, was also an ancestor of the modern breeds, especially of the Norse cattle.

In early times the strength of the ox was much more generally made use of than at the present day. In some parts of England, as in the Southdown district, teams of black oxen, yoked two and two, are still used on the farms, especially for ploughing and rolling. In America the draught ox is being superseded by the quicker stepping horse in all parts; but the first ploughs which broke the virgin soil of the United States were drawn by the cattle which the early settlers took over with them.

For hauling lumber the ox has no equal. His patient temper and strength at a dead pull render him far better fitted for this class of work than the more hasty and irritable horse. In France and some other European countries he holds his own as a worker, and in the lazy East, where the heavy draught horse has never been made use of, he is still employed to scratch the soil or to tread out the corn.

In Sussex and in parts of New England the ancient form of yoke is still used, which fits on to the nape of the necks of two bullocks. In France and Germany the yoke is commonly fastened to the horns and brow, so that the beasts draw the load with their heads.

Certain humane people, both in England and America, have

thought this primitive kind of harness barbarous and have designed collars and breast-straps for oxen. I shall show that this well-meant attempt at improvement was prompted by a misunderstanding of the history and habits of the beasts which these good folk thought to relieve.

Now, what were the natural circumstances of the wild cattle which gave rise to the strength which men have found so serviceable? Partly, like the speed and endurance of the horse, it may be attributed to the long struggle with carnivorous foes. The weakly or undersized cattle would naturally fall a prey more easily than those which were large and strong. But we shall find the chief cause in the fact that a desperate strife for the mastery was always going on between the rival bulls which desired to lord it over the rest of the herd. In these battles the strongest and most active would naturally come off victors. It was generally more a question of weight and strength than of agility, for bulls fight by charging and thrusting at one another with their horns. There is no doubt that the massive fore-end of the bull bison was developed by his habit of using himself as a projectile wherewith to batter his rivals out of the over-lordship of the herd. But the strategy of the common bull involves another method of attack. He tries to toss his opponent; and this feat, when he is dealing with a foe which weighs nearly a ton, requires considerable strength of neck.

Now it is this very strength that has been acquired for the purposes of war, which makes the ox so useful in peaceful agriculture. Men have not yet beaten their swords into ploughshares, but the ox has for many ages bowed the muscular neck by means of which he used to overthrow and gore his enemies, to the yoke which drags the plough. The strength of the neck even in the more feeble cattle is astonishing. I have known a slim and lady-like Jersey heifer hoist a cast-iron water cistern with her horns as easily as if it had been a tea cup. It would appear then that the French peasant's way of "hitching his critters" is right, and that the elaborate harness of the humane agriculturists is wrong.

The old-fashioned beam yoke, resting on the nape of the neck, is a kind of compromise. It is better than the breast straps, but not so good as the lighter yoke that fits the forehead and base of the horns. Nature has exactly adapted the

structure of the head and neck of the ox for pushing; and since a pull is only a push with a string to it, depend upon it this is the most advantageous way for a team of oxen to draw a load.

When we take milk with our tea, or butter or cheese with our bread, we are conniving at what is, when looked at in one way, a particularly heartless form of theft. Did nature, in the first place, provide the milk for our benefit? Not at all: it is the provision for the poor innocent calf, and we have filched his property from him by force or trickery. But, passing over the moral aspect of the question—which you will generally find is the most discreet method when we are discussing our dealings with the lower animals—how is it that the cow is so especially useful in yielding us an abundant supply of milk?

The answer is: Because she is naturally a forest animal, that had often to leave her baby behind and to wander far for food. Wild cattle hide their young calves in the thickets. Unlike the colt, the calf has but feeble locomotive powers, and therefore it could not accompany the cow when she travelled to distant glades, where grass was abundant. Thus the sucking calf cannot get his nutriment whenever he wants it, as the young foal can, which is never away from the mare. He has to wait for his meals until his mother returns. But this arrangement also renders it needful that the cow's udder should hold a good store of milk, which slowly collects during the hours when she is absent from her baby. Hence the large "bag," which always distinguishes a good milker, and hence, also, the important fact that a cow retains her milk until the morning and evening visits of the farmer or dairymaid.

The habit of chewing the cud among cattle and other herbivorous animals tells a similar tale. They had no time to masticate the grass thoroughly when they were feeding, but were obliged to get in a supply of provisions as rapidly as possible, and during the hours when the wild beasts were least abroad. Having got in their store, they retired to their safe hiding places and lay down to ruminate at leisure.

It is easy to see that cattle are at home in a moist and wooded country. The feral cattle of Texas and Australia never from choice stray far from the woods. Out on the Western ranches there are, of course, few trees, and the beasts thrive fairly well; but, for all that, the conditions of their life are artificial and are

not such as they would select if free to choose their own dwelling-place. All cattle love to stand knee-deep in water and under the shadow of trees. Their heads are carried low, even when they are startled, so that they can see under the spreading branches of the forest. Compare the habitual position of the head of a cow with that of the heads of the horse, pronghorn, or guanaco, which live in the open and have to watch the horizon for the approach of enemies.

Then the split hoofs of the cattle are wonderfully adapted for progress over soft ground. In galloping through bogs or deep mud an ox or a buffalo will easily distance a swift horse. Their toes spread wide and so they do not sink in so far as the solid-hoofed animal. What is even more important, the open cleft between the toes allows the air to enter the hole in the mud as the foot is withdrawn; whereas, a horse's hoof sticks like a "sucker," owing to the partial vacuum below it, and can only be dragged out by a great muscular effort. Mounted hunters have been overtaken and killed by buffaloes—African and Indian—owing to this fact.

How are we to explain the fact that farmers find it necessary to make away with bulls when they are four or five years old, because they then become so pugnacious and unmanageable? I learned from the keepers at Chillingham that each mob of wild cattle is under the command of a single powerful bull, and he keeps all the others in absolute subjection. When a stronger than he arises, and indeed whenever a younger one comes to maturity, there is a terrific battle, and if the original lord of the harem is worsted he retires into sour solitude. The cows and all the young bulls are obedient to the chief, and this habit of submission is taken advantage of by the stockman, who, among domestic cattle, may be regarded as the deposed King Bull's deputy. But when the young bulls get their full growth and strength, their wild instinct impels them to commence a determined tussle for the mastery.

In the freedom of the forest this was laudable ambition, and might lead to the chieftainship of the herd; but in the farmyard it is regarded as viciousness; so the human "boss," whose supremacy is thus disputed, settles the controversy in a summary way, and sends for the butcher.

LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE MICROSCOPICAL STUDY OF LIVING MATTER.

BY CHARLES SEDGWICK MINOT.

I.—METHODS.

SCIENTIFIC apparatus are, broadly defined, of two classes—quantitative and qualitative; or, in other words, they are either instruments to increase the accuracy of the work of scientific observation, or else to increase the range, or the number of possible kinds, of observations. In each class there is one apparatus which rightfully holds the first place, *facile princeps* —among instruments of precision, the balance; among instruments extending the possibilities of observation, the microscope. Yet it must be at once added that it is only since the microscope has had the co-operating advantage of the microtome that its full value has been developed. The microtome is in certain respects the most perfect instrument of precision we possess, and works with greater exactitude than most fine apparatus of the physicist. Before proceeding to the special subject of this article, a few words in regard to both the microscope and the microtome are necessary.

The microscope has been very slowly evolved and is the creation of no one man. In its present form it is, like a living species according to Darwin, the outcome of the survival of the fittest of innumerable variations, the majority of which have been discarded. Indeed to one interested in microscopes and familiar with the present model, nothing can seem quainter than the old forms, which prevailed during the earlier half of this century and have since become extinct. In the evolution of the microscope two factors have been dominant, the demand for optical improvement and the demand for mechanical convenience. Both of these demands have been well met, so that there

appears little left for the future to achieve, until an entirely new direction is opened for further evolution. It need hardly be premised that the optical part is the essential part of a microscope. The optical performance of the best microscopes is to-day nearly perfect, having become so very slowly by numerous small improvements. Although magnifying glasses were invented, it is said, in the twelfth century, compound microscopes with achromatic lenses have been in use barely three-quarters of a century, while the introduction of homogeneous immersion lenses dates from 1878, and of the perfected apochromatic lenses from 1886.

The history of the microtome is much briefer, only about twenty-five years. About 1865 the habit of making thin slices of plants and of certain parts of animals for microscopical examination was becoming general, for it was found to be very advantageous for the study of the minute elementary constituents of organs. By means of sections taken in various planes it was found possible to gain a profound insight into the intimate structure of parts far too small and delicate for ordinary dissection of them to be possible. Another discovery increased the scientific importance of microscopical sections. The microscopically visible elements of living bodies are found to include a variety of constituents, which in their natural condition can be identified only with difficulty, or not at all. The discovery referred to was that some of these constituents can be artificially colored so that they become conspicuous when magnified; it was accidentally made in 1858 by Professor Gerlach, who used carmine to prepare a colored injection of blood vessels. Since then very numerous coloring agents have been employed and the methods of applying them to sections to bring out this or that fine detail of organization have been enormously developed. Thus it has come about that our present conceptions of the structure and functions of living matter are so largely based on the knowledge derived from the study of sections artificially stained, that without the art of preparing them half of the progress made by biology during the last quarter century would certainly have been impossible. From this standpoint it is easy to understand the importance, to investigators and students of biological sciences, of the section-cutting machine or microtome.

The first microtomes were invented by Frenchmen, one form

by the botanist Gabriel Rivet,* the other by the anatomist, Léon Ranvier, in whose laboratory at the *Collége de France* in Paris I had the advantage of working shortly after his microtome was first introduced (1872). A very simple affair it was, nevertheless at that time a great boon. Until then when a section for the microscope was needed, the object to be cut was held in one hand and a sharp razor in the other—we did not know then that a razor is a very poor tool for delicate cutting—and one cut as thin a slice as one's skill permitted. To make any section at all required great natural dexterity and much practice; and to make a tolerable section was the privilege of only the exceptionally skilful; to make what would now be considered a good section was altogether impossible. The idea which Rivet and Ranvier applied was that of mechanical movement, on the one hand for the knife, on the other for raising the object so as to regulate the thickness of the sections. Their microtomes gave us sections of even and known thickness, their best performance being at the rate of from thirty to forty sections per millimetre. It is true that microtomes had been made earlier by Oschatz and Welcker and perhaps others, but nothing available resulted. The instruments were failures, and the credit for the invention is properly divided between Rivet and Ranvier.

During the next few years a rapid succession of minor improvements in microtome construction was effected, by which the possibility was achieved of securing sections about one-half as thick as before. It then became clear that the principal difficulty lay with the tissues of plants and animals, and that any further advance in the art of preparing very thin sections must depend upon so treating the living material that it would be better suited for slicing. After innumerable trials of methods the most diverse, we have learned by experience to look upon paraffine as our chief resource. It is superfluous to enter upon details of technique, but by a series of delicate manipulations it is possible to permeate a vegetable or animal organ with paraffine, so that it becomes absolutely uniform in consistency, especially as regards elasticity and hardness, and may therefore be readily cut into much thinner sections than otherwise, so that at present it is an easy matter to make sections at the rate of 150 to 200 per millimetre. This again puts greater requirements upon the

* First announced in "*Bulletin Soc. Botanique de France*," Vol. XV., p. 31 1868).

microtome. Experience has here been instructive. When a section is made which is only one-two-hundredth of a millimetre thick, its perfection depends upon its having two parallel surfaces, both cut by the knife. If the surfaces are not parallel the sections will not be good, in other words the error of the cutting motion must be only a fraction of the diameter of the section, which means that the accuracy of the microtome must be far beyond the utmost visible precision. To attain this result two important rules have been learned. *First,* that the microtome must be built very heavy and entirely of metal; the finer the sections it is expected to make, the more solid and rigid must the construction be. *Second,* the knife must be made not thin-bladed, like a razor, but very thick and more like a chisel. The best knives are now about three-eighths of an inch thick at the back and their cross-section is wedge-shaped. The object of these rules is to eliminate the error due to the elasticity of the metals, for a bending of a metallic part of a microtome far too minute to be seen by the naked eye would suffice to ruin the quality of a section. I have been testing a new microtome, invented and manufactured in this country, in which especial attention has been given to securing the utmost delicacy of action, and it now seems probable that with this machine a successfully prepared specimen can be cut into perfect sections of one five-hundreth of a millimetre, which is at the rate of nearly 13,000 to an inch. Indeed, I hope sections of one-thousandth of a millimetre will be readily made. The special value of such sections to the biologist is owing to the size of the microscopic elements of animals and plants. These elements are named *cells;* each cell consists of a central mass or *nucleus,* which is completely enveloped in a peculiar substance, known as protoplasm. In the human body the diameter of a single cell averages perhaps fourteen-thousandths of a millimetre (0.014 mm.) and the diameter of a nucleus perhaps six-thousandths of a millimetre (0.006 mm.). It is not until our sections made with a microtome are less than one-two-hundredth of a millimetre that they are sufficiently thin to take in not more than a single nucleus. These thin sections are therefore indispensable for the study of nuclei, and from the study of nuclei, many of the most remarkable and fundamental conclusions of modern biology are derived, such, for example, as our current theory of heredity.

Some conception of the minute dimensions within which the biologist actually carries on his manipulations may be gathered from the fact that, whereas he makes sections of two thousandths of a millimetre and which probably do not vary one five-thousandth in thickness, the astronomer, as I learn through the Director of the Harvard Observatory—Professor Pickering—does not carry his finest accurate measurements beyond about the same value:—0.002 mm.*

The progress of biology depends to a greater extent than the progress of any other branch of science upon the application of the microscrope. The increase in the efficiency of the microscope as an instrument of research during the past dozen years has been great and is due to the improvement of the optical quality of the lenses, and is due still more to improvements: *First*, in the art of section cutting, and, *second*, in the art of artificially coloring sections, so as to render clearly visible details of microscopical structure, which cannot be otherwise definitely recognized. Every microscopist anticipates immediate progress because the use of coloring matters for his work is in its infancy only and the possibilities of the near future in this regard have aroused the keenest hopes.

II.—THE THEORY OF LIFE-UNITS.

THE existence of cells in plants was demonstrated by Schleiden in 1838, their existence in animals by Schwann in 1839. Cells have been termed by the Viennese physiologist, Ernst Brücke, "elementary organisms" and this appellation still indicates the prevalent conception of biologists to-day. But there has been a growing reaction, which has found its culminating expression in Professor Whitman's utterances on the "inadequacy of the cell-doctrine." This new view seeks for material units much smaller than a single cell, units which carry on vital functions very much as molecules carry on chemical functions. I propose to designate this view as the "Theory of life-units." The theory is protean, but despite its forms and modifications

*Professor Pickering writes me that Nobert's nineteenth band has been resolved and is ruled on glass at the rate of about 4,436 lines to a millimetre. He adds: "A graduate circle 1 m. in diameter (such as are in common use for meridian circles) allows $\frac{1,000\ \pi}{1,296,000}$ mm. to every second of arc; that is 0.0024 mm. The readings are usually made to tenths of seconds, and the graduation should be correct to within a few tenths of a second. The successive lines of the graduation are usually 5′ apart.

its invariable foundation is the hypothesis that the living matter (protoplasm and nucleus) includes, *first*, a non-living portion, and, *second*, a number of discrete particles which are very much smaller than cells and carry on some or all of the distinctively vital functions, especially hereditary transmission and the production of organization. The authorities are agreed as to the existence of such particles for which I have adopted the name of "Life-units," but they are nowise agreed as to the exact size, number or functions of life-units, upon which many different names have been bestowed, whereof more later. As to size the particles are held to be somewhere near the limits of microscopic vision, that is either too small to be seen, or else identical with certain visible granules of minute dimensions.

The theories of life-units were foreshadowed in the last century by Buffon and Bonnet, and in this century by Richard Owen, in his article on Parthenogenesis, published in 1849, but it was reserved for that Englishman, who stands next to Shakespeare in world-wide fame, to create the first scientifically available form of the theory with which we are here concerned. Darwin called his view the "Theory of Pangenesis," and named the life-units "*gemmules*." Their existence was purely hypothetical with him, and he made no attempt to determine their size. *Gemmules* are thrown off from every part of the body and circulate freely through the system; they are transmitted from parent to offspring; in their dormant state they have a mutual affinity for each other, leading to their aggregation either into buds or into sexual elements; when supplied by proper nutriment they multiply by self-division, subsequently becoming developed into cells like those from which they were derived. Such in brief was Darwin's theory, stated almost in his own phrases. Although we now know definitely that the theory is untenable, I can repeat what I have said elsewhere:* "This hypothesis is the suggestion of a masterly mind, and as a succinct and comprehensive expression of the facts of heredity must command admiration."

The second of the theories of life-units was formulated by Herbert Spencer in his *Principles of Biology*, 1864. It was an original and valuable hypothesis and a distinct advance beyond the theory of Pangenesis. Spencer's arguments may be found in the fourth and eighth chapters of Part II., of his *Biology*. He

**Human Embryology*, p. 86. (New York, 1892.)

terms his hypothetical particles "*physiological units*," fixes their size as larger than chemical units, and smaller than cells, and assigns to them especially what would now be called the morphogenetic function or production of organization, in other words he attributes to their activities the phenomena of repair, regeneration of lost parts, and of reproduction (hereditary transmission). Spencer's theory is historically so important that I will quote a few lines. "If then, this organic polarity can be possessed neither by the chemical units nor the morphological units, we must conceive it as possessed by certain intermediate units, which we may term physiological. . . . We shall hereafter find various reasons for inferring that such physiological units exist, and that to their specific properties, more or less unlike in each plant and animal, various organic phenomena are due."

There have been several modifications of the theory of pangenesis. One of the first illustrates the grotesque vagaries of ignorance, and may interest the psychologically curious, though scientifically it is worthless. It was entitled the "perigenesis of the plastidules" and was produced by Ernst Hæckel, a sensational popular writer, whose statements have been found to be usually erroneous. *Plastidules* were life-units, and the same term has been used by the late Dr. Elsberg of New York. The botanist Nägeli, in 1884, uses the term *idioplasmatheilchen*, de Vries, in 1889, the term *pangenes*, Wiesner *plassomes*, Whitman, in 1893, *idiosomes*, Haacke *gemmaria*. August Weismann has a much more complete scheme; his life-units are *biophores*, which in groups form *determinants*, groups of which form *ids*, groups of which form *idants*. Each one of these authors has his special set of opinions regarding the sizes, shapes, relations, qualities and functions of his particular kind of life unit. Together they have made a gay tournament of hypotheses.

In all the theories above alluded to the life-units are purely hypothetical; but there is another set in which the life-units are identified as certain visible minute granules found in cells. The first to propound a theory of visible life-units was Lionel Beale, who maintained that all organisms consist of formative material, which was living, and of formed material, or dead matter. The visible grains of formative matter were his life-

units and were designated by him with the name *biolasts*. Essentially similar are the theories of *granuli* (Bioblasten) of the German Altmann and his Italian follower, Zoja. Again, under the influence of the prevailing tendency, various writers have found the agents of hereditary transmission in certain granules in the nucleus, which are thus made into life-units with restricted functions. These granules are termed chromosomes, on account of their special affinity for coloring matters of various kinds, but by the theorizers are variously christened.

The theory of life units, whatever its precise form, is closely connected with the conception of definite structure in living matter. Now structure, as biologists currently conceive it, implies the presence of at least a framework of solid material. When we examine living matter it is usually after it has been subjected to various re-agents and profoundly altered. Studying protoplasm in this way, investigators have been led to consider it to be made up of a network of true protoplasm, the meshes of which are filled with fluid. Since the fluid is merely water with certain substances in solution, it cannot be alive, but life resides properly in the threads of protoplasm, which contain accordingly the hypothetical life-units.

III.—THE THEORY OF THE LIVING FLUID.

This theory is new, though hints and suggestions of it are not lacking in older publications. It may be briefly formulated thus: *The physical basis of life is protoplasm; protoplasm consists of two fluids, intimately commingled, yet separate, and which may include various granules of solid organic substances, more or less complex, and also include globules of various liquids.* This theory in its best form has been termed the foam theory, because foam offers the most familiar illustration of the kind of structure conceived by this theory as characteristic of living matter. As in foam, air and water are commingled, so in protoplasm are cell-sap and the proteid or albumenoid fluid commingled. The latter it is, which, when coagulated by our so-called preserving re agents, gives under the microscope the familiar appearance of a network of solid threads. This theory I consider by far the best theory of the nature of protoplasm yet advanced. Professor Otto Bütschli of Heidelberg has been the leading advocate of the theory. I will mention only two of the kinds of phenomena,

which the foam theory accounts for better than any other. The first is the fusing of two masses of protoplasm, so that they are absolutely confluent. The second is the incessant chemical change, which would be, there are reasons for thinking, more perfectly favored by the foam structure than by any other disposition of the multifarious materials collected in protoplasm.

The point which interests us in the present connection is that the acceptance of the *Theory of the Living Fluid* involves the rejection of all the theories of life-units. The former requires us to conceive that the phenomena of life are due to the interaction of numerous substances, many of which are present in sufficient bulk to be visible under the microscope. Hence the smallest volume in which vital phenomena can show themselves must be larger than the particles which have been assumed to be life-units. It has been shown experimentally that there is a limit to the mechanical division of living matter. It seems to me that we have now reached a point when we need no longer divide protoplasm into its living and not living constituents. It is all living, the water and salts as much as the proteids and other organic compounds. Its phenomena are displays of energy resulting, so far as we at present know, from chemical actions, the possibility of which is given by the commingling of substances in the foam-structure.

The perfected machinery and methods which we discussed in the first part promise to give us a vastly more profound insight into the minute composition of protoplasm. It is a problem of composition, not of structure, as ordinarily understood, nor of life-units, which protoplasm presents to us.

The conception of protoplasm above advocated seems at first to involve a complete materialism, but against this conclusion I must protest, for I hold that an opposite interpretation of life best accords with our knowledge—namely, that since there appear to be vital phenomena, which do not occur without life, it is legitimate to assume that there is a special vital power, which is not necessarily identical with any form of physical energy, though it may be conceived to cause the transformation of energy. Indeed, it is perfectly thinkable that the universe would come to rest, were not the balance of the forms of energy disturbed by the life-power.

CHARLES SEDGWICK MINOT.

THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE CONDITION OF MAN THEREIN.—V.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

II.—MAN'S CONDITION IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

Limitation and Reserve of Scripture and the Creeds.

LET us now consider what are the propositions relating to the future life, which have from the first been included in the summaries of our faith, and which, upon the historical principles of the church at large, are regarded as binding upon all Christians.

If we ask, What are the propositions associated with this subject which ought to be considered as belonging to the essence of the Christian faith and as obligatory upon our personal belief? the sacred Scriptures do not appear to supply a ready answer to this question. But history assures us at how early a date, how long certainly before the epoch of any Council except that held at Jerusalem under the Apostles, the Church, or the general sense of the body of Christian believers, began to build upon the foundation and to follow the example supplied with divine authority by the Baptismal Formula, and to incorporate in various forms the substance of the one brief document which soon, replacing at least one even older form employed in Rome, became supreme throughout the entire West under the name of the Apostles' Creed. In this creed we declare our belief in "the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting." So far we are clearly dealing with matter of obligatory belief.

The creed elaborated at Nice and Constantinople represents, even more than any other document, the prolonged, concentrated, and most severely tested action of the mind of the universal church. In the last of these particulars it stands alone. It was through the agonies of the fourth century, the hardest of all the

trials, the noblest of all the victories, of the Church of God, that this creed made its way to a position unrivalled alike in loftiness and in solidity. In the East it may be said to enjoy an exclusive dominance. In the West, through the Eucharistic office, it holds the grandest of all positions in Christian worship, so that it is, equally with the Apostles' Creed, incessantly presented to the mind of the Church. It is not necessary now to speak of the several additions made to it under Latin authority in much later times. In this consummate document, mainly as received from Nice and Constantinople, we declare that we "look for," and of course therefore believe in, "the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come."

The Athanasian creed, apart from its anathemas, is a great and wonderful product of substantive theology concerning the Trinity and even more the Incarnation of our Lord; but it is not, I believe, placed, except in the Anglican Articles of Religion, which do not form a Confession for the Church of England at large, on a level with the two preceding creeds; nor is it, except within the English Church, presented with the same familiarity, by inclusion in the public services, to the general mind of believers. It declares that men shall rise again with their bodies; shall render an account for their works; and shall if they have done good "go into life everlasting"; if they have done evil "into everlasting fire." The main distinctions offered by this creed are not that it penetrates further, as modern opinion has done, into the nature of eternity and the particulars of the Divine counsels, but that it presents to us expressly what I suppose cannot be excluded from the implications of the other creeds, namely the survival and passage into eternity of the wicked as well as of the righteous. But seeing that the rank given to this creed is only (so to speak) sectional, I shall not rely upon it in the examination with which we are immediately concerned. On the one hand, it repeats words which were solemnly delivered by our Savior. But as those words are subject to some variety of interpretation, while they have a tendency to widen the demands on faith which sufficed for the earlier creeds, we may reflect with satisfaction that this creed does not carry in the general mind of the Church an equivalent authority. There is another particular of extension which may even be thought accidental. For the Athanasian Creed extends its propositions to the whole race of men, while the older and

more authoritative documents are content to deal, at least by reasonable implication, only with professing Christians.

Concentrating, then, our attention upon the declarations contained in the other two creeds, and bearing in mind the immeasurable importance of the future state under the Christian dispensation, we cannot but be struck alike with their simplicity and their reserve. Out of four propositions, three, asserting the resurrection, the life everlasting, and the life of the world to come, may be said most rigidly to confine themselves within the limits of elementary Scripture, and to resolve themselves into one, namely, that we who recite the creed are to pass at death into eternity. And here we find that the idea vividly presented to us is the survival of the righteous, whose condition is so properly conveyed under the word "life." I do not presume to say that the case of the wicked is excluded. It seems to remain, however, as it were, in the shade. There is here neither declaration nor implication as to the meaning of eternity, as to the relative numbers of those on the right hand or the left, or as to the conditions of the doom which awaits the sinner.

And surely it is delightful to contemplate the providential wisdom which guided the mind of the early and undivided Church to establish and enforce for us all the doctrine of a future life, but saved it from the unnecessary and entangling speculations, into which more recent opinion seems for a long period to have been betrayed.

But it may be asked: Why, if a temper of reserve so largely prevailed, did the Creed of the Apostles declare in express terms the Resurrection of the Body? It is not difficult to suggest the probable reason. Those schools of ancient philosophy, which had labored honestly and well by ingenious speculations to save us from the apprehension of extinction at death had founded themselves largely on metaphysical arguments associated with the nature of the soul, and had been unable to retain any grasp of the idea of a future corporeal existence. From the time of Homer great difficulty seems to have been felt in regard to the relation between the several parts of man. Homer was influenced by Egyptian ideas. But the conception of the future life became less and less strong among the Greek race who supplied the great masters of philosophy: and, whether with or without any definite conception of existence purely immaterial, they lost as I suppose the

idea of any bodily survival. If, when Christians were few, and the new institutions in their infancy, this was the established tone of thought, we may well conceive that, for a practical fulfillment of the great promise to bring life and immortality to light, it was needful that there should be an express provision, familiar to all Christians, for securing a complete and not a merely partial conception of the great human survival.

While, then, the sum of authoritative declarations on the future state, by the full action and consent of the Church, is thus carefully limited in the creeds, I am aware of no other bond which should restrain us from canvassing with greater freedom the assumptions which I have recently enumerated, provided we do not forget the reverence and caution which encircle the subject. It is, indeed, necessary for us to be on our guard against the silent and unwatched intrusion into the religious precinct of conceptions which nowhere bear the sacred stamp, but belong, whether their value be great or small, to the ordinary circle of secular knowledge or opinion. And such we must surely admit to be the popular conception of time. Be it ever so true that, for us, in our present condition, the idea of time may fairly be regarded as a simple idea, incapable of resolution into parts, it does not therefore follow that we are entitled to pronounce on its always continuing such in other and, perhaps, quite differently ordered states of existence.

I confess myself at a loss to see on what just ground there can be constructed any claim upon the ordinary Christian to concern himself with more than the propositions of the creeds as portions of his necessary faith. It would seem that if he entertain other propositions he is under no obligation to elevate them to so high a plane.

Of the limited service which it is my hope and aim to render, by the present examination, to the combined cause of truth and charity, a principal part will consist in my endeavors to remove from the field of controversy a variety of assumptions which, as it appears to me, have no title to a place there, and which have tended both to widen the issue raised and to perplex and embitter the dispute.

1. It is assumed that the Christian Revelation is designed to convey to us the intentions of the Almighty as to the condition, in the world to come, not of Christians only, but of all mankind.

2. It is assumed that when the Scriptures speak of things eternal, they convey to us that eternity is a prolongation without measure of what we know as time.

3. It is assumed that punishment is a thing inflicted from without, *flagellum Tisiphone quatit insultans*, and is something additional to or distinct from the pain or dissatisfaction which, under the law of nature, stands as the appropriate and inborn consequence of misdoing.

4. It is assumed that the traditional theory propounds, and the teaching of Scripture requires us to believe that, of those who are to be judged as Christians, only a small minority can be saved.

5. It is assumed under the doctrine of natural immortality that every human being has by Divine decree a field of existence commensurate with that of Deity itself.

In all these assumptions there is expressly or tacitly included a claim to be received as portions of the Divine revelation to man.

I shall hazard some remarks upon them one by one.

And first, as to the supposition that the Christian scheme deals with the future destinies of all mankind.

The New Testament has many references to a future and what seems to be a final judgment, but with one exception they are marked by paucity of detail. Where argument is introduced, and it is found only in one case, the unprofitable servant is manifestly a typical person representative of those with whom the Lord of all has already had open dealings, and who have been placed in a condition to know with whom it is that they have to do, and how they ought to proceed in regard to the trust committed to them; for they were aware that he was a hard man, who would rigidly exact account; also it is plain that they began their work on a footing of equality with the "good and faithful servants."*

The single instance in the gospels which penetrates further than this into the case, and exhibits the specific reasons of the future doom, is the majestic recital which immediately follows the parable of the talents.† In this profoundly impressive passage, but one description of virtuous action and of its opposite is recorded, that, namely, which includes what are termed the cor-

*Matt. xviii., 24; xxv., 14.
†Matt. xxv., 31-46.

poral works of mercy. It may be hazardous to do even so much as glance at the reasons which induced our Lord in his wisdom at once to expatiate as he has here done, and also to set bounds to His exposition. Can it have been that He foresaw that the most conspicuous point of failure among nominal believers would be in the law of mutual love, and in discerning the connection between that law and personal love to Christ, who addresses us in the person of the distressed? Be this as it may, we observe that both the righteous, who disclaim all merit, and the unrighteous, who are unaware of their ill desert, are alike addressed as persons emerging from a temporal dispensation, under which good offices toward man are directly associated with duty to God. This is a conception which not only is markedly Christian, but which had so faded away from, or which lay so little within, heathen knowledge, that it could hardly in their case have formed the basis of an equitable judgment.

What is still more to the purpose than this noteworthy representation, is the fact that St. Paul* has somewhat elaborately expounded the separate case of those who remain under the law of natural righteousness. In the day when God shall judge the hidden things of mankind according to the gospel revelation, he will also judge the portion of mankind outside the special covenant, according to law of nature written in their hearts and according as they have obeyed or disobeyed that law. Let us, therefore, wholly disembarrass ourselves from the idea that those who have not been supplied with the means of Christian combat will be judged according to the standard of the Christian law.

Secondly; it is assumed that eternity is a prolongation of time continued without any limit. I ask myself in vain whether there is any governing exposition supplied to us by the Scriptures or the creeds, or the authentic tradition of Christendom, which entitles us to make this assumption. Without denying that it has been much in vogue, and that when indeterminate questions are determined there is a seeming accession to our knowledge which we are readily tempted to accept, I presume to express some hesitation as to both its foundation and its utility. To say that we cannot separate the idea of duration from our common conceptions of future life is saying nothing to the purpose. This may be a subject for metaphysical speculation: it is not part of

* Rom. I., 18.; II., 16.

the truths declared to us for our guidance. The Scripture goes but a little way on this subject; but, so far as it goes, it does not seem greatly to favor the idea now before us. When it tells us that with God a thousand years are but as one day, it seems as if these words might mean that the being of the Deity is outside the conditions of time, and that this meaning is not only allowable, but may fairly compete with others which can attach to them. And if the grand idea of the future reserved for righteous souls be, according to the gospel, a re-establishment in the original charter of our nature by reunion with God, and if God have an existence outside of time, who can tell whether or not an independence of time may not be included in the conditions of this reunion?

Look for a moment at eternity under the view of its being an immeasurable expansion of time. Consider for a moment the very large meaning involved in this proposition. The contemplation even of our own narrow span of life as a whole, when seriously attempted, seems to fill the mind nearly up to the limit of its receptive power. A million is a numerical accumulation which, if regarded at once as a whole and in its units, seriously baffles us. But now we are called to heap together millions, billions and quadrillions without limit, and to recollect that in doing it we do nothing: and however often we repeat the process, it is the same *toties quoties:* the score is undiminished. In dealing with such a conception we pass beyond our depth. If all this may be so, yet it seems hard to compel every mind into the belief that it must be so; and there is something to be said here also in favor of taking refuge in our ignorance.

This much we may presume to say. Had the Divine revelation been intended to convey to us that time is an inseparable incident of the future life, and that eternity is no more or less than the unfolding of an immeasurable roll of time, it seems probable that the Bible could and would have employed some terminology evidently adapted to that purpose. But such is not the terminology actually given us. For, in dealing with the condition of the righteous in the world to come, our Savior builds not upon terms of time, but upon re-union with Deity. And in touching with greater reserve upon the condition of the wicked the image presented to us is either simply negative, as in the case

of the five virgins, or it is one of suffering without reference to duration, as in the outer darkness where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth; or, it is associated with words which etymologically and by use signify the indefinite rather than the infinite. Some of the passages without doubt introduce the awful image of finality. But such presentations are held by some to be of extinction and total disappearance, rather than of a miserable existence co-extensive with that of Deity, and they may be possibly susceptible of other explanations at present hidden from our view. In any case this great diversity of delineation may be thought to indicate a purpose of reserve.

On the third assumption it will not be necessary to dwell at great length. But there is a great difference between two separate methods of administering justice. This man, let us suppose, has committed manslaughter: let him, according to the circumstances, be imprisoned for one year, or for ten, or for life. This forensic or purely extraneous method, only with a more exact and less coarse adaptation, is the favorite notion under which the opponents of eternal punishment are prone to exhibit it. It is very different from those punishments, which, in the language of Butler, arrive by way of natural consequence. For, as to these, nature herself is our premonitory teacher. And her lessons cannot be shut out, except by the method, at once stupid and audacious, of refusing to think. The drunkard, for example, knows that by the repetition of inebriety he is losing his freedom. And, if he knows this in the later stages of his downward course but faintly and dimly, whereas he had known it at the beginning well and clearly, the meaning is, that his punishment "in the way of natural consequence" has begun; that its initial stage is a warning mercifully sent, like the first loss at a gambling table, in order that he may be induced to avoid those which are to follow; and that, if the warning be neglected, he shall proceed from bad to worse. As it is on this basis that the teachers of the more rigid doctrine, profiting perhaps by the lessons of experience, commonly build their system, it is on this basis that they ought to be met by their opponents.

Fourthly; it is assumed that we are required by the language of Holy Scripture to limit the salvation of professing Christians to a very small minority of their total number.

Fairness constrains me to admit that this has commonly or often been presented as an item of the ordinary teaching on the

subject of future punishment. My desire is to offer some considerations which tend so far at least to throw doubt upon the assumption as to make it expedient and rational to hold this part also of the subject in reserve.

When our Lord delivered in Galilee the Sermon on the Mount, He admonished His audience that the gate of salvation was strait, and the way narrow and found by few; while the gate and way of destruction were broad and easy, and found by many.* And all the words of our Blessed Lord are perfect in truth and wisdom. Yet is our duty to compare them together, and so far as may be to collect their effect as a whole. It seems indisputable that they do not invariably (as, for example, in the parable of the unjust steward) present to us, at each and every point, each and every aspect of the case in hand; and possibly this is a result inherent in the conditions of human language. The Gospel of St. Matthew, it is largely agreed, was composed with a special reference to the condition and exigencies of the Jewish race; that of St. Luke with a wider outlook upon the Gentiles also. In those chapters of St. Luke, which offer many remarkable correspondences with the Sermon on the Mount, the image of the strait gate reappears in connection with the difficulty of entering it, and they become the basis of an exhortation not to seek merely, but to strive, that is to seek manfully and with might, to enter it; while the passage is immediately followed by an impressive contrast between the case of Jews rejected in the great account, and that of Gentiles then admitted,† which may possibly indicate something of specialty or local color in what may be called the sister passage. It is also noteworthy that the words of our Lord are a reply to the inquiry: "Lord, are there few that be saved?" In declining a reply to this question, must we not admit that he seems to close the door upon the subject and thereby to mark it as one of unprofitable speculation?

In any case, we are bound to have regard to the general effect of our Lord's teaching; and in this case the more so, because he so frequently deals, not with occasion and current life, but, *ex professo*, with the final upshot of human destinies. In all his teachings, by parable or otherwise, we look in vain for any revelation of the relative numbers of the accepted and the lost. It

*Matt. vii., 13, 14.
†Luke xiii., 23-30.

is not in the sheep and the goats. It is not in the tares and the wheat. In the case of the wise and the foolish virgins, where the *pœna damni* alone seems to be awarded, the numbers are equal. In the case of the talents, two of the entrusted servants are mentioned for acceptance, one only for rejection. In the case of the gathering from highways and hedges to replace those who had refused the invitation to the banquet, there is no specification of numbers or proportions. In the case of the guest chamber, the wedding feast is eaten by a number of persons, but only one is detected as not having on the wedding garment.

It is, I presume, our duty to consider with humble care and without prepossession the general effect of these very varied indications in the discourses of our Saviour. For this the foregoing remarks are intended. The conclusion towards which they seem to point is that, as in sundry other matters, so with regard to the comparative numbers of professing Christians saved and lost, Divine Wisdom has, doubtless for the best reason, veiled its counsels with stringent limitation and reserve.

Lastly, the inclusion in religious teaching of a supposed law of natural immortality has been so largely discussed in prior portions of these papers, and especially in considering the history of Christian opinion, that any return to the subject in this place would be superfluous, except it be as to a point properly collateral.

It is admitted that the resurrection of the body as such is an exclusively Christian doctrine; true as it may be that the conception of a future life in the last resort involved an approach at least to corporeal elements, such as figures of some kind. But, according to Christian doctrine (I. Cor., xv., 36–44) the natural or mortal body has in it a seed from which shall spring the spiritual or immortal body; let us consider how much this implies. The body is now the instrument and servant of the soul, while it reciprocally exercises powerful influences upon it. But this body is not a mere appendage or vestment to the man: it is a part of him. Thus far it seems, then, to be agreed that one part of our immortality is not natural, but is a gift flowing from the Incarnation! This may render it all the more worth our while to examine whether our immortality is likely to be thus divided, and to be natural and indefeasible as to the soul,

but only a gift of the Christian system as to the body. One portion of the gap between the opposite opinions would appear to be bridged over by these considerations, which lead towards the conclusion that, with St. Paul for our guide, we shall not readily be persuaded* to accept the idea that the Gospel has propounded to us the natural immortality of all human souls as a portion of the Christian religion.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

(*To be Concluded.*)

*Plato teaches that the body as well as the soul, though not, like the gods of popular opinion, eternal, yet having once come into existence, was indestructible. (*Laws* x. 904.) There are souls of the sun and stars (*Tim.* 41. *Laws* x. 899). In man death (*Laws* viii, 828) dissolves the union between them. Impurity (*Phaedo*, 81, *sqq*) will prevent the total escape of the soul. But Socrates hopes to live wholly apart from the body, and this seems to represent the summit of doctrine concerning the body. We find a metaphysical conception recorded on its behalf, but a manifest leaning of the speculative intelligence against it.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

CONSTITUTIONAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

THE Constitution of the United States permits the suffrage of women. The agitation of the suffrage question for the last forty years and the appeals to the Congress of the United States for aid have been largely idle and valueless. The women of the United States are, by the Federal Constitution itself, already admitted to the polls upon the same footing as men. There is in this great document, the charter of the liberties of woman no less than the liberties of man, no bar to universal suffrage. Under it legally constituted women—as to age, freedom from criminalness, etc.—may vote for all officers from president to township supervisor.

In the election of 1896 the women of the State of Colorado will be permitted by that State to vote for the presidential electors from that State. In this fact there is promise of a singular contingency, with possibly grave results. Let us not take for our authority in this matter some learned judge's opinion, some essay, some suffragist's pronunciamento. Let us the rather take the Constitution's words themselves. It is provided in Article XIV., declared in force in July, 1868:

"Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Now we have here a very plain and explicit statement of who are citizens of the United States. They are "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof."

In the next amendment to the Constitution, the XVth, declared in force in March, 1870, it is set forth, for the benefit of the suffrageless negro, that:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

Incongruous as it may seem, this very provision allows the negro women of the United States the right of suffrage. It specifically permits those citizens who had been in a previous condition of servitude to vote, and the previous article as specifically sets forth what a citizen is—a person born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof. The only question which can arise is as to the meaning of the word "person." In such a case it is necessary to accept the definition of

the lexicographers who unite in saying that a person is a human being, a man, a woman, or a child. By no twisting construction could a "person" be designated a male alone. It has been proven essential in the administration of the affairs of men to set an age for adultism, to coin a word, adultism for man and woman. Of course it would be a silliness for anyone to contend that, because a child is a person, therefore, a child is entitled to the suffrage as well as a woman. Adultism is, of course, understood.

Manhood suffrage had been the only suffrage, in extended form, through the years of the republic before these amendments were considered. It is the only recognized suffrage now in most States for all offices, save those of local importance which have been opened to the suffrage of women; and it is but natural to suppose that the race of American men who had done all the voting of importance for the century or more should look upon man as the only "person" permitted by the Constitution the right of suffrage. Indeed, in the second section of the XIVth amendment this is the more clearly emphasized by the statement that:

"When the right to vote at any election for the choice of the electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

It will be noted that in this, a provision for the betterment of the negro, and the only place in the Constitution of the United States where sex is specified, there is not the slightest suggestion of a provision that women may not also be voters, no utterance that they are not as truly "persons" and "citizens" as the negroes whose rights were being fortified. It was found essential after the war of the rebellion to frame into the Constitution a provision which should secure honesty of representation, universality of suffrage, among the male negroes. But it was by no means a provision defining the voting prerogative. It attempted no sex restrainments. It bore no relation to the question of universal suffrage. It was only to be taken as an expression relative to the incoming voting element. Of course, had the woman suffragists, before the adoption of these amendments, pressed their claims at the bar of the State instead of the nation, and had secured a State right to the ballot, it would have been unnecessary to incorporate this word "male" in this section of the XIVth amendment. It is used to distinguish an immediate voting element.

Let us suppose that the coming Presidential election shall prove to be very close, as the word goes. When the Senate and House of Representatives in joint session assembled are ready to canvass and record the national suffrage, what will be done with the vote of Colorado, largely cast by women? Will the vote of Colorado, in spite of the fact that it was legally cast under the laws of that State, be thrown out as fraudulent, or, at least, tainted? Immense significance might attach to this ballot, for, in a closely contested election the next President of the United States would owe his elevation to the votes of these Colorado women; or, if Congress should reject their ballots, to a general election at the hands of the House of Representatives.

But would Congress have any such right—to reject their ballots? Congress could do nothing to subvert the Constitution, which has placed no obstacle in the way of suffrage by women. It is not the province of Congress to elucidate, amplify or restrict the Constitution. Neither can it read into that document something of which it is innocent. Still further, it could not declare these ballots illegitimate because they will be cast under specific sanction of the State of Colorado. Congress is a law-making, not a law-breaking, body. It has its great and important functions, but the Federal Constitution stands high above it, panoplied in the strength and majesty of its own power. No doubt there would be a prodigious effort to settle then and there the question as to whether these Colorado women should be allowed to decide who should be President of the United States to succeed Mr. Cleveland, but, as this question is a constitutional one, who but the Supreme Court could pass upon it? In the light of the fact that the Federal Constitution places no obstacle in the way of the voting of these Colorado women, it is difficult to see how the Constitution could be interpreted by the Supreme Court, when the matter came, as it doubtless would, to that body, adversely to the right of suffrage for these women.

In *resumé* the following may be considered:

1. The Constitution of the United States permits suffrage by women.

2. Congress must receive presidential ballots cast by women in States granting them the right of franchise; or else, on rejection of such ballots, the Supreme Court must pass on the legality of these votes.

3. There being no specific provision in the Federal Constitution either for or against the suffrage of women, the only bar to their voting for all officers of the State and nation is found in the constitutions of individual States, which constitutions may at any time be so modified as to permit universal suffrage if the States themselves so elect.

4. The only way by which the franchise may be universally and irrevocably denied to women in the United States is by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, specifically providing that only male citizens of the United States shall be allowed the right of suffrage.

If, as now seems assured, the women of at least one State, Colorado, will vote at the national election of 1896, for President and for members of Congress from that State, there promises to be presented to the people of the United States a question of deeper interest and immenser importance than any other peace-time question since the adoption of the Federal Constitution.

W. S. HARWOOD.

GREAT BRITAIN'S SERVICE TO CIVILIZATION.

SUCH a clear, concise, yet comprehensive statement of the great work that is being done for the world by England as is presented in the very able article by Mr. David A. Wells in the April number of the REVIEW, has never before appeared for the benefit of American readers. I have visited many British colonies in various parts of the world, and I have had occasion to compare them with nearby Latin-American republics, the successors of 300 years of Spanish rule, and I can endorse all that Mr. Wells has to say. In 1892, while in command of the U. S. S. "Kearsarge," I ascended the identical river, the Orinoco, which Mr. Wells would see thrown open to navigation—going as far as Ciudad-Bolivar (formerly Angostura), 240 miles above its mouth—and

I do not hesitate to state that if that great waterway were located in a British possession, its shores, instead of being as they now are for the greater part of the way a howling wilderness, would be lined with prosperous settlements, and the waters of that mighty stream would be carrying 100 tons of shipping where they now carry one; that those great civilizers, trade and commerce, and agriculture, backed by law and order, would bring about in the adjacent territory a state of affairs that has never yet entered the head of the average Latin-American politician. If England has grabbed territory, she has grabbed it to some purpose, and no people or race, be they civilized or savage, that has come under her rule but has been raised in the social scale, benefited and made free, where formerly they were degraded, if not in an actual state of savagery or slavery.

It is all very well to "twist the Lion's tail," but truth is truth, and it is time the people of this country should, as regards England's rule and methods in her colonies and possessions, know a little more of it.

It is a pity that every person in this country could not read Mr. Wells's article, and let it thus be the means of doing away with a prejudice that is largely founded on traditional sentiment, fortified by ignorance.

Though the British Goverment has the name of a Monarchy, Americans should understand that it is to-day—and has been for the past sixty years—as much of a democracy as our own, and that it has done more to elevate and improve the condition of human beings in this benighted world than any other government on the face of the earth or, I might say, than all others combined.

A. S. CROWNINSHIELD,
Captain U. S. Navy.

METHODISM AND THE GENERAL CONFERENCE.

ONE person out of every fourteen, one Christian out of every five, one Protestant out of every three in the United States is a Methodist. The statistics for 1895 show that there are in this country 5,452,654 members of the Methodist Church, and that the increase in membership for the year has been at the rate of one thousand every day.

The Methodist Church had its birth at the University of Oxford. A few students at Oxford of marked ability, of excellent scholarship, and of sterling character, becoming profoundly convinced of the necessity of a deeper religious experience, of a higher life, and a broader service for others, organized a club for religious purposes. The fellow-students were inclined to make fun of them, calling them among other names bible-moths, and Methodists, the last name of criticism being adopted as the permanent name for the denomination in this country. The Wesleys, Whitefield, and other members of the club took the coals from the college and lighted fires all over England and America. Wm. E. Gladstone in his great lecture at Oxford in 1893 thus refers to the founder of Methodism: "The remarkable will, energy, and character of John Wesley, now after a century and a half, are represented in the English-speaking race by organized bodies of adherents estimated at not less than 12,000,000, and by some at such a high figure as to exceed 20,000,000."

John Wesley was a statesman and organized the movement into permanent societies, which grew so rapidly that in five years from the time he gathered his first class it became necessary to organize a conference.

A band of Irish emigrants who had listened to Wesley preach in their home land, and had accepted his doctrine, came to New York city in 1760. Some of them having backslidden were gambling in a room, when Barbara Heck opened the door and rebuked them, saying. "We shall all go to hell together," and, looking at a man who had been a local preacher, said: "And our blood shall be upon you, Philip Embury, who ought to be preaching to us this day." The man heeded the rebuke and opened his residence, a little one-story house in Park Place, and preached to the people. Numbers drove them to an old rigging loft on Horse and Cart street (No. 120 William street), which soon became too small for the crowds that assembled. Ground was bought of Mrs. Barclay, widow of the second rector of Trinity Church, and in 1768 the first Methodist meeting house was built in America on the site now occupied by John Street Methodist Episcopal Church. At the close of the Revolutionary War, at the Christmas conference at Baltimore, on December 24, 1784, the Wesleyan Mission became the Methodist Episcopal Church. There were then 15,000 members, which number to the present time has doubled itself eight and one-half times, while the population of this country has only doubled itself four and a half times. In 1844 the slavery question divided the Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church South was organized. In 1872 it had about 600,000 members; now it has nearly 6,000 preachers, over 13,500 churches, and 1,380,000 members. The General Conference now being held in Cleveland, Ohio, is the legislative body of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This branch of Methodism has 16,000 ministers, 24,605 churches, and 2,630,000 members. There are about 3,000,000 in its Sunday Schools, and 1,250,000 members of a young people's society, recently organized, called the Epworth League. It has a publishing house with a net capital of $3,397,000, whose profits last year were in the neighborhood of $200,000, more than a half of which was given to disabled ministers and widows and orphans of ministers. Its missionary society gives $1,250,000 annually. Its church extension society has nearly $1,000,000 of an endowment fund, and builds three new Methodist churches in the United States every day. Its Freedman's Aid and Educational Society has spent over $4,000,000 since the war in the South, for the education of the blacks and poor whites. It has educational institutions whose grounds and buildings are worth $14,000,000, whose endowment is about the same amount, and whose students number 43,000. Its periodicals are able and widely circulated. Every department of benevolent work is represented by efficient organizations.

The General Conference meets every four years on the first of May and continues its session a month. It is composed of ministerial delegates elected by the annual conferences on the basis of one representative to every forty-five members; and of lay delegates, two of whom are allowed for each conference, except where there is but one ministerial delegate, when only one is permitted. The lay delegates are chosen by an electoral conference composed of one layman from each charge. The conference in session in Cleveland is composed of 520 members.

The two most important questions to be considered are the admission of women as lay delegates to the General Conference, and the removal of the time limit forbidding more than five years of continual service in any pastoral charge. Laymen had no voice in making the laws of the Methodist Church till the year 1872 when the General Conference admitted lay delegates. This action opened the question as to woman's eligibility to a seat

in the General Conference. In 1880 and 1884 several women were elected as reserve delegates, and at the General Conference of 1888 held in New York five women delegates appeared demanding admission. After a long, warm and able discussion the women were excluded, the lay and ministerial members both recording a majority against them. The question was then sent down to the churches, and the people gave a majority in favor of the women, but as the Annual Conferences did not give a two-thirds majority women were excluded from the General Conference of 1892. The Annual Conferences of 1895–1896 were asked to vote again on the subject. The vote is so close that returns from the last conference will be necessary to determine the result. Four conferences did not receive official notice of the proposed question; which fact may invalidate the whole vote.

It is hinted that the friends of woman's admission, should they fail to secure a three-fourths vote of the preachers, or a two-thirds vote of the General Conference, will claim that no change in the constitution of the church is needed, and admit women by a majority vote of the General Conference. Such a step would be unfair and calamitous.

Mrs. Bashford, wife of President Bashford, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, has been elected a delegate to the present General Conference, and it is possible she will be admitted by the constitutional two-thirds majority. Then would follow inevitably the licensing of women to preach, their ordination, their appointment to pastoral charges, and their election to any office in the Church, including that of the Episcopacy. We think the Church has plunged too precipitately into the revolution. The agitation of this question was begun by brilliant consecrated women, who, acting upon the theory that woman was oppressed, when she was enjoying the supremacy of love, that her sphere was circumscribed, when it was as wide as home or nation demanded the mastery of authority as well as of love. These agitators were aided by a band of women outside of the Church, who, in their demands for a feminine masculinity, brushed aside the example of Christ, ridiculed Paul, hissed at the Church, and insisted upon woman's admission to the General Conference. The new idea grew rapidly. The coal dropped into the tuft of grass now sweeps through the Church as a forest fire. The people, generally, ministers and laymen, think the time has come for the change; that it will not hurt woman, but will add wisdom, energy, and usefulness to the Church. Majorities have no power to turn folly into wisdom. A large majority killed Socrates and crucified Christ. If the change is against nature and the Scriptures, as many firmly believe, a four fourths majority would not make it right.

Another important question that will be discussed is the time limit of pastoral service. For one reason or another short pastorates have been the rule of the Christian ministry in this country. It is believed that the average term of the so-called settled pastorates is not over three years. While ministerial migration is the law, there are in other denominations long pastorates, some of them the symbols of stagnation, some of them unfortunate in breaking the heart of the pastor or breaking up the church when the pastoral relation is severed, but some of them an unmixed blessing. We believe the Methodist Church can make a long term possible without destroying the itinerant system, and should do so. The time limit is not now and never has been one of the restrictive rules or a part of the constitution of the church; it is only what might be called one of the by-laws. There was no limit in Wesley's day.

He stayed as long as he pleased and kept his preachers in a place as long as he desired. Circumstances made their stay in one charge necessarily brief. There was no time limit in the Methodist Church of this country at the beginning. Bishop Asbury influenced the General Conference of 1804 to vote a limit of two years on the pastoral term of any man in a single charge. The limit applied only to pastors. Secretaries, agents, editors, presidents or professors of colleges were exempt.

This limit was retained for sixty years, when, at the General Conference of 1864, it was moved up to three years, where it remained till the Conference of 1888, when it was extended to five years. We believe it would be an advantage to the Church if the time limit were entirely removed. The change from two to three and then to five years has not destroyed the itineracy as the opponents of the change maintained, nor do we think that a removal of the limit would destroy it. In the earlier history of this country, when the population was scattered and migratory missionary labor seemed to be almost the sole need, and the pioneer ministers adjusted themselves to the need with marvellous facility, the time limit acted as a strong arm of evangelistic power. Now that the population is more settled and its rush to the cities is so impetuous, the work of building up the Church and adjusting it to the changed social conditions is as imperative as gathering the people into the kingdom, and a longer term in the great cities is a necessity. A longer term would be good for the minister. It would compel increased diligence in reading, study and pulpit preparation. It would enable him to lay deeper and broader plans and build more substantial and artistic superstructures. The dead line is where a minister ceases to do new work, though he be but thirty years of age. The change would give the Methodist ministers the opportunity that those of other denominations have of fastening themselves to the local institutions of education, benevolence, and reform.

The lengthening of the term would dignify the regular pastorate which under the present system is too often discounted. The removal of the limit would be good for the churches, permitting a short or a long term as the people might desire or Providence indicate. Dr. J. M. Buckley, in an editorial in the *Christian Advocate* of April 2, makes a compromise proposition which is likely to be adopted by the Conference at Cleveland. It is as follows: "When a Quarterly Conference, without debate in the absence of the pastor, by ballot, shall by a three-fourths vote of the entire membership of the Quarterly Conference assigning the conditions of the pastorate as the ground for the necessity, request the reappointment of the pastor whose limit is about to expire, the Bishop presiding at the next Conference may return such pastor for another year, without regard to the number of years he may have served already in the charge." Dr. Butts, President of Drew Theological Seminary, suggests as an amendment to the proposition that in these exceptional cases only five additional years of service be allowed or ten years in all.

F. C. IGLEHART.

THE AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM.

NO INTELLIGENT man who has had opportunities for observation can doubt that the "Agricultural Problem" is the most vital in American politics to-day, though it has been thrust aside by issues that are at most only corollaries to the main proposition.

The situation is anomalous and unparalleled. The country has had

profound peace for thirty years. There have been no famines. In fact, this period has been one of wonderful productiveness. Yet every year the farmers as a class have become poorer. Every year it has been found more difficult for them to meet their obligations. The farmer goes in debt for the things necessary to raise a crop, and when the day of settlement arrives the price of farm products has gone down, and relatively money is dearer.

The statement is frequently heard that the farmer is not progressive, that he should buy machinery and fertilizers, and curtail living expenses. It is not worth while to enter into a discussion relative to such statements. In part they are true ; as a rule they are false.

The American farmer is progressive; he is intelligent; he is frugal. He is a hard worker, and the pinched and careworn face of his wife shows that she bears her burden. They are a brave and hopeful couple, but they are beginning to despair. And when they do the institutions of our Republic will topple down upon us, a mass of shapeless ruins.

Bacon says: "Let States that aim at greatness take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast; for that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and a base swine, driven out of heart, and, in effect, but a gentleman's laborer." Again, he says: "Neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial," and he draws the conclusion that "no people overcharged with tribute is fit for empire."

The materialistic reasoners of the present day decry the lessons of history. They point to the wonderful progress of this century and say: "A new era has dawned ; let our children study the practical arts and sciences taught in our technical schools and learn to make a living." Again we have a grain of truth mixed with much sophistry. We are departing from the profound methods of our ancestors. And nations like men are slow to profit by the experience of others.

It is not necessary to insist upon the importance of the farming interests of the country; or to point out to the effect that the farmers' prosperity or decay has upon all other callings and upon the moral, social and intellectual development of the country. Draper shows how the first awakening of mind took place in those countries where the farming classes were most prosperous, and were enabled to make a living with the least amount of drudgery. Egypt in the old world, and Peru and Mexico in the new, furnish examples. Even a loose reader of history will be struck with the elasticity and energy the husbandman has shown since we have authentic accounts of human events. Whenever the land has been relieved of its burdens, whenever the farmer has been made to bear, either directly or indirectly, only his just proportion of the load of taxation, in how short a time has he gathered his strength and made the face of nature to blossom as the rose and to smile in prosperous abundance. Witness France when Napoleon had a breathing spell from his wars ; witness Spain after the Moorish conquest. The history of any country will bear similiar testimony

The rule has been that young countries are prosperous before wealth flows into great reservoirs, and power and expenditures increase until agriculture is oppressed. Then decay begins. All sorts of nostrums are proposed, but the malady is deadly unless the knife is applied to the cancerous root.

Some eighteen hundred years ago Plutarch wrote: "It was well and truly said that the first destroyer of the liberties of a people is he who first gives them bounties and largesses." He was a great student of history, and at

this time saw Rome at the pinnacle of her glory start slowly on her descent to the depths of degradation. Great minds were at work in Rome, some trying honestly to solve mighty political problems, others—demagogues on the grandest scale the world has seen—attempting to secure power and wealth by pandering to the rabble. Wheat was being distributed free to the populace to keep them quiet, great shows were being displayed to please them. The Emperor and two thousand rich patricians owned the known world. Of the 110,000,000 Roman subjects, 60,000,000 were literally slaves. Agriculture had reached or was fast approaching its lowest ebb. It was being claimed that the soil of Italy was worn out past redemption, and learned treatises were being written on this subject. Columella felt called upon to controvert a theory that both the air and land had lost their fertilizing qualities. Cicero, Cato, Varro and many other eminent Romans wrote on this subject, and attempted to revive interest in agriculture, which was no longer profitable and consequently neglected. A few years previous Marius had ordered a re-allotment of land, to appease the popular clamor, and had given sixteen acres to each individual. Yet there was no relief.

Five hundred years later Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, overran Italy, struck the shackles of law from the hands of the farmer, and a period of great prosperity followed. Gibbon says, a purse was safe upon the public highway, wine sometimes sold as low as a cent and a half a gallon, and wheat was worth sixteen and a half cents a bushel. And Italy is to-day one of the fertile countries of the world. Rome also tried her hand on fiat money and made a failure. In the declining days of the empire it was thought that a more abundant circulating medium was the thing most needful. Consequently coins were debased by a copper alloy until little of the original metal was left. It had the Roman stamp upon it and was money, but it did not remedy the evil. It is interesting to recall in this connection the estimate of Herodotus that in the reign of Darius, King of Persia, some 2,400 years ago, gold was worth thirteen times more than silver. Also that in the year 1,700 A. D., gold was worth about fifteen times more than silver. Of late years the production of silver has been so enormous that now one ounce of gold is worth about twenty-three ounces of silver.

When it is remembered that nearly one-half of what the American farmer makes—for the average farmer earns no more than a living—is consumed in taxes, direct and indirect, it is wonderful that he is in distress? Is it strange that he is willing to try almost anything that promises relief? Is it not rather almost beyond belief that he has suffered in patience so long? Is it necessary to point out the remedy to the intelligent reader?

"The first destroyer of the liberties of a people is he who first gave them bounties and largesses."

M. B. MORTON.

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THE SHIP OF STATE ADRIFT.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

WHY is it that, ever since the people decided that the Republican party should leave the helm, and that the Democratic party should take it, the Ship of State has not sailed, but drifted?

There never was a decade during which the gallant craft sailed so prosperously as in that of 1880–1890.

Under President Harrison every willing and capable man found employment, wages were never so high, capital never better rewarded, and the national revenues, after paying every demand, left a surplus; whereas this year so far they have fallen short twenty-four millions, last year to the same date forty-seven millions, the year preceding sixty-five millions. Here are a few figures which measure the progress made in the ten years:

In national wealth the change was from 43 to 65 thousand millions: in national debt the reduction, less cash in Treasury, from 19 to less than 9 thousand millions. Since 1890 the national debt has increased nearly fifty millions. Value of manufactures increased in the period under consideration from 5,369 to 8,700 millions; railways from 87,724 to 163,562 miles. The production of pig iron in 1880 was 4,277; in 1890, 9,202 million tons. Farms improved represented in 1880, 284; in 1890, 348

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millions of acres. The cotton crop in 1880 was 5,757,397 bales; in 1890, fully nine millions. The value of textiles—wool, cotton, and silk—rose from 500 to 674 millions. Wealth per head in 1880 was $870; in 1890 it reached a thousand.

A page could be filled with similar contrasts, the whole making such a record of material progress as the world has never seen. Our ship was first, all others distanced in the race.

The credit of the Republic touches us nearly. In March, 1892, the comparison was as follows: British 2¾ per cents, 98⅞; United States 2 per cents, 99½. To-day it is sadly reversed: British 2¾ per cents, 112; United States 2 per cents, 94½.

More than half of this decade has already passed, and if the next half is to be of a similar character, we know that as 1880 to 1890 was that of the greatest prosperity, 1890 to 1900 is to be one of the greatest stagnation. Exact results cannot be known until the 1900 census is taken, but one indication we have in the number of miles of railways built 1890 to 1895. We have seen the average for the preceding decade was per year 7,600 miles. In this decade so far it is not half.

Too plainly is it seen that the Ship of State has not been sailing well. If this could be attributed to conditions which prevail, and if other nations were in like plight, we might harbor the flattering notion that it is neither the ship, nor the crew, nor their mode of handling it, that is to blame, but the winds and waves which retard other ships equally with our own. But if we note how our principal competitor is doing, we find that it never made greater progress. Great Britain has just made her annual statement, and by her advance we may reckon the extent of our retrogression. After paying all expenses, her surplus was for the year $110,000,000. Her shipyards never had so much work; every department of business has revived. The Monarchy is speeding over the waves triumphantly, while our good ship The Republic lies as if waterlogged. We who were always first are being outsailed. We are not in the race.

However partisans may differ as to the reasons for this humiliating reverse, not even the bitterest and most ignorant can dispute the fact that we are left hopelessly behind in the race for national prosperity.

Now there must be a reason or reasons for this. Our natural resources remain unequalled; our advantages over other nations

have not changed; the physical conditions under which the record of the Republic has been hitherto unequalled among the nations are still here; the sun still shines, and our cotton and our cereals still spring forth; our mines never gave up such riches; our people never were so intelligent, our workmen so skilful. We cannot, therefore, look to physical changes for the lamentable stagnation that has come over us.

If it be not in the act of nature, then we must seek it in the act of man—in legislation. Wherein has legislation changed in recent years? It has changed in two particulars. First, in 1878 legislation attempted to push the United States from the solid rock of gold as the standard of value, and to introduce by artificial means a rival standard. It brought silver into the currency not as a convenience for small coin, but by the purchase of two millions of dollars per month which were ordered to be coined whether the nation needed it or not, silver was injected into the currency. Subsequent legislation increased these purchases to four millions ($4,000,000) per month for which silver notes were issued, which passed into the currency, and finally produced such a strain upon the amount of gold in circulation and in the treasury, as to cause doubts to arise in the minds of the most farseeing and prudent as to the ability of the United States to redeem these silver notes in the standard metal gold, and thus maintain the much talked of "parity" of the two dollars, the silver dollar worth fifty cents in the markets of the world and the gold dollar worth one hundred cents everywhere. Thus was poison forced into the hitherto pure blood of the body politic, and from that day to this the national health has been slowly but surely undermined.

This is a matter above party; let us not hesitate, therefore, to place the blame where it belongs, upon our own party, the Republican. It was the Republican party that poisoned the currency of the nation. It was the Republican party that doubled the amount of poison, which speedily produced its baneful effect. It threatened the capital of the world abroad and it sapped the roots of confidence at home; hence the stagnation of business; hence the contrast between 1880–1890 and 1890–1900. The poison was there before 1890 in small doses, but such was the strength of the patient that he continued to perform his usual functions for a long time after the poison had entered his system, but his vitality was, nevertheless, ceaselessly being sapped.

President Harrison left the helm and President Cleveland took it, and the ship began to drift. But had President Harrison been re-elected and continued at the helm, the ship could not have continued its progress very long. It would not have drifted so far out of its course as it has done under President Cleveland, because the revenues of the government would have been maintained, but it could never have made creditable headway. Unfortunately, President Cleveland took the helm committed to produce a radical change in the fiscal system of the country. In his former term of office he had to deal with a great surplus, and his trouble was to get rid of that; "a condition, not a theory," confronted him, as he said. But surely, after he returned to power, this condition had changed; there was then no surplus possible. It was soon seen that the question was whether the revenues of the government would be sufficient for its wants. The continued purchases of silver had produced a great panic. When these were stopped—all credit to President Cleveland for this stoppage—and the nation was slowly regaining strength, the Baring panic occurred, one of the most acute ever known, and the country lay prostrate and enfeebled. President Cleveland's "condition" had changed, and President Cleveland should have changed with it. Unfortunately, his party pressed on, probably against the judgment of the President, for the party soon broke from control and insisted upon revolutionizing the fiscal system, when the national patient was in no condition to undergo a surgical operation. The excitement and alarm, the harrowing fear of every business interest, inevitably caused by every threatened lowering of duties, threw the industrial world into confusion and dismay. No recovery was possible.

Even had the new Tariff bill produced revenues sufficient for the wants of the government, the poisoned silver in our currency would have prevented prosperity; but when to this poison in the national veins was added the dangerous cutting and slashing, which a great change in the tariff necessitates, we have sufficient reason to account for the drifting of the ship. There can be no question but that the monthly deficit in revenues and borrowing through the issue of bonds in a time of peace aggravated the situation, because it still further alarmed capital. Had the United States government been in receipt of surplus revenues, thus ena-

bling it to draw from circulation every month some portion of the demand gold debt, this would have allayed alarm and inspired confidence, and the demand for gold would have been less urgent.

We have here, then, the two causes which are responsible for the drifting of the ship, for the lack of enterprise, for the stagnation in business, and for the failure of the United States to continue upon a career of progress.

First: By her silver legislation she has lost the confidence of capital throughout the world and also at home. Europe will no longer invest its surplus in our railway bonds, real estate, or other securities. On the contrary, it has drawn hundreds of millions of capital from investment here, thus draining the country of its gold. Capital at home is almost as timid. It will not invest gold dollars worth one hundred cents permanently as long as a section of the people threaten to repay in silver dollars worth one-half in the markets of the world.

Second: The country has been shaken by a violent change in its fiscal system, and duties upon imports no longer produce sufficient revenue, because duties have been lessened upon the luxuries of the rich, and the *ad valorem* system, substituted for the specific, opens the door so wide to frauds upon the revenue through under-valuations that the government does not receive more than two-thirds of the duties it pretends to levy.

There was probably never such a fraud perpetrated as the Wilson Tariff bill. It was proclaimed as a measure intended to relieve the masses of the poor from high duties. It did not reduce duties upon any article used by the poor, but it did reduce largely upon the luxuries of the rich. Thus stands the record.

Tariff duties as follows were collected in 1892 on foreign importations of the luxuries of the rich:

Wool manufactures	$32,293,600
Silk	16,965,637
Cotton	16,436,733
Flax manufactures	10,066,636
Glass and china	10,339,000
Wines, liquors, etc	8,935,000
Tobacco and cigars	11,882,557

Here are $106,000,000 of revenue from seven classes of luxuries, and here are a few others which netted more than $8,000,000 additional: Jewelry, carriages, artificial flowers, clocks,

brushes, paper, perfumeries, musical instruments, making $114,000,000 revenue collected from imports out of the total of $177,000,000. To reduce duties upon articles which are all luxuries of the rich, furnishing two-thirds of the whole tariff revenue, is the chief result of the Wilson act.

The statement cannot be disputed that these articles were not imported for the use of the masses of the people. With woollen manufactures, as those of silk, the masses of the people of the United States are supplied by the home manufacturer almost exclusively. The only class which uses imported cloths, and foreign glass and china, and foreign wines and tobacco, is the rich.

Our obvious need is not only to restore the former duties upon these articles, but to increase them, not as a protectionist measure, but strictly for revenue. The luxuries of the rich will be purchased almost to as great an extent under a higher as under a lower duty, for increased cost does not in a great measure affect their consumption. The rich may be trusted to continue to gratify their tastes and to follow fashion.

There is only one item in the above list that can be claimed to affect the masses of the people, viz., wool. Some low and cheap grades of woollens are still used to a small extent by the masses, but it can easily be arranged that upon these the duty shall not be increased. This done, $50,000,000 a year additional can readily be collected through the tariff upon luxuries, and not a working man be disadvantaged one cent. Thirty millions can readily be obtained by one dollar tax per barrel upon beer, which the consumer would not have to pay, but the precise mode of increasing the revenue is not important.

One point is certain, viz.: that no genuine national prosperity can be looked for until the revenues of the government are sufficient to meet its expenditures and leave a goodly surplus.

We know that the triumph of the Republican party will ensure this, and that with increased duties upon various articles more home-made products will be used, and hence more home labor employed. We also know that surplus revenues will tend to dispel alarm. Nothing more need be said upon this subject. But the ship of state will never sail to our satisfaction unless there also be such a change as will place the nation upon

the highest standard of value, *gold*, as firmly and as free from doubt as Britain stands upon it. With no desire to pose as a prophet, but only to prove that the laws pertaining to money are so certain in their operation that the results of any policy concerning it can be unerringly predicted, I venture to quote from successive warnings given in the columns of this REVIEW, even from the time when the cloud seen in the sky was no bigger than a man's hand and comparatively few of our political leaders seemed aware of its dire significance.

Five years ago, in 1891, the danger of tampering with the standard of value seemed so great that I said :

"The New York *Evening Post* is a free-trade organ, but it has recently said that it would rather be the party to pass ten McKinley bills than one silver bill such as was urged; and I, a Republican and a believer in the wisdom of protection, tell you that I would rather give up the McKinley bill and pass the Mills bill, if for exchange I could have the present silver bill repealed and silver treated like other metals. In the next presidential campaign if I have to vote for a man in favor of silver and protection, or for a man in favor of the gold standard and a reduced tariff, I shall vote and work for the latter, because my judgment tells me that even the present tariff is not half so important for the good of the country as the maintenance of the highest standard for the money of the people."

Two years later, in 1893, President Cleveland was compelled to call an extra session of Congress in these startling words :

"Whereas, The distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation, which pervade all business circles, have already caused great loss and damage to our people, and threaten to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of manufactures, bring distress and privation to our farmers, and withhold from our workingmen the wage of labor; and,

"Whereas, The present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the government finds embodied in unwise laws, which must be executed until repealed by Congress."

So much for the potency of the poison in our currency and the havoc it made in two short years. In September, 1893, in this REVIEW, I closed an article upon this momentous issue as follows :

"Should the country go further into the silver morass, then it may safely be predicted that all that has taken place to this date will be considered insignificant compared with the trouble yet to come. History teaches nothing more clearly than this—that no country can ever enjoy prosperity if, in regard to its standard of value, confidence is lost."

After this followed perhaps the most acute panic in our history, and the government was reduced to such straits that it has

twice had to borrow in times of profound peace, and its credit, once the highest among nations, has fallen and remains below that of countries with hardly a tithe of its wealth or resources.

I have mentioned the matter of revenue first, only because it is so easily met and so certain to be rightly dealt with; but it is relatively unimportant compared with the change needed to maintain the standard of value.

Those who prescribe tariff changes as a cure for the deep seated malady which has poisoned the nation's currency—the life-blood of prosperity—remind us of the quack who vended pills to prevent earthquakes. The business men of the country understand this. President Roberts, of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the greatest of all organizations, recently spoke for them. The only thing necessary to produce prosperity, he said, was to cease the agitation for a change from the gold to the silver standard, and although it is true, as he said, "that the tariff could wait," revenue cannot. Without surplus revenue no improvement can come.

We may collect all the surplus revenue imaginable; may legislate in any and all directions upon other than the financial question, and all will be in vain. Capital from abroad will continue to avoid us and capital at home remain paralyzed; new enterprises will not be undertaken, labor will be poorly employed, wages fall, depression continue, with panic ever looming in the distance. As in 1891 and again in 1893 I predicted coming disaster, so to-day in 1896 I do not hesitate to foretell its continuance. Until we cease to threaten the gold standard under which the Republic has outsailed all others, national prosperity must remain a thing of the past, for until the standard of value is permanently settled nothing is settled. The ship of state must continue to drift.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

IMMIGRATION FROM ITALY.

BY DR. J. H. SENNER, U. S. COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

If the expressions of the press be any indication of public opinion, the heavy immigration from Italy during the last six weeks has irritated the American people to a great degree. The "Little Italy" of Ellis Island has enjoyed, from the pictorial standpoint, as well as from the reportorial and editorial ones, an unusual amount of attention, although it did not realize the sensational newspaper anticipations of riots, epidemics, wholesale escapes, fusilades, and similar occurrences. Innocent readers of our daily papers must have come to the conclusion that the immigration from Italy was not only unprecedented in numbers but also extraordinarily undesirable in character, and that therefore the most heroic measures were demanded by the public welfare. The assumed conditions, however, have differed widely from the real ones. To dispel the notion that this year's influx is unusually large, I need but refer to the facts that immigration from Italy to the United States amounted in the fiscal year 1887–8 to 47,622, in 1888–9 to 51,558, in 1889–90 to 52,003, in 1890–91 to 76,055, in 1891–2 to 61,631, in 1892–3 to 69,437, the largest part of which in each year was crowded into the spring months.

It is quite true that this year's immigration from Italy exceeds that of the two preceding fiscal years, 1893–4 and 1894–5, of 42,074 and 33,902, respectively; but during that period the tide of all commerce was exceptionally low and immigration was likewise naturally affected. These years cannot, therefore, properly be taken as a basis for comparisons. It is also true that since about the middle of March there have been detained at this port an unprecedented number of immigrants, either for special examination or for deportation, but this condition was not due to any unusual undesirability on the part of these immigrants, but

solely to the strict enforcement of the latest law (of March 3, 1893), which made it the duty of the Inspectors of the Immigration Service to detain for special inquiry every immigrant who was not clearly and beyond doubt entitled to admission. That it has been possible, with a very small force of available employees, to preserve order and peace to the fullest degree upon Ellis Island, although as many as 1,020 immigrants, of whom over 500 were sentenced to deportation, have been detained over night, is convincing proof at least of the fact that the Italians, who form the largest percentage of the detained, are by no means as unruly, violent, dangerous, or anarchistic as they have been assumed to be by the imaginative newsgatherers of the public press.

The Italians only, of all the Latin peoples, developed a tendency to migration almost equal to that of the Anglo-Saxons. The history of the peninsula for more than two thousand years past, with the enormous invasions of Germanic tribes, may perhaps furnish an explanation of this phenomenon. Emigration of Italians to the Western Continent on a larger scale only became possible with the great development of oceanic steamship service in the last few decades, and until a very recent date such immigration into the United States was very much smaller than that into the southern part of the Western Continent, especially the Argentine Republic. But while the tendeney to migration may be inborn in nations, it can never come into practical operation but by urgent reasons based upon political or commercial conditions. Poor Italy had suffered perpetually from misrule and bloody wars and consequent commercial depression. United Italy, only a little more than a quarter of a century in existence, could not as yet succeed in securing safety, peace, and welfare to her subjects. Unsettled in her finances, under the bane of a violent conflict with her church, with the pretensions of a great power, but without means to bear the burdens of her ambition, she furnished the basis of a large emigration. Her government, absolutely unable to offset the disturbances of the political and financial welfare of her subjects, refrained from opposing such emigration, and has even seemingly favored it.

For a good many years this policy of the Italian Government seemed to produce advantageous results to the prosperity of Italy. As long as the migration to and fro was entirely unrestricted, Italians in large numbers were in the habit of crossing

and recrossing the ocean, some as many as ten times, as so-called "birds of passage," and taking out of the United States, or other countries of America, the gains which their standard of living, far below that of an American wage earner, made it easy for them to accumulate. The amount of money annually sent home by Italian laborers or taken back by them has been conservatively estimated at from $4,000,000 to even $30,000,000. Commissioner-General Stump observed, during his trip abroad as Chairman of the Immigration Investigating Commission, that "the marked increase in the wealth of certain sections of Italy can be traced directly to the money earned in the United States." But these advantages to the old country are about to cease definitely. The rigid enforcement of the Federal statutes since 1893 by the United States Immigration Officials has made it very hard for Italian "birds of passage" to come and go at their pleasure. Besides, quite a large proportion of those who originally came to the United States with no intention of acquiring residence, found the country so advantageous and congenial to them that they changed their minds, sent for their families and settled permanently within the United States, acquiring, in time, rights of citizenship.

Italian immigrants, even in the first generation, succumb sooner or later, like those of other European nationalities, to the irresistible influence of freedom and prosperity; while in the second generation, as a rule, and in the third invariably, they become thoroughly Americanized.

The eleventh census of 1890 gives the number of foreign born Italians living in the United States as 182,580. According to the statistics of immigration the total number of immigrants from Italy from 1873 to 1890 amounted to not less than 356,062,* which clearly shows how large the migratory movement must have been at that time, since the number who arrived during the eighteen years prior to 1890 was nearly twice as large as the number of foreign born Italians living in the United States on the 1st of June, 1890.

* The absolute unreliability of old statistics as to all, and especially Italian, immigration is best shown by the fact that while the official statistics (Report of the Superintendent of Immigration for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1892), represent the total Italian immigration from 1873 to 1890 as 356,062, the same official report (pp. 14, 15, etc.) states the number of Italian immigrants from 1881 to 1889 as 307,309, which figure would increase the total for 1873 to 1890 by not less than 52,012. Nevertheless, it has always been these same statistics on which our legislators as well as scientists have based their conclusions.

It was only about the 1st of July, 1893, that, finding such a marked discrepancy between the statistics of the Immigration Service and the United States census of 1890, I directed the statisticians at Ellis Island, thenceforth, to specify accurately as to every immigrant whether or not he had been in the United States before. The result clearly demonstrated that about 20 per cent. of the Italians arriving at this port had been previously in the United States, and therefore could not properly be counted again as immigrants. Of the 94,700 Italians landed in New York from the 1st of July, 1893, to the end of 1895, no less than 21,692 had been in the United States before. It is a remarkable fact that the percentage of returning immigrants to the total immigration is almost continually on the increase. Of 15,706 arrivals from July 1 to December 31, 1893, those returning numbered only 2,011 ; of 10,355 for the same period in 1894, 2,196 ; while of the 18,724 who arrived during the same months of 1895, 4,190 had been here before.

That Italian immigrants are abandoning their habit of migration to and fro, and are inclining more and more to definite settlement in this country, is further proved by the following facts. Of the total Italian immigration from 1881 to 1889, amounting to 307,309 (according to the report of Superintendent Owen for the year 1892) only 63,386, or 20.6 per cent., were females, and 47,063, or 15.3 per cent., were under fifteen years of age. In the fiscal year 1893–4, the proportion of females to the total Italian immigration rose to 24.12 per cent., and of children under fifteen years of age to 16.08 per cent. The year 1894–5 shows 27.42 per cent. females and 17.4 per cent. children. The period from July 1, 1895, to the 1st of April, 1896 (the statistics for April not being complete at the time of this writing), shows not less than 30.2 per cent. of females and 19.42 per cent. of children under fifteen years of age. The increasing tendency of Italian immigrants to definite settlement is furthermore proved by the systematic statistics kept at the port of New York since the 1st of July, 1893, as to the number of persons who arrived here to join members of their immediate families; only parents, children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters are included in these statistics, while more distant relatives or connections, such as uncles, aunts, cousins, grandparents, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, are not considered. Only the reunions of temporarily

separated families are placed in this category. Congress cannot justly undertake to force out of this country aliens who have legitimately settled in it, or to prevent their immediate families, unless objectionable *per se*, from joining them in this country.

The statistics carefully prepared at this station reveal the astonishing fact that, of some 94,700 Italians who arrived at this port from July 1, 1893, to the end of December, 1895, no less than 33,625 came to join members of their immediate families. If we add this number to the 21,692 above mentioned who had been in the United States before, we get a total of 55,317, or 58 per cent. of the total Italian immigration, leaving but 39,383 immigrants proper. During the same period of two and a half years, as I have reliably ascertained from the steamship companies, no less than 62,678 persons, almost exclusively alien residents, left the United States in the steerage for Italian ports. Thus, practically, the number of outgoing Italians exceeded the number of new arrivals by more than 25,000 in the time prior to the alleged extraordinary and appalling recent rush of immigrants from Italy.

Let us now look at the actual figures in respect to this immigration. Since the 1st of January, 1896, there have arrived at New York, which is the principal port of entry for Italians:

	Males.	Females.	Total.
January	1,316	666	1,982
February	999	645	1,644
March	7,882	1,436	9,320
April	12,016	2,187	14,203

An analysis of these figures, dividing them into the two categories mentioned above—(1) Those who had been in the United States before; and (2) those who came to join their immediate families—furnishes the following interesting results:

1896.	Total Italian immigration.	In U. S. before.	Joining immediate families.	Balance.
January	1,982	359	705	918
February	1,644	611	937	96
March	9,320	2,445	2,033	4,842
April	14,203	3,533	3,291	7,379
Total	27,149	6,948	6,966	13,235

In the face of this petty aggregate, which is less than one half of the excess of the Italian exodus from this country during the preceding two and a half years, it is assumed that the great United States of America, with a population of about 70,000,000,

are forced to heroic preventive measures ! *Tant de bruit pour une omelette!*

There is no likelihood whatever of any considerable increase in these figures during the current fiscal year or even at any later period. In fact, before these words appear in print, the spring immigration of 1896 will have been finished, and I do not hesitate to predict, as to the future, that the very faithful enforcement of the law, during this season of Italian immigration, will produce all the desired effects. If, in addition to the present law, a moderate educational test should be introduced by Congress, even the remotest apprehension of danger from Italian immigration would be forever removed, so long as the enforcement of our immigration laws keeps pace with their letter and spirit. I may be pardoned for here repeating what is a matter of record in the report of the Immigration Investigating Commission, of which I am a member, that I am most heartily in favor of a reasonable and practicable educational test for male immigrants over 16 years of age, excepting those who come here to join their immediate families. I do not share the apprehensions of the distinguished and learned Senator from Massachusetts, who is at present Chairman of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, that "a great, a perilous change in the very fabric of our race" is impending from further immigration. The evil done in that direction, prior to the law of 1893 and its strict enforcement under the present administration, can, of course, never be undone ; the nation can now secure self-protection from the effects of the heterogeneous influx during fifteen years prior to 1893 only by a wholesome restriction of the privilege of naturalization. But I can safely say that since the enactment of the law of 1893 no substantial number of undesirable immigrants have been permitted to enter the United States, and that our public charitable and penal institutions have not been materially burdened with the care of such immigrations. It is well known that our immigration laws offer the fullest opportunity to any community or public institution burdened with immigrants who have become public charges within one year after landing, to rid themselves of them. If an immigrant become a public charge from causes prior to landing, the steamship companies are compelled to deport him; and the immigrant fund bears the expense of transportation in all cases where the perma-

nent inability to earn a living arose after the time of landing. Notwithstanding the fact that these laws and regulations have been made more widely known all over the country during the last three years than ever before, the number of persons returned within one year after landing as public charges decreased from 637, in the fiscal year 1892, to 577 in 1893, 417 in 1894, and 177 in 1895. This is self-evident proof of the increasing efficiency of the immigration service in preventing from year to year undesirable immigrants from landing.

Those landed were most likely to assimilate quickly to the American people and their national institutions. Indeed serious consideration of the ability of immigrants to assimilate readily has been always predominant with the Board of Special Inquiry, under my supervision at Ellis Island. The likelihood of assimilation necessarily constitutes an important factor, in the decision by such a Board, of an immigrant's eligibility to land on our shores, and this likelihood is judged in the light of the comparative readiness, as shown by experience, with which immigrants from the various foreign countries assume the duties of citizenship and acquire the English tongue.

Illiteracy, though at present no specific reason for excluding an immigrant, is nevertheless carefully considered as a factor in all cases; although it should be stated that some of the most objectionable immigrants have been persons well able to read and write. My principal reason for favoring a moderate educational test is the obvious fact that illiteracy is invariably coupled with a low standard of living which leads to a lowering of wages.

The common opinion as to the inability of Italian immigrants to assimilate is, I am frank to state, not shared by me. It must be admitted that Italians who come over in mature years, without education even in their own language, and during their sojourn in the United States move almost exclusively among their countrymen, find it exceedingly difficult to acquire even the rudiments of the national language; but such is the common experience with most other non-English speaking immigrants as well. On the other hand, we find that an Italian who has come here younger in years, or who has received a good education, becomes speedily a thorough American, even if his occupation brings him into contact mostly with his own countrymen. And children born in this country of Italian parents can scarcely be distinguished

by their speech or their habits from the children of native Americans. The public schools of New York bear testimony to this statement. The Rev. Bonaventure Piscopo, of the Church of the Most Precious Blood (the largest Italian Roman Catholic Parish in the City of New York), is my authority for the statement that all the Italian priests, in their religious services, their Sunday schools, and even in their confessionals, are obliged to use the English if they hope to be understood at all by the second generation. The same priest related to me the story of a boy of eighteen, born in Italy, but brought to this country when fourteen months of age, by the name of Gian-Battista Foppiano, whose parents left Boston some years ago to return to their native town, Ciccagna, in the province of Genoa. The lad entreated his parents in vain to return to America. He also wrote most urgent and pathetic letters to some of his boy companions in America to send him money. They did so, and he tried to return to the United States against the will of his parents, but did not succeed. The poor boy became so homesick for the United States that he fell into melancholy, and can now be seen in the insane asylum of Genoa, longing for the United States. If this pathetic story cannot be taken as proof of the devotion of all young Italians to this country, it at least illustrates how erroneous are the sweeping assertions sometimes made to the contrary.

It would be an easy thing, of course, to exclude all migration from Italy by the enactment of restrictive measures which would be substantially prohibitory; but the quality of such statesmanship may well be seriously doubted. Despots indulge in radical measures, without regard to consequences, and with no other consideration than their own personal pleasure and comfort. Patriotic statesmen, on the other hand, must not hesitate to face every problem, to study it carefully and to try to find the best possible solution. The United States of America are, in my sincere conviction, not yet ripe, and will not be for a long period of years, to exclude any immigrants who are not really undesirable. The Immigration Investigating Commission very properly said in their report that an entire closing of our ports to immigrants would inevitably result in untold injury to, if not in the very annihilation of, our largest transportation and manufacturing enterprises, in a disastrous stoppage in the development of great sections of the country and in a famine of

servants and menial laborers. Italians, as a nationality, certainly do not belong *per se* to an undesirable class of immigrants. There are vast regions in the South and West and on the Pacific coast for the colonization of which they are unquestionably and pre-eminently adapted, and as manual laborers for many varieties of work which Anglo-Saxons are very loth to undertake they are beyond a doubt excellently fitted.

If they are hired out in large masses by unscrupulous padrones, let the padrone system be fought and suppressed. If they are uneducated, let our public schools take care of them. If some are afraid of their voting power, on account of their ignorance—an assumption, by the way, which is rather curious in a country with millions of negro voters—let the United States restrict their naturalization. If we do not want to receive absolute illiterates, let us exclude them by a reasonable test, but without separating families, parts of which may be already here. Let us in general exclude all undesirables, whether they are of Italian or any other nationality, but let us beware, most of all, of dangerous and thoughtless generalities which are based only on the ignorance of facts.

Since I became acquainted more fully with the many questions pertaining to immigration by actual and practical experience at this most important port of the United States, I have come to the conclusion that the final solution of the "immigration problem" is not to be found in the application to immigrants of any additional test of eligibility, but in a wise distribution of the desirable immigrants among the localities where they are especially needed and their employment in the kinds of work for which they are peculiarly fitted. A National Land and Labor Clearing House, to be established in connection with the great immigrant station at Ellis Island, with branches at the other stations, would, in my opinion, if properly conducted, prevent all possible dangers from immigration, and at the same time give this great nation all the benefits for the future which it has unquestionably derived from immigration in the past. The adoption of such a plan would also solve once for all the problem as to the immigration from Italy.

J. H. SENNER.

POLICY AND POWER OF THE A. P. A.

BY W. J. H. TRAYNOR, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

THE American Protective Association, or as it is more generally known, the A. P. A., is now in the tenth year of its existence. No organization in the history of the American Republic ever had so spontaneous a birth, so remarkable a career, so radical an effect upon American politics, or has been the subject of such general interest and friendly and adverse comment as this association, while no institution has been so widely misrepresented or misunderstood.

The American Protective Association is neither a religious body nor an institution adverse to the religion, *per se*, of any person, sect, or faith. It was organized neither to oppose the religious dogmas of any ecclesiastical corporation, nor to direct, dissect, maintain, or destroy theology, old or new. While I am fully aware that the opponents of the association, and those who, though not opposing, are uninformed, assert to the contrary, and while I am also aware that the indiscreet expressions of individual members of the order here and there have occasionally given color to such assertions, the constitution of the association does not, nor does the ritual nor secret work of the organization, warrant any such conception of the purposes of the order or any such construction of its principles.

Whether legitimately, as its advocates claim, or illegitimately, as its enemies maintain, the A. P. A. was the child of the conditions which conceived it, and not even the most antagonistic casuist will argue, in the face of philosophy and history, that so great a political revolution as that which the organization has accomplished within the short space of nine years was the absolute offspring either of religious bigotry or ignorance, though,

doubtless, like all revolutions, tinctured by the one and impeded by the other. Though cranks and bigots may combine and cause infinite mischief locally for a short time, they do not affect an entire nation nor leave their imprint upon national politics and legislation in the degree which the A. P. A. has done in its brief existence. This much at least must be conceded even by the opponents of the association.

It would be superfluous to introduce into an article of this kind the specific reasons leading up to the founding of the order, more especially as they have been discussed at some length in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of July, 1894, and again in August, 1895—or to introduce arguments *pro* or *con*. The reasons advanced by the founders of the order for its institution were based, practically, upon the following grounds:

I. That the spirit of the National Constitution was being violated in various ways by certain persons and bodies in the United States.

II. That certain members and sections of the national government were in connivance with the said violators.

III. That the conditions governing our national immigration were such as to weaken our democratic institutions and form of government and to substitute therefor a system of government not in harmony therewith.

IV. That the immigrant vote, under the direction of certain ecclesiastical institutions, had become so dominant a factor in politics as to virtually control it.

V. That this domination had resulted in political prostitution, corruption, and favoritism of the worst kind.

VI. That the great majority of the American people, while painfully cognizant of the sinister and debasing results of these conditions, and desirous of amending them, were either ignorant of any efficient means of counter-organization, or fearful of the injury to their personal interests at the hands of their powerful and organized opponents.

The current history of the period to which I refer must answer the question whether the projectors of the American Protective Association were right or wrong in their assumptions.

Although, in effect, the efforts of the organization were directed against an institution nominally theological, they were intended to antagonize only those sections of the institution which

were political as well as theological, or subversive of the principles of the National Constitution and the laws and statutes of the land. Nor was the association formed for the mere purpose of combating what its founders considered the unpatriotic attitude and politically demoralizing influences of any one or more theological bodies in particular, but rather to erase from our national statutes all legislation which had been enacted in opposition to the constitution, and to erect a barrier of legislative enactments between the church and the state that should be eternal, and prevent a recurrence of those conditions which, at that period, threatened to exalt the *ipse dixit* of the ecclesiast above the sovereign will of the people, and render the state subservient to the interests, will, and caprice of the church. The A. P. A., then, was founded, not as an organization specifically hostile to any existent institution, but rather as the exponent and champion of a principle to be maintained against all antagonistic influences, existent or prospective, whatsoever.

While there existed, and still exist, several religious sects whose principles materially conflict with the principles enunciated in the National Constitution, and which, if permitted to obtain, would result in a union of church and state, with the church the dictator, it is not strange that the founders of the A. P. A. should have selected that sect as the special object of their antagonism whose past record was least reconcilable to American conditions, and which most strongly indicated through the authoritative past and current utterances of its representatives, an intention to pursue in the future that policy which had been so subversive of liberty of conscience and person in other days, and whose strength, organization, and ability of self-assertion rendered it the most dangerous to that sovereignty of the people which the signers of the Declaration of Independence endeavored to secure and perpetuate.

It has been asserted that the American Protective Association was a mere side issue of the Loyal Orange Institution. The assertion is incorrect. The founders of the association were all non-Orangemen save one, and without exception citizens of the United States, and with only one or two exceptions native born. The immense growth of the order, from efforts that were comparatively insignificant, indicated that, while not openly expressed or practically demonstrated before, the sentiments of a

large portion of the thinking public were identical with those expressed in the principles of the organization. For the first two or three years the growth of the order was practically spontaneous, indicating that the movement was neither a craze nor the conception of cranks, but the spark of consequences which fired a train of circumstances laid by corrupt legislators and self-seeking ecclesiasts and their adherents through a course of many years. It is not surprising that a sect so tenacious of its principles, the assumed rights of its head and the antiquity of its institutions, as the Papists of the United States, were in no mood to brook any abridgment of the privileges which the perfection of their political organization had secured to them, more particularly as they (the Irish Papists especially) had been the dominant and courted element in the politics and government of the nation for many years. Their reprisals for the political opposition of the A. P. A. took the form of the deadly boycott, politically, personally, socially, and in business. This boycott was prosecuted all the more harshly from the fact that the boycotters were composed for the greater part of the most illiterate elements of the nation. Nearly every member of the A. P. A. who made himself prominent in the movement retired absolutely ruined in politics and purse, and while hundreds of thousands sympathized and accorded to the order their passive support, only a small percentage dared brave the storm of disaster that inevitably followed membership in the order. These conditions led to the enforcement of absolute secrecy both as to membership and place of meeting, but to no purpose. The daily press, which was almost unanimously adverse to the movement, took special pains to hold the order up to public odium, and to publish its membership, while the two dominant parties used every effort to crush an organization which it soon became palpable to both they could not use without seriously disarranging their own political machinery. This was the period of guerrilla warfare, when the order was too weak to meet the forces of their opponents openly in the field of politics without the certainty of defeat. It was also the period when the acts of the order were almost entirely defensive and absolutely negative.

Following this came the period of construction and organization, when the administration of the order applied itself to the adjustment of its political machinery, and its agents began to

make the principles of the organization known through many states. In a large number of our important cities the seed thus sown produced great results, and councils numbering as high as 3,000 in membership were to be found in such cities as Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, Cleveland, etc. Then followed a series of sharp, decisive political victories for the order, which surprised the oldest of political campaigners. I do not wish to be understood that the nominees of the order were generally elected; on the contrary, there were few politicians who could afford to go upon record as the candidates of, or who were acceptable to, the order, which pursued its negative policy, using its influence against the candidate with a bad political record, leaving his opponents to scramble for office among themselves; and, in this regard, it is doing the organization but simple justice to state that the Protestant candidate whose political record was bad fared no better than a Papist of the same stripe. The result, however, was undeniably creditable both to the order and to politics generally, and undoubtedly served to elevate the standard of the latter. At this time the organization had little or no following in the South, and as the Democratic party in the North was too closely affiliated with the Papist vote, the result was that the majority of the nominees of the association were nominally Republican, Prohibition, or Populist, although numberless instances might be cited where worthy Democrats were singled out of a slate that was unworthy as a whole, and elected to offices of trust by the enormous majorities which the A. P. A. vote gave.

Although between the years 1890 and 1893, the initiated membership of the order never exceeded 70,000, and was scattered but sparsely through less than twenty states, it was a period of undoubted health and usefulness from the fact that affiliation with the order was rather a disadvantage than an advantage, as it attracted to its ranks the disinterested almost exclusively. The year 1893, however, showed such remarkable success for the order in the political field that the conditions changed and the ambitious politician suddenly awoke to the realization that baptism in A. P. A. water was attended with pleasant and profitable political consequences. Of these the earnest were, for the greater part, accepted; the unworthy were rejected to a large extent, but many found their way into the order through the carelessness of investigating committees.

In the two years that followed, the order planted itself firmly in every State and Territory in the Union and was instrumental in overturning the entire political machinery in New York, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Iowa, and of California, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Washington, and Oregon, in part. With these victories commenced a general policy of active aggression and the negative tactics of the organization were practically abandoned. This, in my opinion, was a departure fraught with much danger, involving, as it necessarily must, entangling alliances with parties and political rings, and tending to destroy that political independence, without which the order must inevitably gravitate into the arms of one or other of the old parties and become absorbed. Fortunately the change brought its own rebuke, with sufficient force to demonstrate the danger of the departure as a general policy, a rebuke which the ingratitude of the old parties was mainly instrumental in administering. Party candidates, elected almost entirely through the efforts of the order, in many cases either repudiated their pledges or evaded them, and the experience, although bitter, was a most salutary one to the organization, which has wisely learned to distrust the pledges of those who do not possess the moral courage to make them openly or before the altars of the order.

The opening of the Fifty-fourth Congress demonstrated the power of the Organization in the political field as no event had previously done. Nearly one hundred members of the House of Representatives were elected to office, pledged to support the platform of the order, either as a whole or in part, while several members of the Senate were elected under similar conditions. It would be as unfair as it is untrue to assert that the great majority of these were honestly the friends of the American Protective Association or imbued with the principles of the organization. On the contrary, I am bound to admit, even although their subsequent conduct had not plainly revealed the fact, that many accepted A. P. A. principles as a means to the end of obtaining A. P. A. votes, and lost no time in repudiating the principles when their political interests suggested the repudiation. I am bound also to admit that, excepting a score or so of the members of the order, who now occupy seats in Congress, the representatives of that organization in that body are among the weakest and

least reliable members of the order. While I do not impugn the personal honor of these, their political good faith is certainly open to question, nor could any other result be expected when the governing conditions are examined. In no instance was a representative elected as an A. P. A. He was placed in office as a member of one or other of the existent political parties. Hence, he primarily was a member of the political party with which he was affiliated, and only secondarily a member of the organization, whose platform was considered injudicious even if not politically pernicious by all parties who were compelled to cater, more or less, to the "Catholic vote." Thus he stood in the position of a man with two masters, the one promising material, the other moral, rewards, the one threatening material, the other moral, punishments. While it is eminently to the credit of those who have maintained their obligations to the order entire, it must be confessed that the laxity of some of the political committees of the order, and the strong spirit of partyism which has prevailed in some sections, are to blame that all our representatives in the national Legislature are not primarily and entirely members of our order both nominally and practically. The aphorism that half a loaf is better than no bread has exercised a most pernicious and enervating influence upon the organization in many sections, pernicious because it has paved the way for compromises with those acts of the old parties which the order was organized most strenuously to resist; and enervating because it leads to the suggestion that the least of two evils is in itself good.

It should have been the unfaltering policy of all the political heads and boards of the association to maintain the position of endorsing no political candidate who was unprepared to pledge himself openly to the principles of the order, and, as an alternative, to place an independent candidate in the field, even in the face of inevitable defeat—defeat under such conditions being infinitely preferable to a victory so questionable, and involving such serious consequences to the order as in many cases it has.

While such mistakes perpetuated would have inevitably brought the career of the association to a sudden and inglorious close, they have more than served the purpose of awakening its membership to a realization of the extreme danger of a policy of compromise, in which the A. P. A. was so dominant before and so insignificant after election.

Except in a few sections where, from strong party affection, or other causes less honorable, party considerations have practically converted the order into party rings, the members of the organization have set their faces against such combinations, and, although a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat or Republican who is a stronger partisan than he is an A. P. A. may be found here and there in the order, the fact is due to one of two reasons: he either receives, or expects to receive, pecuniary equivalents for his loyalty, or else is in the order for the mere purpose of destroying it.

Much has been written of late regarding the action of the National Advisory Board of the order and the postulants for the Presidency of the United States, which has tended to mislead the public and to create the impression, even among some of the members of the order, that the supreme body had set itself up as the guardian of and dictator to the membership at large. Many of the daily newspapers have even asserted that the Executive Committee of the Advisory Board had issued a mandate for the slaughter of McKinley in the interest of Reed and Morton or Platt. Even were it true that the committee possessed such power, it is not the less true that any administration of the A. P. A., or any officer or board thereof, who were so imprudent as to issue a mandate or advisory circular advocating the support of any Presidential nominee who had not previously and uncompromisingly subscribed to the principles of the American Protective Association would find themselves in the position of a government without a people. Bradley and Linton are the only candidates who are to be considered as entirely unobjectionable to the order, but the utmost that the National Advisory or any other board or officer has the power to do is to advise, and even this advisory power is subject to the approval of the Supreme Council in session. The A. P. A. is a government of the people pure and simple, a government wherein the officers and boards are the mere servants and executors of the mandates of their electors, and the agents of political aspirants and party rings will save themselves countless money and much time who early realize the fact that no one member of the organization can deliver to any candidate more than one vote—his own—no matter whether he be private or officer, the chief of a board, or the Supreme President himself. The constitution

was framed to keep the order free from those evils which have made the old parties insufferable; the moment this safeguard is broken down and the power is placed in the hands of any one man to deliver the votes of the order to any one person, party, or interest, the dissolution of the organization will have commenced.

The American Protective Association is the strongest and purest political force that the Western world ever knew. It grew from the parent stem of pure motives and patriotism. I have taken pains to point out its weaknesses and have dwelt but briefly upon its many merits. It is intensely human and, therefore, very imperfect, yet imperfect as it is there is nothing like it in the world. It holds the political balance of power in the United States, with its membership of nearly 2,500,000 persons, who influence at least 4,000,000 votes.

Finally it should not be forgotten that ninety-five per cent. of the members of the order are Americans first, A. P. A.'s next, and elements of party last of all; and that, should the old parties refuse to publicly recognize and endorse the essential principles of the order, an independent Presidential candidate is not only a possibility but an absolute certainty, even though such a course should lead to the defeat of the dominant political party and the organization itself.

W. J. H. Traynor.

HOW TO ARREST THE INCREASE OF HOMICIDES IN AMERICA.

BY THE HON. I. C. PARKER, JUDGE OF THE U. S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF ARKANSAS.

It must be conceded that we are in a peculiar condition in this nation to-day—in such a condition that, in my judgment, one of the greatest problems which have ever presented themselves to the minds of the people is confronting us. That problem is whether crime, and especially crime which destroys innocent human life, shall be triumphant; whether the man of blood, the man of vicious disposition, the man who destroys human life, shall be the despotic ruler, or whether the law of the land shall exert its peaceful sway, and by its protecting power secure all men in their lives under their own roof-tree or wherever they may be. It is a great problem. It is one which is exciting the interest of all good men in the land. We find the great educators of the people, the newspapers of the country, have discovered the evil and are agitating the method of finding a remedy. We find the matter discussed in the law journals of the nation, in the lectures of judges, in statements by professors of colleges, and we find it presented in the most forcible wav from the pulpits of the land.

When we go to facts, we find that during the last six years there have been 43,902 homicides in the United States, an average of 7,317 per year. In the same time there have been 723 legal executions and 1,118 lynchings. These startling figures show that crime is rapidly increasing instead of diminishing. In the last year 10,500 persons were killed, or at the rate of 875 per month, whereas in 1890 there were only 4,290, or less than half as many as in 1895. This bloody record shows a fearful

increase of the crime which destroys human life. We are all alike anxious for a remedy, but before we can obtain one we must know the cause. We can easily recognize that the greatest evil of any civilized age is confronting us, not only in the shape of crimes committed by individuals, but also of crimes committed by masses of men who are endeavoring by bloody and improper means to seek a remedy—I mean those who band themselves together as mobs to seek that protection which they fail to obtain under the forms of law.

What are the causes of this fearful condition? It can not be because either in the states or nation we have a defective system of laws, because almost every violation of a human right which is serious in its nature is declared a crime and is punished by the laws of the states or the nation. In fact, it may be said that we have the most magnificent system of laws defining crimes.

Judge Elliot Anthony, President of the Illinois State Bar Association, at its Eighteenth Annual Meeting, held January 24, 1895, at Springfield, Ill., when speaking along this line, said:

"There is no subject at the present time before the American people of such transcendent importance as that of the administration of the criminal law. It is as a general rule the least studied and the least understood by our judges of any branches of the law. Many, up to the time of their accession to the bench, never tried a criminal case in a court of record, and, consequently, they have no appreciation whatever of the fine points of the law or what is required by the Supreme Court to sustain a verdict in a case when it has once been obtained, and, what is worse, they do not study to master the subject.

"Our methods of criminal procedure are vicious, and our criminal practice still worse.

"The rights of the defendant are regarded as supreme, while those of the public are almost entirely disregarded and ignored. . . .

"The history of crime is interwoven to a greater or less extent with every government, and will always be the most momentous question with which the human race has to deal. It is the great problem of civilization.

"He who has not thought upon it has thought little about humanity, and he who has not paid some attention to the criminal law of his country has not received a liberal education.

"It ought to be administered with intelligence and enlightenment, but it is not. The great effort seems to be to involve every investigation of crime in a network of subtleties, artificial distinctions, and downright quibbles, shut out all the incriminating evidence possible, then decide the case on some technicality.

"There is dissatisfaction everywhere throughout the country in regard to the methods adopted and the course pursued by our courts in dealing with the violators of the law, and it is but little wonder that the people in

some of the oldest portions of the Republic have at times become exasperated at the trifling and juggling which are allowed, and have wreaked summary vengeance on thugs and assassins, to the disgrace of civilization and the age in which we live.

"Public rights seem to be held in much lower estimation than private rights, and as between the living and the dead there is no equality whatever."

The truth about it is, for some reason or another, and the reason to my mind is manifest, the administration of the law affecting the civil rights of the citizen, his property rights growing out of controversies between man and man upon contracts, has come to be regarded as of much more importance than the enforcement of the law which protects the life of the citizen. All can notice that. The criminal law and its administration has rather fallen into disgrace. That is especially true of the large cities of the country. All must agree it is more important to protect a man's life than it is his property. If the man's life is destroyed, if the assassin fires into his house and takes away his life, is that not a greater deprivation than to deprive him of his horse or his cow, or even of all the other property which he possesses? Now, why is this the case? It is largely because of the corrupt methods resorted to to defeat the law's administration, and because courts of justice look to the shadow in the shape of technicalities rather than to the substance in the shape of crime.

In 1889 David Dudley Field, in addressing the American Bar Association, of which he was the president, said:

"We are a boastful people; we make no end of saying what great things we have done and are doing; and yet, behind these brilliant shows, there stands a spectre of halting justice, such as is to be seen in no other part of Christendom. So far as I am aware, there is no other country calling itself civilized, where it is so difficult to convict and punish a criminal, and where it takes so many years to get a final decision between man and man. Truly we may say that justice passes through the land on leaden sandals.

"The judges of the Supreme Court have it in their power to establish by their decisions such a body of criminal law as they see fit. They are hampered very little by statutes and none whatever in regard to the determination of the guilt or innocence of the accused. To build up and establish an arbitrary system of rules and regulations is not the true object and aim of an enlightened judiciary.

"What society demands and common sense demands is this: If a man is charged with a crime, then the question should be, is he innocent or guilty? not did the judge err when he told the jury that they must be 'satisfied' of the guilt of the accused, instead of 'believe' him guilty, after a full consideration of all the evidence."

Now, the condition is so serious—and it is growing more so all the time—that there must be some remedy. It is true that the people may live under the government of one party or the other; they may live whether we have a single or double monetary standard; they may live with a high tariff, or low tariff, or no tariff at all; but they cannot live and prosper with crime in the ascendant, and with the man of crime as the despotic ruler. The country cannot survive a demoralized people swayed and dominated by the man of crime. Its people must have some way by which they can secure the blessings, in the shape of protection to life and property, arising alone from the entire supremacy of the civil law of the land. This can be obtained only in the courts of the country where a full, fair, impartial, and rapid vindication of the law by the honest people of the land can be had.

The cause of this condition springs in part from a morbid, diseased public sentiment, which begets undue sympathy for the criminal, and has none whatever for his murdered victim. It grows out of the indifference of the people to the enforcement of the criminal law. It arises from corrupt verdicts begotten by frauds and perjuries. It arises from the undue exercise of influence, either monetary, social, or otherwise, so that juries are carried away from the line of duty. It is often brought into existence by the indifference and negligence of trial courts, for it cannot be said that courts have done their duty when so many murderers escape. To the dereliction of appellate courts this relic of barbarism, the mob, can be largely attributed. To their action, as a rule, may we look for the source of this revolting method of undertaking to secure protection. In fact, the greatest cause of the increase of crime is the action of the appellate courts, which very largely exist in order to consider and act on alleged flaws in the records of the trial tribunals. They make most strenuous efforts, as a rule, to see not when they can affirm but when they can reverse a case. Their conduct encourages the legal practice that is altogether in the interest of the man of crime.

Some attribute this condition to the jury system, and they therefore advocate its abolition. This, in my judgment, is not a correct conclusion. I would not abate one jot or tittle of the importance and dignity of this great right of trial by jury, for it

is a cherished right which is guaranteed to us by the constitution and laws of the land. It is an historical and essential part of the free institutions of this country. It is the very bulwark of liberty in this land. It naturally springs out of our institutions. It tends to support and perpetuate them. It teaches love of liberty regulated by law. It teaches a reverence for and obedience to the constitution and laws. It is the source of our greatest peace and the foundation of our hopes for the future. The jury represent the great majesty of the people, the mighty power of the law. But to do this they must by their action speak with the voice of truth. To do this they must be guided by courts honest and brave enough to stand by the law and its enforcement. When the juries are thus guided, in a majority of cases they render that justice which is the great standing pillar of civil society. They teach an object lesson of the most important character to the bad, the vicious, and the criminal. They give these to understand that they have the power of the law and its enforcement to overcome if they commit crime. To the good and peaceable and law-abiding they teach that they can depend upon the law for protection and security.

It is manifest that appellate courts can know nothing of the real trial as it did occur, yet they are not deterred from granting new trials and practically co-operating with unscrupulous attorneys for the escape of men guilty of the most wicked murders. Appellate courts too frequently seem to think that superior knowledge of the law is shown not by affirming the action of the trial court, but by standing in antagonism to it, and by criticising its action. It is like the case of the bold, open critic, who frequently gets credit for superior knowledge by the audacity of his criticism, when in fact he knows nothing of the subject. Appellate courts are very often made up of men wanting in knowledge of the most elementary principles of the criminal law, for they have never either studied or practiced it. With this want of knowledge of the very law they are seeking to administer, they try the case, not on its merits to determine the guilt or innocence of the man, but they try it by some technical rule which has really no relation to the guilt or innocence of the accused.

If we are to seek protection under the law against crime we must fully endorse the sentiment expressed by Mr. Justice

Brewer, made recently in a speech by him before the American Bar Association, where he said:

"I say it with reluctance, but the truth is, you may trust the jury to do justice to the accused with more safety than you can the appellate court to secure protection to the public by the speedy punishment of a criminal."

The action of appellate courts upon cases where crimes have been committed is, in my judgment, of all others the most fruitful cause of the increase of crime. It it is not so much the severity of punishment as it is its certainty which is effective. Let capture be sure and punishment certain, and crime is in a measure destroyed.

What, then, is the remedy? How can we correct this condition of blood? It must be corrected, for if not the man of crime will soon be in the ascendant. To correct this awful condition the press of the nation must exert its power, the courts and statesmen and the pulpit must all combine to build up a strong, active, aggressive, public sentiment favoring the supremacy under all circumstances of the law, its vigorous and speedy administration, with a view to ascertaining guilt or innocence, and punishing the one tainted with guilt, and protecting the one who is innocent. The rights affected by the man of crime being the most important and the most sacred of all others, this issue of protection to life should be paramount to all other issues, should be the chief one of the hour. A plank should be placed in the platform of the great national parties speaking in unmistakable tones in favor of the vigorous enforcement of the law, the suppression of crime, and the extinction of the mob—this disgrace of our Christianity and our civilization. The people should be awakened, and the drawn sword of justice should be in the hands of every honest citizen whether called to the jury box or only exerting an influence for peace, law, and order as a citizen.

To destroy the greatest of all promoters of crime, I would remodel the appellate court system. I would organize in the states and in the nation courts of criminal appeals, made up of judges learned in the criminal law, and governed by a desire for its speedy and vigorous enforcement. I would have sent to these courts a full record of the trial, and they should be compelled to pass upon the case as soon as possible, according to its merits, and ascertain the guilt or innocence of the accused from the truth and the law of the case manifest on the record. I would brush

aside all technicalities that did not affect the guilt or innocence of the accused. I would not permit them to act on a partial record, or on any technical pleas concocted by cunning minds. I would provide by law against the reversal of cases unless upon their merits innocence was manifest. The guilt or innocence of the party should be the guide. I would require prompt action on the part of these courts. By the establishment of courts of this kind public confidence, in a great measure lost at the present time, would be restored, and the people would again be taught to depend upon legal protection against crime, and in this way a vigorous support to the courts and juries would be given by the masses of the people looking toward the law's vindication.

The necessity for a court of criminal appeals for the United States is, in my judgment, of the most urgent character. According to the Attorney-General's report, last year there were convicted of crimes in the United States 15,430 persons. The crimes mostly affected liberty, but a good many affected life.

Of course, the party convicted should have the right in every case or having his case reviewed upon writ of error. The opportunity for reviews should be made easy for him; even in cases where he could not pay the expense, the privilege should be given him at the cost of the government; but the review should take place at once, and when it comes to be passed upon it should be upon its merits. I would give every man the right to have his case before this court of criminal appeals, but at the same time I would guard the right so as to make it entirely effective to secure the most vigorous enforcement of the law, and at the same time protect the innocence of the accused.

My judgment is that, if the people will turn their attention to this gravest of all questions and build up a public sentiment which will secure a vigorous and pure administration of the law in the trial courts, and then see to it that their law makers provide for the establishment of these courts of criminal appeals where cases can be passed upon by men who are entirely conversant with the criminal law of the land, crime in a large measure will decrease, and mobs will be entirely destroyed; for I believe it to be a cardinal truth that where the law is properly enforced, the people are more than willing to look to the law for security than to any method which is in violation of the law.

I. C. PARKER.

THE OUTLOOK FOR SILVER.

BY DR. OTTO ARENDT, EDITOR *DEUTCHES WOCHENBLATT*, MEMBER OF THE PRUSSIAN HOUSE OF DEPUTIES AND OF THE GERMAN SILVER COMMISSION OF 1894.

A THIRTY YEARS' WAR, or very nearly, has been waged over the equal monetary rights of silver and gold—a war as fatal in its consequences as the religious war of the seventeenth century. It was at the first monetary conference at Paris in 1867 that the theory of the single gold standard won its first and decisive victory. If to-day, after thirty years, we look back on those discussions, we see that all the suppositions then made in this respect were erroneous. The first and foremost object was to attain unity of standard through the gold standard; instead of this, the result has been that the world suffers from differences in money value such as never existed before. The principle that a fixed ratio of values between the two precious metals is possible was condemned; yet after thirty years the British House of Commons unanimously declares that the government should do everything in its power to obtain and secure a fixed ratio between the two precious metals.

If the nations could live the past thirty years over again, with the experience gained since, there is no doubt that the luckless experiment of imitating the English gold standard would not be repeated, but on the contrary each nation would strive to strengthen the double standard of the Latin Monetary Union, which secured to the world's commerce the stability of the ratio of values and the most stable value of money conceivable, amid the greatest fluctuations in the production. It certainly does not speak well for the gold standard that everybody now regrets that the warning voices of a Wolowski and a Seyd, thirty years ago, were not heard, which predicted the grave economic crisis

as the consequence of the confusion in regard to the money standard.

The whole conflict of opinions at that time consisted in this, that in the opinion of one school, the French double standard maintained itself so long as the market price of the precious metals corresponded to it, while in the opinion of the other school, the market price of the precious metals corresponded to the French double standard so long as that standard was in operation. In this case, too, the facts have brought the proof. If there ever was a fact irrefutably demonstrated it is this, that the depreciation of silver was the consequence of the change in monetary laws. This can no longer be seriously questioned after witnessing the consequences of the closure of the Indian mints. The evils of the silver depreciation are everywhere recognized, and even in non-bimetallist circles the impression prevails which Prince Bismarck on one occasion voiced in private conversation: "We have got into a swamp with our gold standard, and we don't know how to get out." The worst is that we are getting deeper and deeper into the swamp and that it is becoming harder and harder to get out.

If at the Paris Monetary Conference of 1881 theory had not been thrust to the front, the solution would have been easy. I then vainly urged on the late Dana Horton and Henri Cernuschi that we ought to be content with what was then attainable. Instead of this, the United States, by their perverse monetary policy, made it easier for the European gold powers to maintain the gold standard.

When I first joined in the battle of the standards, in 1880, I tried to show that the international double standard does not presuppose the participation of England, but that on the contrary it would be more advantageous for Germany, France, and the United States if they adopted bimetallism without England. Either a fixed parity between silver and gold would then be attained, and then England would have no advantage; or gold would remain at a premium, and then England would be the land of the highest money value, to which every one would be anxious to sell and from which no one would willingly buy. Her economic decline would thus be inevitable.

About 1885 I secured the acceptance of this view, which I still regard as correct. For ten years the German bimetallist party strove, unfortunately without success, to realize the pro-

gramme: Bimetallism without England, in connection with the Latin Monetary Union and the United States. If in 1895 we decided to recognize the participation of England as an indispensable prerequisite to the adoption of the double standard by Germany, it was not because our monetary views had undergone a change, but because we recognized that we made no headway with our former programme. If the silver price had declined still more, or if the decrease in the gold production, down to about 1885, had continued still farther, the maintenance of the gold standard would have been impossible. But the gold production unexpectedly increased, and the silver price rose, so that the situation became more endurable, especially for commerce and industry. A respite was thus created for the gold standard.

How long the gold production will maintain its present figure, no one can tell. I believe with Suess that "the greater the production, the sooner will the end be reached." In the same way, the movement of the silver price defies prediction. No one can tell whether silver four weeks hence will be quoted at 26 pence, 31 pence or 36 pence. Every fluctuation of the silver price intensifies the disturbances due to the gold standard. If the silver price is rather stable, or even slowly rising, as happens to be the case at this moment, certain circles feel a degree of reassurance. People think they can plod along under such conditions, until a sudden and great fluctuation once more shows the untenable character of the present situation.

That a universal gold standard might be introduced is conceivable. But that it is practically impossible to obtain the gold necessary for that purpose, is to-day admitted by the most inveterate gold men. Accordingly the typical gold man of to-day always demands the gold standard only for *his* country. In London the saying is that England must adhere to the gold standard, but that it is very much to be desired that the rest of the world should adopt bimetallism. But the gold standard man of Germany wishes to have his country in agreement with England on the money standard. Austria-Hungary does not wish to depart from the German standard, nor Rumania from that of Austria-Hungary; and thus the present state of affairs necessarily leads to the extension of the gold standard, which is everywhere recognized as dangerous and impossible.

One land after the other makes abortive attempts to introduce the gold standard, and lapses into fiat money. This is no longer the exceptional condition in the case of ruined finances, but it is the rule with all debtor countries. The attempts made in Russia and Austria-Hungary to introduce the gold standard will lead to no other result than that obtained in Italy; the gold has to be locked up or it will flow out of the country; and the first untoward event causes the reappearance of the gold premium, higher than ever. If the United States has thus far escaped fiat money, it is solely owing to the increase of the gold production. On this increase in fact depends the very possibility of the existence of the gold standard. The bad news from the Transvaal and from West Australia are more decisive than all declarations of British Ministers. If a crash is imminent in West Australia, as would appear from the reports of Mining Councilor Schmeisser, if it is true that in the Transvaal the climax of the gold production has already been passed, if the wealth of Colorado is destined to be quickly exhausted by American energy—then it will not be long before all talk of a gold standard will subside; and that point may be reached in a few years.

Now, the question is, whether the great revolution which, in that event, is bound to occur may not be forestalled by common measures adopted by the nations for the rehabilitation of silver. On this question we have been at work during a quarter of a century. The people of the United States were the first to understand it and to favor international bimetallism. And yet, in my opinion, it is mainly the fault of the United States that bimetallism has not yet been brought about. The Americans ignored the great fundamental laws of circulation in trying to save silver by the experiments of the Bland and Sherman laws. What silver wanted was not the *demand*, for that is *unlimited*. Silver has has never yet lacked purchasers. What has been lacking since the abolition of the double standard is the fixed place of exchange between silver and gold, which can only be created by unlimited demand for both precious metals at a fixed ratio of values. Hence, limited coinage or limited purchases, such as were made in the United States from 1878 to 1894, are altogether inadequate. They wrought harm to the bimetallist cause, because their failure was exploited by the gold party, and because they stimulated the silver production. Had the United States

declined every compromise and solely aimed at international bimetallism, the silver depreciation and the scarcity of gold would have been more severe in Europe, and a transition to bimetallism would long ago have been found.

If it is now desired to perpetuate the gold standard in Europe, let the government at Washington adopt free coinage of silver at the ratio of 1:16. At present, after the closure of the Indian mints, this step could not possibly have any other result than to make the American standard a silver standard. The price of silver of course would rise, but not to 59 pence and not permanently. The United States would have a standard not materially different from that of Mexico. All the disadvantages and all the advantages of a fluctuating and depreciated money standard would follow. Gold monometallism would be replaced by silver monometallism; the double standard would become nominal. No bimetallist can approve of this. Free coinage of silver in the United States would result in harm to Europe no doubt, but also in advantage. Perhaps the harm would predominate; but one thing is certain: the absorption of the American gold, the continual supplies coming from the American gold production, would for a long time to come relieve the European powers of all anxiety for their gold standard. The monetary anarchy would thus be perpetuated for a space of time beyond estimation. Only by insisting in all countries in an unequivocal manner on the international solution of the currency question, can international bimetallism be attained. "No more experiments!" is therefore the only appeal which the European bimetallists address to those of America; no silver purchases, no silver coinage, otherwise than on the basis of international agreement; and no more abortive attempts to bring them about.

It is my conviction that the bimetallists can easily refute all the arguments of the gold party that relate to principle. But there is one argument that they can not refute, and for this the gold party owes thanks to the unskilful monetary diplomacy of America. Whenever we bimetallists of Europe allude to international currency negotiations, we are driven from the field by a reference to the comedy of questions at the last monetary conference at Brussels in 1892; and in its criticisms of that conference the gold party is right. At a time inopportune for Europe, without any previous understanding with the leaders of the

bimetallist movement in Europe, without any programme, nay even without any real directorship, the United States called this monetary conference. I was in Brussels at the time and talked with the American delegates. Some of them were Republicans, some Democrats. The Republicans said: "We can do nothing, for although we still control the government, the Democrats have carried the elections." The Democrats said: "We can do nothing either, for the Republicans are still in power." Now of course a monetary conference has a practical meaning and purpose only if practical proposals are brought forward. No such proposals were made by the Americans; on the contrary they left it to chance to have any proposals made. Thus some speeches were delivered for and against the gold standard, a number of dinners were given, and then the delegates departed, having succeeded in thoroughly discrediting monetary conferences. Balfour's declaration, that monetary conferences are of evil unless governments have come to an understanding beforehand, is illustrated by the events just described.

What, then, is the prospect of arriving at such an understanding? Worse than ever—or better than ever, according as you manage it.

The prospect is worse than ever if the cry is, All or nothing! Bimetallism in its fulness can be obtained in Europe only by including England; and England can not be induced to give up the gold standard within a measurable time—say, until the changed conditions of the precious metal production begin to be felt. In Germany everybody recognizes that the German empire must *keep pace* with England—that is to say, not go farther.

On the other hand, the chances of bimetallism are better than ever, if what is attainable can be recognized and measures taken to reach it gradually.

All European countries are agreed that the raising and fixing of the value of silver are in harmony with important economic interests. No country will refuse to co-operate in this. Is it possible on this restricted basis to overcome the prejudice against silver?

The United States alone can not establish the double standard by adopting free coinage; they would shift over to the silver standard, and we should vainly wait for a stable ratio of values.

But if the nations in common create an unlimited demand for silver at a fixed gold price, and in this way create a fixed ratio, then the United States, as well as other countries, may open their mints to silver; and then that which to-day is unattainable by compulsion will be done voluntarily: silver will again be coined. A constant interchange of opinions is going on among European bimetallists in order to work out the details of such a procedure. As soon as the programme is agreed on, which is to be done at a conference soon to be held in Brussels, it will be the task of practical politics to submit the programme to a monetary conference.

Meantime we are content to let the peculiar European, and in particular the German, gold standard press do most of the talking. They are the same journals and the same elements that erstwhile fought against a protective tariff in Germany. They are loud but powerless. In our parliaments we have a most decided majority, which hails with delight every rational international regulation of the currency question, and in our government we have pronounced and well-informed bimetallists. The fury with which bimetallists are here attacked is downright comical. One of the favorite arguments is that we are bribed by the owners of American silver mines! Of course it is understood that all American politicians friendly to silver, and the bimetallists of all other countries, are also bribed by "Nevada" (where no silver is found any longer). However low one may estimate these bribes, still the mine owners must spend on them considerably more than their mines pay them. At the same time the fact that we aim at *international* bimetallism is purposely passed over in silence. We are said to be grieved because we have not in Germany a radical silver party, such as you have. I think that the time of monetary polemics has passed. The dispute is no longer as to whether silver is to be restored to its function as world's money, but merely how it is to be done. In regard to this "How?" we hope soon to send you detailed proposals across the Atlantic. Only please do not disturb our circles by silver experiments on your side!

As in your country, so in Europe, the currency question is becoming more and more a political question. This on the one hand weakens the bimetallist position, inasmuch as the resistance is strengthened, but on the other hand it forms the basis of our

power in the parliaments of the various countries, especially in England. The English Cabinet overcame the difficulties this time by a sort of strategy, but that manœuvre will not always succeed, and for that reason the Cabinet of St. James's has to use every means to get out of the blind alley. In the Cabinet both the parties on the currency are represented; in the House of Commons the bimetallists have the majority in the very party now in power. Balfour succeeded for the present in inducing the bimetallists to tone down their resolution, in return for the promise that the Cabinet would then stand united in favor of the resolution. The gold party was unable to oppose this resolution; it was contented with the ministerial declaration that the English gold standard is not to be interfered with. But henceforth England is bound to this extent, that she must do everything in her power by international treaty to bring about a fixed ratio of values between silver and gold.

This resolution of the English House of Commons characterizes the situation. The object to be attained now is to *bring about* bimetallism without *naming* it.

Long struggles generally end without a radical solution. The struggle over the principles of currency will continue until finally the conviction gains practical acceptance that silver must have a fixed gold value. But when the price of silver no longer fluctuates, the reasons against its coinage disappear. The fluctuations in the value of silver may then be obviated by unlimited coinage of silver at a fixed ratio. It may, however, be possible also to facilitate the resumption of silver coinage, by measures securing a fixed value of silver. The latter way is perhaps circuitous, but yet it is at present the feasible way. The European bimetallists hope by this circuitous route to arrive at the goal more quickly than by the direct route. We are laboring for the same end on both sides of the Atlantic: for the termination of the monetary anarchy, for the international regulation of the currency question, the only method suitable to modern commerce. We are convinced that the aim will be all the more quickly attained if the bimetallists of all countries proceed in unison, as they are now doing, thanks to the conference held at Paris in December, 1895.

OTTO ARENDT.

ENGLAND'S COLONIAL EMPIRE.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

ACCORDING to the latest statistics the vast political aggregate known as the British Empire, whose territories are distributed through Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceanica and America, embraces within its limits 11,257,128 square miles, inhabited by a population estimated at 379,489,481. The merchant marine which maintains the intercommunication between these widely scattered dominions and other nations consists of 11,536 vessels of an aggregate tonnage of 13,242,662, which is more than half of the entire tonnage of the world. As the focus of the ever-extending commerce thus carried on under one political system between men of every race and every clime, London has become a universal clearing-house, in which values are measured only by the standard of gold which the British Empire produces in greater quantities than any other power. Its production of that metal during the ten years from 1885 to 1894, both inclusive, was £101,742,000 against £163,132,000 produced by all other nations combined. The total exports and imports of the Empire for the last fiscal year have been estimated at £1,173,250,000. The British colonies, it is said, import but thirty per cent. of their requirements from foreign countries, while their exports to such countries do not exceed forty per cent. A mere list of the banks by which the financial and commercial affairs of this complex machine are facilitated is bewildering, while the amount of capital employed is enormous. The total settlements made through the London clearing-house during the year ending December 31, 1894, amounted to £6,337,000,000. In order to defend these vast and priceless interests England has been forced to become the first of sea-powers, her navy now consisting of 235 vessels (not including

162 torpedo boats and many stationary and sailing vessels) of a total tonnage of 515,307. All human affairs are so pervaded by the influence of this great and growing aggregate that every practical man charged with large responsibilities, be he merchant, manufacturer, financier, diplomat or statesman, is compelled to reckon continually with a force which confronts him on every hand. And yet comparatively few people have a clear and definite idea either of the details of the process by which this great fabric was built up, or of the political system by which it is held together and governed.

No great thing ever had a smaller beginning than the world-power whose heart beats at London. The history of its evolution is simply the history of the process through which the little Teutonic kingdom called "Wessex has grown into England, England into Great Britain, Great Britain into the United Kingdom, the United Kingdom into the British Empire," a process which has been gradually unfolding itself during the fourteen centuries that have elapsed since the Teutonic conquest and settlement of Britain began. The history of that process breaks itself naturally into two broad divisions: the first embracing the making of England itself and the subsequent drawing together by force of its authority of the whole of the British Isles under the legal title of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (449–1801); the second embracing the acquisition of all the territories now possessed by the United Kingdom outside of the original group (1606–1896). The purpose of this paper will be to outline the growth of the English colonial system whose history begins with the voyages of the Cabots along the American coast in 1497–98. By their discoveries was laid the foundation of England's claim to the soil of the New World, actual possession of which was first taken under the charter granted to the Virginia Company in 1606. Preceded by the Spanish, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, the English was the last of the European nations to enter upon the work of colonization which has resulted in their present commercial supremacy.

The marvellous success which the English have had since that time as a colonizing nation must be attributed to two traits inherent in the race itself; first, the daring spirit of adventure inherited from the Vikings, which has impelled English colonists to make new conquests in every clime; second, the power to

keep and govern all such acquisitions through the inevitable and involuntary reproduction in the new land of the political system of the old. When the Teutonic conquerors came from the mainland to subdue Britain, the work was done by small companies who, in obedience to race instincts, grouped themselves together in townships out of whose unions arose the larger aggregates finally bound up in the English kingdom. The power to subdue a new country, and then to build up a new state by this process of aggregation, constitutes the strength of the English nation as a colonizing nation. England's first colonial difficulty grew out of the new theory of colonial rights which necessarily resulted from the difference in organization between the ancient and the modern state. When a band of emigrants went forth from a city-commonwealth of ancient Greece, they left the old state or city behind them, and a new state at once arose wherever a new city was founded. A Greek colony thus formed was from its very nature independent of the mother state, although the tie of kinship might constitute a bond of perpetual alliance between them. But when, after the discovery of Columbus, bands of emigrants went forth from modern states, organized not as cities but as nations, the new theory arose that, as the emigrant was still a member of the nation, he simply carried the old state along with him wherever he might make a new settlement. Thus it came to be understood that "where Englishmen are there is England, where Frenchmen are there is France, and so the possessions of France in North America were called New France, and one group at least of the English possessions New England." The supreme control of the mother state over the colony which necessarily resulted from this new conception was first asserted over the English colonies in America through the ordaining power of the king in council, for the reason that all rights and immunities as English subjects came to them through royal charters which, as between the colonists and the Crown, were irrevocable but not non-forfeitable contracts. Under such instruments the American colonists were permitted by the English Crown to enjoy nearly every privilege of self-government, except the right to regulate their own trade, which was to be managed by the mother country for the benefit of the home trader. Upon these two antagonistic principles of local self-government and foreign control was founded England's old colonial system as distinguished from

the new, under which Crown colonies are governed by administrative methods without representative assemblies. A fatal conflict between the antagonistic principles of the old colonial system arose when the English Parliament, which the American colonies regarded as little more than the legislative organ of the United Kingdom, assumed sovereignty over them, and attempted to tax them and legislate for them just as it did for the people of Kent and Middlesex. Ignoring the fact that the United Kingdom had grown into an empire since their work of colonization had begun, the colonists rejected Burke's theory that the English Parliament had thus become endowed with an "imperial character, in which, as from the throne of Heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislations, and guides and controls them without annihilating any." Out of the rejection of the theory of the omnipotence of an Imperial Parliament over self-governing communities beyond the four seas grew the War of the Revolution, and the severance of the group of colonies out of whose union has arisen the Federal Republic of the United States. But their secession had no effect whatever upon the theory of colonial rights which they rejected, so far as the mother state was concerned. The fact still remained that England had grown into an empire, and by virtue of that fact, and not by virtue of any positive law whatever, the Parliament of the United Kingdom was endowed with the imperial character which Burke attributed to it. While the term "British Empire," often used for convenience in treaties, and "Imperial Parliament" are purely conventional terms, the principle which they embody is the governing force which guides and controls the English colonial system as it now exists.

All of the colonial possessions of the United Kingdom beyond the four seas, excepting such military and naval stations as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus and Aden, constitute four great groups of territory inhabited chiefly or to a great extent by men of English blood, which may be enumerated as follows: the North American possessions; the West Indian Islands, in connection with which may be considered the English possessions in Central and South America; the English possessions in South Africa, and the possessions in Australasia. And last and apart from these four groups must be considered the great dependency of India, where a completely foreign race is ruled by English

officials under administrative forms which constitute an exception to the English colonial system as it exists elsewhere.

The vast expanse of territory known as Canada, which stretches from the northern boundary of the United States to the North Pole, embraces within its limits three groups of settlements: in the east, the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Labrador; in the centre, old Canada, comprising the present provinces of Quebec and Ontario; in the west, British Columbia, the province of Manitoba, and the districts of Alberta, Athabasca, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. The history of this aggregate really begins with the first permanent settlement made by the French, whose title rested upon the voyage of the Florentine navigator Verazzano, who, in 1524, coasted under the French flag from Florida to Cape Breton. To the vaguely defined region thus appropriated as "La Nouvelle France," Jacques Cartier came ten years later, taking possession of the mainland in the name of his king, and penetrating as far as the present sites of Montreal and Quebec. Not, however, until 1608, was a regular settlement made of the province of Quebec. Then it was that Champlain landed at the site of the city of that name, which became the seat of the Récollet and Jesuit missions, carried out under trying circumstances during the century and a half that followed that event. As early as 1713 Great Britain gained from France, under the treaty of Utrecht, Hudson Bay and Straits, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and from that time fairly began the struggle for colonial supremacy between France and England in the New World. For a time France was brilliantly successful. Early in the seventeenth century she seized the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and a century later that of the Mississippi, and between the two she placed at points of the greatest strategic value a line of forts which were designed to protect from English intrusion that vast domain called New France, which stretches on the West of the Alleghanies from New Orleans to Quebec. But when the time for expansion came, the fact was revealed that the young giant of the Atlantic had only been bound with the thongs of Lilliput. When the English colonial system came in collision with the French colonial system, when the new self-governing soldiery which had been reared in the southern counties and the New England townships went out together under the

lead of the mother country to do battle with a colonial power which had never been trained in self-reliance, it "was like a Titan overthrowing a cripple." France's dream of empire in the west was broken, she was forced to give up her priceless possessions and to retire from North America. By the Peace of Paris, signed in 1763, France, among other things, ceded Canada to Great Britain, who guaranteed to the French colonists the free exercise of their religion and equal civil and commercial privileges with British subjects, while "the Quebec Act" of 1774 secured to them the old French laws, including the custom of Paris. After the Declaration of Independence in 1776 many royalist refugees settled in what came to be known as Upper Canada, where they were joined by emigrants from the mother country. To these British settlers a government was given in 1791 with an elective legislature, and at the same time the province of Upper Canada was severed from the older French Colony of Lower Canada. Not until 1822 was a proposal made for a legislative union between the two provinces, which was finally carried out in 1841, at which time the representatives of the people were given that control over the executive government which distinguishes responsible government in the mother country. Such in brief was the colonial constitution of Old Canada down to the making of the existing federation under the act of 1867.

Twenty-seven years before the Florentine Verazzano laid the foundation of the French claim to Canada, the Venetian Cabot had discovered Newfoundland and Labrador in the name of England. After a long contest for its possession France surrendered her claims to this maritime district to Great Britain in 1713, as heretofore stated. Not, however, until 1728 was a colony authorized and a governor of Newfoundland appointed, and no permanent dwellings were permitted for many years thereafter. Not until 1832 was representative government granted, and in 1855 for the first time a responsible one. The eastern portion of Labrador, settled by French Bretons in 1520, was nominally attached to Newfoundland in 1765, and formally united to it in 1809. The three remaining maritime provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island were organized out of the region first named by the French Acadia, and afterwards called by the English Nova Scotia by reason of the fact that

James I. in 1621 gave a charter to the country to Sir William Alexander, who took over a colony of Scotchmen. After having returned to the possession of France it was again ceded to Great Britain by the Peace of Paris, and in 1784 New Brunswick and Cape Breton were separated from Nova Scotia. In 1773 a local government was granted to Prince Edward Island as a separate colony. Passing to the western group, we find that British Columbia had its origin in the settlement made in the forties by the Hudson Bay Company, which had a feeble existence down to the discovery of gold in 1858, when the province was made a Crown colony. Manitoba, formerly the Red River Settlement, was not organized as a distinct province until 1870. Out of that vast unsettled district known as the Northwest Territories the Dominion government in 1882 carved the four districts already named for the convenience of settlers and for postal purposes.

To hush internal dissensions between the united provinces of Ontario and Quebec, arising out of conflicting local interests, race, and religion, and also to enable the provinces to present a united front in the event of invasion from the United States, which, in 1866, abrogated the Reciprocity Treaty made in 1853, the plan of confederation was brought forward which ripened into "The British North American Act of 1867," providing for a voluntary union of the whole of British North America under the name of the Dominion of Canada. To the student of the science of politics the structure of the federal constitution thus granted by the Imperial Parliament is rich in philosophic interest. So far as its federal character is concerned, its prototype was the Constitution of the United States, made nearly a century before, when the system of responsible cabinet government now existing in England was in eclipse. The President of the United States was for that reason no doubt modelled after George III., who not only reigned but governed; while, for a like reason, the Governor-General of Canada was made a vice-king after the more modern type represented by Queen Victoria. After this radical difference in the structure of the executive power, which extends to provincial organization, has been taken into account, the likeness between the two federal constitutions now moving on side by side is striking throughout. So far as local organization is concerned, the Canadian province answers in general terms to the American state, except that the former is more subordinate to the central power,

which holds a veto upon the acts of the provincial legislatures. The federal executive power is exercised by the Queen, acting through a Governor-General appointed by her, who is aided by a Privy Council, composed of twelve ministers and two members without portfolios. The federal legislative power is vested in a Parliament, composed of a Senate, whose members are appointed for life by the Crown on the nomination of the ministry for the time being, and of a House of Commons, composed of elected members apportioned among the provinces according to population. The federal judicial power is vested in a Supreme Court, composed of a Chief Justice and five puisne judges, which holds three sessions a year at Ottawa. The only other Dominion court is the Court of Exchequer, consisting of a single judge, who may sit where he pleases. The fact, however, must be borne in mind that the ultimate judicial power which construes the Canadian Constitution so as to keep each department within its proper bounds is vested, not in the Canadian Supreme Court, but in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which draws to London, in the last resort, all great questions of colonial law. The most remarkable feature of this federal colonial system is its legislative independence, which is so great as to permit it even to levy a protective tariff against the mother country herself. The original confederation was formed in 1866 between the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In 1870 Manitoba, with the Northwest Territories, were admitted; in 1871 British Columbia, and in 1873 Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland alone now remaining as a separate colony.

Of that vast group of islands called by Columbus the West Indies, Great Britain possesses Jamaica, Trinidad, the Bahamas, the Windward and the Leeward Isles, and not far away from these the Bermudas. Originally in the possession of Spain, the West Indies continued to be claimed by that power down to the beginning of the seventeenth century when the English, French, and Dutch began to make settlements into which they imported negroes from West Africa to work the plantations. Thus it was that, when war broke out between these powers in Europe, the conflict was extended to this island world, where bitter struggles often took place for the possession of sources of supply which yielded all of the tropical products. Not until 1810 did such contests end with the conquest of almost every island by Great

Britain, who afterwards restored many of the most valuable to their former owners. At that time slavery existed everywhere; and when it was abolished and the protective duties repealed, there was a general commercial collapse throughout the British West Indies. In those of the islands in which England's old colonial system prevails, local government is vested in representatives chosen by the people themselves, while in those in which the modern Crown colony exists administration is carried on by officials appointed in London. After two centuries of self-government on the old plan, Jamaica by its own consent given in December, 1866, became a Crown colony whose affairs are now administered by a governor and council who hold at the royal will and pleasure. While Trinidad is governed in the same way, representative government exists in the Bahamas, the Bermudas, and in the Windward and Leeward isles; and in the group last named, which is divided into five presidencies, a federal system prevails.

The title of Great Britain to what is called British Honduras in Central America was gradually built up by English colonies of wood cutters, who finally widened the right to carry on their occupation, conceded in treaties with Spain, into a demand for independence of that power. England's claim to sovereignty over the settlements thus founded was first practically established in 1798, when she defeated an attempt made by Spain to dislodge them, and the inchoate right then acquired ripened into a perfect one by subsequent treaties with American powers, the last of which was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. As a Crown colony British Honduras is governed by executive and legislative councils appointed in the usual way. After successive occupations by the Spanish, the Dutch, the French, and the English, the right of the last, who had taken forcible possession of British Guiana in 1803, was confirmed by the Peace of Paris of 1814, under which the Dutch conveyed to the English all of their rights for a large moneyed consideration, upon condition that the Dutch laws and institutions should be maintained for the benefit of the colonists. In that way the legislative power in the colony has remained in the Court of Policy, a Dutch creation, consisting of seven official and eight elective members, and in which the governor, who can veto a measure at any stage, has two votes. There is besides an executive council, consisting of the governor and six members appointed by the crown, who are charged with

the work of administration. While the English penal code prevails, the Roman Dutch law is the basis of civil rights.

The oldest of England's African possessions are those on the western coast, of which the colony of Sierra Leone, whose history begins in 1787 with the purchase from the native chiefs of a district of country by an emancipation society to which Wilberforce belonged, is the most important. The settlement was made as a home for slaves released from captivity, and its government, originally vested in a company, was in 1807 transferred to the Crown, who now rules it through a governor aided by executive and legislative councils. In 1866 Sierra Leone was made the seat of a general government embracing not only that colony but also the trading settlements known as the Gold Coast, Lagos and the Gambia; but in 1874 the Gold Coast and Lagos were created a separate crown colony, and in 1888 the Gambia was dealt with in the same manner. Far away in the South Atlantic lies the Island of St. Helena granted by Charles II. to the East India Company and created a crown colony in 1833. To the north of St. Helena is the isle of Ascension, taken possession of by the English in 1815, and now governed by the Board of Admiralty as if its inhabitants were actually on board of a man-of-war. The centre of England's possessions in South Africa is Cape Colony which, discovered by the Portuguese in 1486 and settled by the Dutch in 1652, was finally taken possession of by Great Britain in 1806, and the right thus acquired was confirmed by the Peace of Paris of 1815. Down to 1827 the Dutch scheme of administration was continued in force, when it was superseded by English colonial institutions which have finally been developed into the governmental system adopted in 1873, which is both representative and responsible. The adjoining colony of Natal, originally settled by English and by Boers, was declared a British possession in 1843 and placed under the authority of the Cape, in which condition it remained until 1856 when it was given a separate existence with representative institutions; in 1893 it was given responsible government. In 1884 Basutoland was made a separate colony, which is governed by a resident commissioner under the direction of the High Commissioner for South Africa, who exercises legislative authority by proclamation. In 1885 the colony of Bechuanaland was constituted, and its government vested in the governor of Cape Colony, who makes laws

by proclamation and executes them through an administrator who represents him on the spot. In 1887 Zululand was also made a British colony and placed under the control of the Governor of Natal, who acts through a resident commissioner. Over the adjoining Transvaal, the republic founded by the Dutch farmers who removed first from the Cape and then from Natal in order to escape from British rule, England retains only the suzerainty established by the treaty of 1884, in which the Boers conceded to the English the right to regulate their foreign relations. In the Indian Ocean midway between the Cape and Madras lies the isle of Mauritius which, possessed in turn by the Portuguese, Dutch and French, was taken from the last by the English in 1810. The government of this island, more representative than that of an ordinary crown colony, is carried on by a governor and council in conjunction with a legislative assembly which contains elective as well as official elements. In subjection to this central government are placed the dependencies of Mauritius consisting of some seventy islands scattered over an area of a thousand miles in extent, the chief of which are the Seychelles, Rodrigues, and the Oil Isles. The local government of the first named is vested in an administrator assisted by executive and legislative councils.

The British possessions in Australasia comprise the great island-continent of Australia, the adjacent islands of New Zealand and Tasmania, a part of the island of New Guinea, together with a vast number of smaller islands in the Pacific Ocean, which are governed either as possessions or protectorates. The English title to Australia dates from its discovery by Captain Cook in 1770, and out of the penal settlement made by the English Government in 1778 has grown the colony of New South Wales, which, after a troubled history, has greatly increased in wealth and population, and now enjoys responsible government carried on by a governor nominated by the Crown, in conjunction with two legislative assemblies, the one appointed and the other elected. In 1851 Victoria was carved out of the southern part of New South Wales and given a separate existence under a constitution substantially the same. In 1859 Queensland was in the same way carved out of the northern portion and organized in the same manner. South Australia, first colonized in 1836, received a constitution of the prevailing type in 1856, and in 1863 its boundaries were so extended as to embrace the entire centre of the

Australian continent from north to south. Western Australia, which embraces all that its name denotes, was organized under a local constitution of the prevailing type conferred by an act of the Imperial Parliament, which went into effect on the 21st of October, 1890. In 1841 a group of islands in the South Pacific were by letters patent erected into the colony of New Zealand, distinct from New South Wales, which is now ruled by a Royal Governor, an upper legislative council appointed by him, and by a house of representatives chosen by an electorate in which women, who are not qualified for election, are allowed to vote. In 1825 Tasmania was also severed from New South Wales and erected into a separate colony; in 1853 the transportation of criminals was abolished and its present name substituted for that of Van Dieman's Land, originally given it by its discoverer, Tasman, in 1642. Under its constitution its two legislative councils constitute "the parliament" which directs its destinies in connection with a royal governor, who is surrounded by a responsible ministry. The Fiji Islands, ceded by their native chiefs to Great Britain and formally annexed in 1874, are governed as a crown colony, native administration being carried on through the chiefs under the Governor's supervision. The northwest half of New Guinea belongs to Holland, which annexed it in the sixteenth century. In 1884 the eastern portion was divided between Germany and Great Britain. First governed as a protectorate, the English portion was created a crown colony in 1888 under the name of British New Guinea. All scattered islands, or groups of islands, in the Western Pacific not within the limits of a British colony or within the jurisdiction of any civilized power, have been placed, by acts of Parliament passed in 1872 and 1875, under the control of a high commissioner, who is assisted in the work of government by deputy commissioners armed with both administrative and judicial functions. The manifest destiny of Australia, but little less in territorial area and population than Canada, is in the direction of just such a federal system as was created in that Dominion by the act of 1867. As early as 1852 proposals were made in the English parliament looking to such a result, and in 1891 a convention met at Sydney, in New South Wales, in which a federal system was elaborated, whose adoption was postponed by reason of certain local antagonisms, which will in time, no doubt, pass out of view.

England's possessions in Asia consist in the main of the great dependency of India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, a part of Borneo, Cyprus and Aden, the last named being the key of the Red Sea and one of the safeguards of the new commercial route which the Suez Canal has made available. The old sea route to India round the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama, who anchored before Calicut in May, 1498. The first intruders into the new trade domain thus secured by the Portuguese were the Dutch, who in 1602 merged all of their trading societies into the Dutch East India Company. Two years before that event certain English traders, who had had differences with the Dutch as to the price of pepper, obtained from Queen Elizabeth a charter for the first English East India Company, the prototype of the Virginia Company incorporated by James I. in 1606. "One of these charters is the root of English title to the East, and the other to the West. One of these companies has grown into the Empire of India; the other into the United States of North America." Not until 1639 did the English East India Company lay the foundations of its work by the making of the settlement which in 1653 became the independent presidency of Madras. In 1688 the company purchased from Charles II. the island of Bombay, which came to him as a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza. In the next year were laid the foundations of Fort William, destined to develop into the modern city of Calcutta. Rival companies then came into the field, but in 1708 they were all amalgamated under a charter granted by Queen Anne to "The United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." In 1746 a desperate struggle began, which was carried on at the same time in the New World between the English adventurers and the French under Dupleix who, with the aid of his government as such, attempted to build up a French Empire in India. The serious reverses which the English suffered at first were more than retrieved by Clive, who after a series of brilliant movements completed the ruin of the French in 1761, reducing their territory to the fragment which they now retain. But to the French belongs the honor of having discovered the two facts which have made the conquest of a thickly peopled country as large as Europe, without Russia, possible for a mere handful of foreign invaders. As Mill has

stated it: "The two important discoveries for conquering India were; 1st, the weakness of the native armies against European discipline; 2d, the facility of imparting that discipline to natives in the European service." The real weakness of the native armies must be found, not in the want of fighting force in the individual, but in the fact that India is a mere geographical expression which does not imply the cohesion of nationality arising out of the unity of either race, language or religion. The artificial and temporary union between the races of India, brought about through the extension of the Mogul Empire, which began to decay as early as 1707, was practically at an end when the work of conquest was assumed by the organizing hand of Hastings, who was made governor-general in 1774, on the creation of that office under the Regulation Act of the year before. So important had the work in India then become that the Company's troops were aided by royal troops, and Parliament declared that all territorial acquisitions made should pass under its control. During the administration of Lord Dalhousie (1848–56) it may be said that India was for the first time united under English rule. Then it was that the Punjab, Oude, and Nagpore were secured under a policy of annexation, which proceeded upon the principle that wherever there was gross misrule, or a break in the natural succession, the native states should pass to the British Government as a boon to the subject populations. The great work of conquest, thus accomplished by a mere trading company, was carried on in the main by its own armies, of which, on an average, only a fifth part was English. The power to thus employ native troops, which was the basis of the whole system, was rudely shaken when, in May, 1857, a great mutiny broke out among them, which spread to the whole Bengal army. Although confidence was in a great measure restored through the crushing of the mutiny by the turning of the Indian races against each other, the event was the death knell of the Company, which was dissolved in 1858 by the act under which the Crown declared its intention to assume the government of the territories in India "heretofore administered in trust by the Honorable East India Company," and in 1877 the Queen assumed by consent of Parliament for certain limited purposes the title of Empress of India. By the "Act for the Better Government of India," approved August, 1858, the supreme au-

thority, both executive and legislative, over all British India was vested in the viceroy or Governor-General-in-Council, subject to the ultimate sanction of the Secretary of State for India in England. The viceroy's council is twofold. There is the ordinary executive council usually composed of seven official members who divide among themselves the departments of foreign affairs, finance, war, public works, etc., and who, in addition to the duties thus imposed upon them, prepare measures for the legislative council, which consists of the same persons with "additional members for making laws and regulations," embracing non-official native and European elements. The supreme judicial authority, whose organization is not uniform, is vested in certain high courts, from which appeals lie to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England. For purposes of local administration India is divided into provinces, each with a government of its own, and more or less independent according to the course of its historical development. The unit of administration within the province is the district, at whose head is an officer called either collector-magistrate or deputy-commissioner, who is the sole responsible chief of his jurisdiction, and as such he is a civil and criminal judge of first instance. The administration of the native or feudatory states of India is not carried on by British officials but by their native chiefs who, under the direction of the central Indian government, are permitted to exercise more or less local authority. This paternal system without elective elements, under which nearly three hundred millions of people are governed from London, embodies the principle upon which rests the crown colony, and the same remark may be applied to the governments of Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong and North Borneo. Cyprus is ruled by a high commissioner assisted by a legislative council composed of officials and elective members, while Aden is the centre of a British protectorate over the neighboring Arab tribes, who are independent of Turkish rule and in subordinate treaty relations with the government of India.

From a brief review which has now been made of the English colonial system, the fact appears that it embraces almost every form of government, from that of the autocratic high commissioner, who legislates for the savage Basutoland by the issuance of proclamations merely, up to the complex federal union, under which the self-governing communities of Canada control their

own destinies with scarcely any interference whatever from the parent state. The distinguishing feature of this elastic system is embodied in the application to each of its widely divergent parts of that form of government which seems best adapted to its special stage of development and to its local wants and traditions. To those communities which are fully developed, not only representative, but responsible government is given; to those not so far advanced, representative government only; to those still more backward, a composite form, partly representative and partly official; while those not deemed capable of local self-government in any form are placed under what is known as the crown colony system, which means simply a body of official rulers appointed from Downing Street. Over all, no matter whether the grant of autonomy be great or small, the ultimate power forever abides in the Imperial and omnipotent Parliament at Westminster, which can at a blow reduce Canada from her high estate to one of servile dependence. And yet, even under that sword of Damocles, England's colonial empire now reposes so peacefully as so shake the faith of many in Turgot's famous apothegm that "colonies are like fruits which cling to the tree only till they ripen."

HANNIS TAYLOR.

PROGRESS OF THEOSOPHY IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY E. T. HARGROVE, PRESIDENT OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY IN AMERICA.

In August, 1890, Mme. H. P. Blavatsky contributed an article to the North American Review on "Recent Progress in Theosophy." This article made a considerable stir at the time, and, while arousing interest in the minds of many whose ideas on this important subject had been till then of the vagnest, it also gave rise to no little incredulity on account of the glowing report given of the work already carried out by the Theosophical Society, and because of the hopeful view taken by Mme. Blavatsky of the future of the cause for which she lived and labored. The world is full of wiseacres whose habitual mental attitude is prophetic of disaster, and who regard with contempt all that they do not understand. In this instance they readily admitted that Mme. H. P. Blavatsky was a woman of genius, but added that the Society she represented would certainly go to pieces at her death.

In May, 1891, Mme. H. P. Blavatsky died, and instead of disaster following her death, there came to the Society new life and activity; the membership increased, public interest increased, and the press began to take a more intelligent view of the philosophy.

Dealing as I am with the work of the Theosophical Society in America, it would be out of place to enter into details regarding the progress of the movement in Europe, Australasia, and Asia. It is sufficient to say that it has been immense, and that at the present time no educated people either in England or in other European countries would willingly acknowledge their ignorance of the doctrines of Theosophy.

In America the progress made since 1890 has been even more marked. After the death of Mme. Blavatsky, Mr. William Q. Judge managed the affairs of the Society in America. He did so with such brilliant success that he soon excited against himself the same violent attacks, with a few modifications, to which Mme. Blavatsky had been subject during her lifetime. Not only was this slander of the same tone and quality as that levelled at her, but the forebodings of the wiseacres assumed the same form, and itwas generally asserted that whenever Mr. Judge should die the Society of which he was president would at last disintegrate and gradually disappear. Once more these prophets of disaster have been disappointed. On March 21 of this year W. Q. Judge died, and yet at no period in the history of the movement has the Society in America been so united in purpose, so strong in action, so far-reaching in its influence as at present. The Convention held in New York April 26 and 27, only five weeks after Mr. Judge's death, most amply proved this. Delegates attended from branches of the Society in all parts of the United States. Several came from Canada. Over one hundred attended from the neighborhood of Boston alone, and from California, Georgia, Indiana, and other states north, south, east, and west, came delegates who were united absolutely in aim and in their devotion to the cause. As evidence of this it is only necessary to state that every measure adopted by the Convention received a unanimous vote.

Properly understood, that Convention was a perfect justification of Mr. Judge's life and work, and the unity that then prevailed, and which continues to prevail, should show the world that Theosophists not only know what they want, but know how to get it and will get it. The actual force of unity is but little understood. The world has so few opportunities to study its action practically! But I believe that ten men or women acting in perfect unity, without thought of self or of personal ambition or jealousy, could sway the destiny of a great nation within a few years. There are many thousands of Theosophists in this country who are united in that way. Is it to be wondered at that we feel certain of success?

Mme. Blavatsky, in the article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to which I have referred, states with pride that "there are at the present day [April 29, 1890] *thirty-eight* chartered

branches of the Theosophical Society in the United States." On April 26 of this year there were *one hundred and eight* chartered and active branches of the Society in America, the result of steady growth and of the self-sacrificing efforts of the Society's many members who have devoted time, money and work to the movement with no other motive to prompt them than their love for the cause they have made their own. No salary or perquisites whatever are attached to any official position in the Society.

In spite of these facts the Society and its officers, as well as Theosophy itself, seem to have been selected by a few writers as a fairly safe target for unlimited innuendo and misrepresentation, and as I have not personally suffered from this I can afford to refer to it. Such things are of practically small consequence where individuals are concerned, but account for the general confusion that exists as to what Theosophy is really about, and as to what Theosophists are doing and teaching. Within the last few weeks an editorial in a prominent New York newspaper contained a statement to the effect that membership in the Society had certainly decreased steadily during the last five years. What has been written above will sufficiently show the absurdity of such a statement. Perhaps after all a prevarication of that kind does not deceive the public.

The American press as a whole, however, has recently come to realize the seriousness and the influence of the Theosophical movement, and such representative papers as the New York *Tribune* can be relied upon to give accurate and impartial information concerning the work of the Society in America. Minor papers will before long imitate this admirable example, and may even cease to insist that a Mahatma is a blue spirit who lives on the top of a mountain, and that Mme. Blavatsky was proved to be a fraud; for such statements are neither humorous nor original, nor true.

Beneath all this misunderstanding and misrepresentation, what is the Society in America doing at the present time? First as to the Society itself. Its headquarters are situated at 144 Madison Avenue, New York, where the official work is carried on and where various public meetings are held. The Society has three objects, only the first of which is binding upon all members. That first object is "to form a nucleus of universal brotherhood without any distinctions whatever." All

who join our ranks must subscribe to that object, while the two subsidiary objects are optional, though widely followed by members. These subsidiary objects are: the study of ancient and modern religions, philosophies and sciences, and the demonstration of the importance of such study; and the investigation of the unexplained laws in nature and the psychical powers latent in man. Our platform is consequently as broad as it could possibly have been made, and hence we have among us Christians of all denominations, Buddhists, Jews, agnostics and others, besides those who distinctively call themselves Theosophists, though the large majority of our members come under the last named category. No one is asked his religious belief on joining, and many members become "Theosophists" after having been in the Society for some time. This breadth of platform and the unqualified freedom of thought and expression to which every member is entitled are in themselves an inspiration which no other organization known to me provides.

Theosophy, or that system of thought which is followed by those calling themselves Theosophists, is not an eclectic philosophy, as is sometimes supposed, nor is it yet another invention of this most inventive age. Mme. Blavatsky, the best-known Theosophist of this century, constantly stated that her object was to remind the present generation of the vast fund of wisdom that lay hidden beneath the surface of many an ancient scripture, and that she had no new revelation to give. But she did give the key to the understanding of the scriptures and symbols which without her aid would have remained unintelligible to most of us. Theosophy is in fact as old as man himself, though the name was not widely used until the time of Ammonius Saccas. The Sanscrit equivalent of Theosophy, *Brahma-Vidyâ* or Divine Wisdom, was, however, a term in general use long before the period of Neo-Platonism; and before Sanscrit had been evolved from pre-existing languages, the same Divine Wisdom was being studied under some other name.

This Divine Wisdom, or Theosophy, only a part of which is contained in the exoteric teachings put forward under that name at the present time, is a great mass of knowledge concerning man and the universe that has been handed down from generation to generation of those who have become Adepts in its understanding. But these men, who were and still are the elder brothers

of the race, variously called Masters, Adepts or Mahatmas, knowing human nature and having at all times to work in harmony with nature's laws, have never given out more of their knowledge than would be understood and properly used by their hearers. That is why every great religion had originally an exoteric or public side, and an esoteric or deeper teaching reserved for the few. Jesus said that unto his disciples he could reveal the "mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven," but unto them that were without he could speak only in parables.* Gautama Buddha, more than five hundred years before the beginning of our era, warned his disciples that "superior men of wise understanding guard the word, guard the mystery, and do not reveal it on a sudden."† The same thing is to be found in Hinduism, in Zoroastrianism, and in all the other great religions—in every case there were certain "mysteries" only revealed to the few. These deeper teachings were given to those who were initiated into the Mysteries of Egypt, of ancient India, Greece, and of the Maya civilization in Central America, and many of the world's greatest sages openly stated that they owed their knowledge to what they had been taught in this way.

Theosophy in all ages has claimed that truth is not the special property of any one sect. It has always stated that the inner teachings of Jesus, Buddha, Krishna, of the various Zoroasters, and the teachings of the Mysteries wherever situated, were one and the same, and that evidence of this may be found in the symbolism and in the sacred books of the world. Carved on the stone monuments of Palenque, long antedating their discovery by Europeans, are to be found the identical symbols, such as the cross and the svastica, that have become familiar to us as Christian and Buddhistic emblems. The symbols used by the Initiates of Chaldea, India, Mexico and Egypt were the common language of such students in all ages and in all countries.

The sacred books of the world tell the same story, and instead of being opposed to each other as is generally imagined, they are but different presentations of the same eternal verities. In the Chinese *Tao-teh-king*, the Hindu *Upanishads*, the Buddhist *Suttas*, the *Zend Avesta* of the Zoroastrians, the *Popol-Vuh* of the ancient Guatemalians, the Christian *Bible*, and in such records as

* Compare I *Corinthians*, iii., 1-2; II *Corinthians*, xii., 3-4; *Matthew*, xiii., 10-11; *Luke*, viii., 10; *Mark*, iv., 11; *Matthew*, vii., 6.
† Sacred Books of the East, *Saddharma-Pundarika*, v., 2.

have been left us of the teachings of Pythagoras, Plato, Ammonius Saccas and others who had been initiated into the Sacred Mysteries, as they were rightly called, the same teachings are to be found, differing in form and phrasing, often superficially contradictory, but still the same. These founders of religions and philosophies in every epoch used different veils, but that which was behind the veils was Divine Wisdom or Theosophy.

Once this view of the world's religions is accepted, and it is easily verifiable, it opens up an immensely wide field of inquiry, and provides a broad basis for further thought. The whole tendency of this teaching is towards unification, and if one word could convey an idea of Theosophy as a whole, it would be the word *unity*, for unity implies universality.

Theosophy recognizes no separateness in nature; finds life and consciousness everywhere present; holds that spirit is as much a part of nature as matter in any of its countless forms, and maintains that law is itself divine, applying equally to the soul and to the atom, and cannot be set aside, for to set law aside would set aside divinity.

The theosophical doctrines of reincarnation or rebirth and of Karma or compensation, are not only the doctrines of every teacher already named, but are in strict accord with all that is known of nature's methods. The Theosophist, more logical maybe than his neighbor, who now and again would divide the universe into water-tight compartments to suit his own convenience, believes that the soul must grow like all other things in nature, and therefore necessarily upholds the view that each man's soul has lived on earth in human form many times in the past, and will live on earth in human form many times in the future. This great process of development is governed throughout by law, frequently called the law of *Karma*, a Sanscrit word meaning action. As all action contains within itself reaction, *Karma* is a word-symbol used to express the well-known law that every cause produces a definite effect, and every effect is preceded by a commensurate cause. This law, taken in conjunction with the law of rebirth, makes man the result of his own thoughts and actions in his past lives on earth, and the master of his own future. It establishes on a firm basis of reason man's innate belief in universal justice, and, like every other teaching of Theosophy, it emphasizes the underlying unity of all things

by showing that each human soul in its pilgrimage through material life passes through countless experiences, and that these experiences, whether of joy or sorrow, are shared in common by all mankind. Whether we now live amidst luxury or poverty is of less account than *how* we live under those conditions, for on that will depend the character of our future lives on earth.

This doctrine is of the greatest possible help in enlarging the conception of human brotherhood, for no man, holding such views, can think of himself as separate in character or experience from other men, when the sum total of earthly lives is taken into account.

Theosophists do not, however, confine their activity to propaganda. Much practical work on original lines is being carried on. All of the enterprises undertaken by members of the Society are marked by their non-sectarian and liberal character. For instance, some ladies in Buffalo, members of the Society in that city, instituted some time ago what is called the "Wayfare" for women. Here women are given a night's lodging for either a nominal sum or an hour's work, and no questions are asked them as to their religious views, their occupation, or previous place of residence, as is usually done in similar institutions, where such women are sometimes turned back into the streets if their replies are not considered satisfactory.

In the poorer parts of New York "Brotherhood Suppers" have been instituted, which are well attended, and for participation in which a small payment is exacted. These suppers are followed by discussions in regard to brotherhood.

In various parts of the country special work is being done in the prisons, and in the State prison in San Francisco the Sunday lecture on Theosophy has an average attendance more than four times larger than that of any religious service held in the prison.

But the greatest work that the Theosophical Society in America is doing at the present time lies in this. It is calling attention to points of similarity between different beliefs, instead of to their points of difference; it is insisting that brotherhood is a fact in nature, as well as an ideal condition; it is changing the whole trend of modern thought, guiding it toward a religious science and a scientific religion, and in all other ways it is liberalizing and elevating the minds and the hearts of men.

E. T. HARGROVE.

THE SKY SCRAPERS OF ROME.

BY PROFESSOR RODOLFO LANCIANI, LL. D., PH. D.,
F. A. S., ETC.

BUILDINGS for the habitation of citizens in ancient Rome were of two kinds, private houses or palaces for the residence of one family with a more or less copious retinue of servants (*domus*), and lodging houses or tenement houses many stories high and adapted to the reception of several families and of single individuals (*insulæ*). At the time of its greatest development, the city numbered 1,790 palaces, and 46,602 lodging houses, the population being about 1,000,000 souls. These statistics refer to the city limits only, marked approximately by the walls of Aurelian; but the habitations extended beyond the walls for a radius of three miles at least. This suburban belt of houses and lodgings, with gardens and orchards between them, was called the belt of *expatiantia tecta*.

Tenement houses, unknown in villages, very rare in provincial towns (like Pompeii, Herculaneum, Ostia and Velleia, considerable portions of which have been excavated) were introduced in Rome in 455 B. C., as related by Dionysius:

"The Plebeians agreed to divide among themselves *bona fide* the building lots on the Aventine, each family selecting a space in proportion with the means of which it disposed; but it happened also, that families, not able to build independently, joined in groups of two, three and more, and raised a house in common, one family occupying the ground floors, others the floors above."

This passage throws a considerable light on the history of human habitations in Rome, about which such scanty information has been left by classics. It seems that, from the time the city was built on the Palatine Hill to the reign of the Tarquins, the Romans dwelt in huts, not unlike those which to the present

day give shelter to the shepherds of the Campagna. They are composed of a framework of timber, or boughs, with thatched walls and conical roofs, and a ring of stones. These are represented with every detail in the so-called *hut-urns*—cinerary vases discovered in the pre-historic cemeteries of Latium and Southern Etruria. In memory of this primitive state of things two huts were preserved in Rome down to the fall of the Empire: the hut of Romulus, otherwise called the cottage of Faustulus, on the Palatine, where the founder of the city had been given shelter and education, and another hut on the Capitoline, where he had been worshipped after his death, as a hero and a demi-god.

A piece of ground, called the ancestral field or the family estate, was attached to each hut, its limits being marked by trees sacred to Terminus or Silvanus. It measured 54,285 square feet, viz., one acre and thirty-nine perches, a space obviously insufficient to support and nourish the family, but very useful as a domestic garden or orchard. It contained also the family tomb.

In spite of the extension of the city limits under Servius Tullius, in consequence of which the whole circuit of the seven hills was included in the new line of walls, space began to have very soon a marketable value. Wealthier citizens built extensions to their houses, like shops furnished with bedrooms, and small apartments for the use of the poorer ones. These groups, composed of the mansion of the landlord and of the cottages and small buildings around them rented to outsiders, were called *insulæ* (islands) because, according to the ancient law, they were surrounded by a narrow strip of free ground, called *ambitus*, isolating them from the neighboring estates.

As long as the prehistoric system of habitations lasted, houses were restricted to the ground floor; but when stones and tiles began to take the place of boughs and boards and thatched roofs, the height of buildings increased. Livy describes Tanaquil addressing the people through the windows from the upper part of the house, but she was a lady of royal birth and the style in which she lived was exceptional.

No better evidence can we get of the fatal law which divides men assembled in cities into a few who possess a large property and many who possess nothing than by the manner the few and the many are lodged. There were hardly eighteen hundred

families of wealth and rank in old Rome enjoying the luxuries of a palace and of a private mansion, while about one hundred and fifty thousand families were massed in tenement houses hardly fit for human habitation. We know for a fact that the tenement houses were not well built: their foundations were not sunk to the proper depth on account of the swampy nature of the subsoil; their front walls were only a foot and a half thick, and patched up with sun-dried bricks. Such houses were only capable of one story above the ground floor. At the time of Vitruvius, about 15 B. C., their construction had undergone some improvement, thanks to the energetic action of Augustus, who was determined to leave in marble the city which he had found in brick, and thanks also to the increase in the value of space which compelled builders to gain in height what they were losing in surface. Vitruvius describes the new tenement houses as composed of a framework of solid stone with partition walls of brick or concrete, attaining a considerable height, and capable of as many families of tenants as they had floors. Yet, even in the golden age of Augustus, cheap building was not given up altogether. In the inundation of 54 B. C., many houses collapsed because the waters had dissolved the sun-dried bricks of their walls. Augustus was compelled to dredge and clear out the bed of the river because it was choked up by houses which had fallen down. The inundation of 69 A. D. undermined hundreds of houses even in inland quarters; and the Emperor Otho, who was then marching against Vitellius, found his way barred for over twenty miles by the ruins of buildings on either side of the *via Flaminia*. The spontaneous collapse of the tenement houses was such a common occurrence that nobody paid attention to it, an event which would fill our newspapers with a thrilling subject for days and days. The fall of some cottages, attended with loss of life, is related by Cicero as an item hardly worthy of serious remark. Seneca depicts the tenants of popular houses as fearing at the same time to be buried or burnt alive. There were companies formed for the purpose of propping and sustaining "in the air" houses, the foundations of which had to be strengthened.

Jordan, Richter, de Marchi and others have tried to discover in more than one way which was the average size of Roman tenement houses and how many tenants they were capable of containing. Supposing the population to have been 1,000,000, and supposing

that a private palace counted 100 inmates between masters, servants and slaves, we find that 179,000 people lived in palaces, 821,000 in tenement houses. This would give about 18 tenants for each of the 46,602 houses. As regards their size, Jordan suggests 350 square metres, Richter 282, while de Marchi reminds us that in the oldest quarters of Milan, which have as yet resisted civilization, the area of such houses varies from a minimum of 112 to a maximum of 270 square metres. We must be very careful however, in forming our judgment by comparing modern with ancient cities; as the consequences may be misleading. Many points which we consider now as absolutely necessary to the health and welfare, nay, to the very existence of a city, were considered in by-gone days a matter of luxury, or were perhaps utterly ignored. It is not so very long ago that a municipal law of the city of Milan ordered that no more than fourteen people should sleep in the same room! The problem is very complex, and the figures obtained by comparing our own municipal statistics with those of the *Curiosum* and *Notitia* mean little or nothing. My opinion is that the ignoble quarters which disfigured, and partly disfigure still, the neighborhood of the Ponte Sant-Angelo, of the Ghetto, of the Regola, may be taken as the nearest representatives of the old plebeian quarters of the Subura and of the Transtevere, and I agree with Niebuhr (*Vorträge über Römische alterthumer*, p. 628) when he contends that the houses built three or four hundred years ago in the above-named quarters are good specimens of an old Roman *insula*. The comparison is proved correct, first, by the number of inmates of which they are capable, which varies from 15 to 20; secondly, by their surface not exceeding 200 square metres; thirdly, by their great height in comparison with size; fourthly, by the fact that they contain as many families as there are floors; in the last place, by their resemblance to the celebrated view of a Roman popular street, discovered by Rosa in the house of Germanicus on the Palatine. The fragments of the plan of the city, engraved on marble under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, show many blocks entirely composed of *insulæ* and surrounded by narrow and tortuous streets.

Archæologists have collected the following information as regards house rents in Athens and Rome. In Athens, lodging-houses were let mostly to foreigners who came there on business. Pasion, the banker, had one valued at 100 minas, or 2,000 dol-

lars. City property, yielding a return of rather more than 8½ per cent. on the purchase money, is mentioned by Isaeus. Boeckh says that rents varied from a minimum of 3 minas, or $60, to a maximum of 120 minas, or $2,400, according to size, location, and comfort of houses. Rents were commonly paid by the month. Lodgings were frequently hired on speculation by persons called *ναυ'κληροι*, who made a profit by underletting them, and sometimes for not very reputable purposes. Rents in Rome were equally high, even for a miserable garret. Persons in the lowest conditions of life appear to have paid 2,000 sesterces, or $87.50, at the time of Julius Cæsar. Cœlius is said to have paid 30,000 sesterces, or $1,330, for a third floor in the *insula* of Publius Clodius. Hence, it became a profitable speculation to build or to hire a whole *insula*, or a whole block, and to sublet the *cenacula*, single rooms, or suites, to different tenants, the whole establishment being placed under the care of a manager and collector of rents, called *insularius*. Noblemen, owning a large town property, counted among their clerks a *procurator insularum*.

We come now to the question, to which this paper is especially directed, that of the height of buildings. We must distinguish them in three classes: *insulæ*, palaces, and public buildings. The excessive height of tenement houses is noticed for the first time, I believe, in Cicero, who opposes Rome "suspended in the air" to Capua lying comfortably down in the plains of Campania Felix. Seneca complains of the impunity, which builders of tall tenement houses were allowed to enjoy, because the poor tenants, perched in those heights, had no possible escape from fire or from the collapse of the building itself. We know from Suetonius that Rutilius Lupus, who died about 77 B. C., had written an oration "on the height of public and private buildings," a fact which proves that excesses in this line of speculation had already aroused the suspicions and fears of persons entrusted with the care of public interests. There is no doubt that towards the end of the republic Rome had higher houses than some large modern cities. While the Building act promulgated in Berlin in 1860 admits a maximum height of 36 feet only—provided the street is of the same width—and a greater height only in case the street should be considerably broader; while the Viennese Building act allows 45 feet (four stories at the utmost), and the Parisian 63½ feet, if such or more

is the breadth of the thoroughfare; in ancient Rome higher figures were allowed with no consideration whatever for the size of the street. Augustus, to make less frequent the occurrence of disasters, limited the height of new houses to 70 roman feet (20.79 metres) at least on the street side, and recited on this occasion the oration of Rutilius Lupus to prove that such a momentous question for the welfare of the city had not been taken into consideration since the time of the republic. This fact proves, first, that the height of 20 metres had been generally surpassed before the time of Augustus; secondly, that the new regulations concerned street fronts only and not the back part of houses opening on yards, alleys, or narrow lanes; thirdly, that they concerned *new* structures alone, and not those already existing.

In spite of the boast attributed to the founder of the Empire, that he would leave built of marble the city which he had found built of bricks, there is no doubt that the crowding, the unhealthiness, the "suffocation," of popular quarters, and their want of air, light, and space, remained very much in the same conditions. The merit of having put an end to this wretched state of things, of having renewed the aspect of the metropolis, altering its plan in accordance with the principles of sanitation and æsthetics, belongs to Nero. He set the whole city into a blaze of fire, and did it so cleverly, that, of the fourteen wards into which Rome had been divided by Augustus, three were annihilated, seven for the greater part destroyed, and yet not a single life was lost in the monstrous conflagration. Severus and Celer, the imperial architects charged with the reconstruction of the city, showed themselves equal to their task. In tracing the new streets and avenues through the smoking ruins, they followed the straight line and the right angle, as far as could be done in a hilly and deeply furrowed region. Hasty and irregular constructions were forbidden; large squares opened, in place of filthy and densely inhabited quarters, and the height of private houses limited, it seems, to the double of the width of the street. Porticoes were to be built in front of each dwelling to give the passer-by protection from rain and from heat; lastly, wooden ceilings were excluded, at least, from the lower stories, and isolation of houses on every side made compulsory.

A new building act fixing the height of tenement houses at 60 feet (17.93 metres) was issued by Trajan. This incessant renewal

of regulation after regulation shows how little respect speculators paid to them; and, besides, the imperial ordinances concerned, as I said, only the front of houses, not their interior parts opening on courtyards or alleys. No doubt, these back sections attained a greater height. Martial speaks of a poor man, a neighbor, who had to mount two hundred steps (*ducentas scalas*, viz., *gradus*) to reach his garret. Giving to each step 0.15m., that garret must have been perched 30 meters, or 100 feet, above the level of the street; but Martial uses perhaps a hyperbolic expression. The same poet uses the expression, "*scalis habito tribus, sed altis*," "I live in the third floor, *but* high above ground," which seems to indicate that ceilings must have hung very low in ordinary lodging houses (rooms have been found at Pompeii only 1.95 metres high); Juvenal mentions the case of a fire which had already attained the third floor of a building, without being noticed by the poor tenants living in the topmost stories under the roof. Tertullian compares the numberless stories of a tenement house to the "zones" of heaven imagined by the Gnostics. An inscription discovered on October 8, 1819, opposite the church of S. Eligio dei Ferrari (near the Piazza della Consolazione) describes a tenement house belonging to a Sertorius, as composed of ten shops and six floors above. We must remember, furthermore, that the maximum height was allowed by law independently from the breadth of the street, so that in this respect Rome must be placed far behind the large modern cities. While in Berlin the medium width of all the streets is 22 metres, that of the principal living streets in Rome reached only from 5 to 6 metres, inferior to the Parisian minimum of 7.80 metres, yet while in such cases the Parisians can only raise their structures 11.90 metres above the level of the street, the Romans were permitted to reach three times that height.

We must not wonder too much at such a condition of things. There are actually in Rome, in Rome the rejuvenated capital of the Kingdom of Italy, two important thoroughfares, one measuring *eight feet* between the *palazzo Muti* and the *palazzo della fabbrica de S. Pietro*, so that hardly a ray of light can force its way between the eaves of their roofs, the other *ten feet* between the church of la Maddalena and the opposite tenement houses. Pliny says that no city in the world surpasses Rome if the height of houses was also taken into consideration. Juvenal calls the

housetops "sublime," and says that the windows are apt to give the vertigo. In justice to Rome, we must also remark that houses three and four stories high are mentioned in Babylon by Herodotus, four to five in Naples by Philostratos, six in Carthage by Appianus, eight in Motya by Diodorus. The houses of Tyre were higher than those of Rome. The emperor Zeno, referring to an older building act of Leo, which fixed at 100 feet the maximum of height of houses in course of reconstruction after a fire, extended the privilege to all new structures, provided they would be separated one from the other in every direction by an interval of 100 feet. The law admitted, however, one exception, that no one could take away from his neighbor the view of the sea. So far as regards the tenement houses.

Palaces and private mansions may be left aside, because, as a rule, they were but one story high above the ground floor. The imperial palace makes an exception to the rule. The wing built by Caligula at the north corner of the Palatine hill, overlooking the Forum, rose one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the *Nova via*, which street was only twelve feet across! The palace of Septimius Severus, at the opposite corner of the hill, rose one hundred and eighty feet above the level of the *via Triumphalis*.

Public edifices were built on an equally grand scale. Let me mention but one, the Temple of the Sun erected by Aurelian, after his conquest of Palmyra, in that part of the Quirinal which is now occupied by the Villa Colonna. Its columns measured 1.95 metres in diameter, 17.66 metres in height, not including the capital, which alone measured 2.47 metres. The entablature measured 4.83, and was composed of blocks of marble 5 metres long: total height of order, 26 metres; of temple, including steps, pediment, and acroteria, 35 metres; to which we must add the height of the cliff on the edge of which the temple rose. *The Cœlii Saturnini*, who lived at the foot of the cliff in a noble mansion discovered in 1854 (under the *palazzo Filippani, piazza della Pilotta*), must have seen the chariot of the god glittering in the morning sun two hundred feet above their heads.

The reader may ask at this point why, in treating the subject I have only brought forward the evidence of classics, and not that of personal experience, and of actual discoveries made in Rome in the course of the last quarter of a century. The fact is

that no *insulæ* have been found which could be excavated systematically; and even if they had been found we could only have studied their ground plan, not their elevation. The *insula Sertoriana,* opposite the church of S. Eligio dei Ferrari, has never been excavated, the only portion discovered being two shop doors opening on the public street. The *insula Bolaniana,* discovered March, 1743, in the foundations of the monastery of S. Pasquale Baylon Erastevere, was also left unexplored, the only part described being the well which occupied the centre of the court. A third *insula* named *Vitaliana* was found in the spring of last year near the apse of St. Pietro, in Viricoli, under circumstances that made a search impossible without damage to the houses above. The only fact that I can point out to specialists interested in this question is this: In describing the attack made by the partisans of Vitellius on those of Vespasian, who had entrenched themselves in the Capitolium, Tacitus distinctly affirms that the roofs of houses which surrounded the sacred hill were level with the platform of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The platform of the temple, still visible in the gardens of the Caffarelli palace, now occupied by the German embassy, rises 31 metres above the level of the ancient street which skirts the foot of the cliffs on the north side; therefore, the houses built against the cliffs were at least 31 metres high. The account of Tacitus is confirmed by existing ruins. Near the apse of the church of *la beata Rita, via Giulio Romano,* there are remains of an *insula,* of which only four stories are left standing, one-half perhaps of the original number. That *insula* when perfect must have reached the level of the *arx* now represented by the church of the Aracoeli.

Such are the facts connected with the momentous question of height of buildings in ancient cities. The Romans went undoubtedly beyond the line; but they had at least two excuses in their favor. The first is alluded to by Tacitus in describing the reconstruction of the city after the fire of Nero, with large avenues, and large streets crossing each other at a right angle, lined with houses of moderate height; when he says that in cities of southern latitudes (and subject to malaria) shade is more agreeable and desirable than the fiery rays of the sun; and that the health of the inhabitants in malarious regions is favored by agglomeration more than by dissemi-

nation over a large area.* The second excuse lies in the want of proper means of locomotion from one part of the city to the other. It makes very little difference to a Londoner to live miles away from his club, from his office, from his shop, because he can reach his destination quickly, comfortably, and at a cheap price at all hours of day and night. The old Romans, on the contrary, had no means of contending with distances; therefore they increased the height of their *insulæ* in the central quarters instead of building new ones in the outlying districts.

Far be from me the idea of entering into discussion about the monstrous creations of the *fin de siècle* domestic architecture in some American cities. Our ideas respecting the right of landowners to do what they please with their property, are very different in old Europe from what they are in the United States. We believe that state, counties, cities have the right of protecting themselves against individuals who, in the exercise of their rights of possession, offend the principles of public welfare, sanitation, comfort, æsthetics. I remember discussing once with a distinguished congressman the question of the preservation of forests and timber and woodlands. I gave him a summary of our protective laws, and described the appalling losses which Italy had suffered by disregarding them in the course of the last fifty years; mountains stripped of their coat of *humus*, and reduced to a bare mass of rocks; springs dried up, and large tracts of land made desolate and barren; inundations made more frequent and sudden; the price of timber and charcoal doubled, and so forth. While admitting these facts, and the necessity of protection of forests in the name of public interest, my friend expressed the conviction that no American citizen would ever tolerate government or state interference with his rights of property, and that none could prevent the owner of a forest from destroying it if he chose to do it. Yet I cannot see the reason why you could not prevent your neighbor from taking away from your house or from the street in which you live the essential rights of light and air, and why citizens in general should not object to see their cities disfigured by beehives 300 feet high.

The experience through which Rome has passed since her transformation into the capital of united Italy, tells a decidedly

* In the city of the Popes the healthiest district was the overcrowded and the overbuilt Ghetto, in which six thousand Jews were massed in houses of exceptional height.

interesting tale. The fever of speculation in building lands which broke out about 1878, after the promulgation of the *Piano regolatore,* could not possibly be got under control, because while the *Piano* provided for the regulation of *space,* it contained no rules about *height.* The consequences were: First, that *space,* the only commodity which the good Lord had given us unlimited, owing to the location of the city in the middle of the great Campagna, became ridiculously valuable. In 1885 the Bocconi Brothers paid for the site of their modest stores on the Corso 1,150,000 francs! Secondly, that, in order to secure an interest on the purchase money, the speculators piled story upon story, surpassing sometimes the height of 100 and 120 feet. The municipality stopped the evil in 1888, when part of the city had already been disfigured by these uncanny barracks; yet better late than never. The act of 1888 which fixes the maximum of height of houses at one and a half the width of the street, brought to a sudden standstill the building speculation. The interests of the few were damaged, but the health, the general aspect, the comfort of the city permanently secured.

RODOLFO LANCIANI.

DREAMS AND THEIR MYSTERIES.

BY ELIZABETH BISLAND.

LIFE-LONG familiarity with the astonishing phenomena of sleep, with the trooping phantoms inhabiting the dusk realms of slumber, has so dulled wonder at the mystery of our double existence of the dark, that night after night, with calm incuriousness we open the door into that ghostly under-world, and hold insane revels with fantastic spectres, weep burning tears for empty griefs, babble with foolish laughter at witless jests, stain our souls with useless crime, or fly with freezing blood from the grasp of an unnamed dread; and, with the morning, saunter serenely back from these wild adventures into the warm precincts of the cheerful day, unmoved, unstartled, and forgetting.

Prove that you have the hypnotic power to make a man feel pain or pleasure without material cause, that you can force him to believe himself a soldier, say, or a woman, or that he is three feet high, or two persons at once, and he will gape upon this occult mastery with awe and wild surprise—he, who every twenty-four hours of his life, with no more magic potion than healthy fatigue, with no greater wonder-working weapon than a pillow, may create for himself phantasmical delusions beside which all mesmeric suggestions are but the flattest of dull commonplace.

The naïve egotism of superstition, which saw in the majestic movements of the solar system only prognostications concerning its own bean crop, could discern nothing more in this dream-world than the efforts of the supernatural powers to communicate (in their usual shuffling, incompetent fashion) the events of the future to man—that sole centre and concern of the universe. The modern revolt from this childish-

ness has swung the pendulum of interest so far up the other curve of the arc, that there prevails a foolish fear of attaching any meaning or importance whatever to the strange experiences of sleep, and an unscientific avoidance of the whole topic which is no less superstitious and puerile. The consequence of which foolish revulsion has been that one of the most curious functions of the brain is still, in a period of universal investigation, left unexamined and unexplained. Some dabbling there has been in the matter, but so far no tenable explanation has been offered of those strange illusions of sleep with which all mankind is familiar. The results up to this time of this dabbling are for the most part of little more value than the contents of the greasy, well-thumbed dream-books that formed the only and dearly beloved library of eighteenth century milkmaids and apprentices. The greater portion of such labor as has been bestowed on the subject has been mainly directed toward efforts to prove the extreme rapidity with which the dream passes through the mind and that it is some trivial outward cause, at the moment of rousing from slumber, such as a noise, a light, or the like, which wakes the brain to this miraculous celerity of imaginative creation. The general conviction that dreams occur only at the instant of awakening shows how little real attention has been bestowed upon the matter, since the most casual observation of "the dog that hunts in dreams" would show that he may be chasing the wild deer and following the roe in the grey Kingdom of Seeming without breaking his slumbers. He will start, and twitch and give tongue after the phantom quarry he dreams himself pursuing, and yet continue his sleep without an interval. But given the truth of any one of these assertions, still the heart of the mystery has not yet been plucked out, since it is not explained why a noise or gleam of light—such as the senses are quite familiar with in waking consciousness—should, at the moment of rousing, cause the brain to create with inconceivable rapidity a series of phantasmagoria in order to explain to itself the familiar phenomena of light or sound.

Dr. Friedrich Scholz, Director of the insane asylum at Bremen, in his recent volume upon "Sleep and Dreams," gives an example of this rapid effort of the brain to deal with the sensations felt by the sleeping body: "I dreamed of the Reign of Terror, saw scenes of blood and murder, appeared before the Revolutionary

Tribunal, saw Robespierre, Marat, Fouquier-Tinville, all the personages of that time of horrors, argued with them, was finally after a number of occurrences condemned to death, was carried to the place of execution on a cart through enormous masses of people, ascended the scaffold, was bound by the executioner to the board. The knife fell, and I felt my head severed from my body. Thereupon I awoke and found that a loosened rod of the bed had fallen on my neck like the knife of the guillotine, and this had happened, my mother assured me, at the very moment when I awoke."

That the mind should, merely because of the body's sleep, be able to create a whole scene of a terrible drama with a rapidity impossible when all the functions are awake and active, is incredible. The only function of the brain capable of this lightning-like swiftness of vision is *memory*. To create requires a certain effort and consumes a certain period of time, but a scene once beheld, an adventure once experienced and vividly impressed upon the memory, can be recalled in its minutest detail in a lapse of time not reckonable by any of our methods.

That the sensitive plate of the brain never loses any *clear* picture once received has been proved over and over again, beyond the possibility of a doubt. The picture, the sensation, may be overlaid and hidden for long periods beneath the heaps of useless lumber that the days and years accumulate in the mind's storehouse, but need, or accident, or a similarity of circumstance, will restore the forgotten possession, oftentimes with startling effect. There is a well-authenticated instance of a girl who, during an attack of febrile delirium, spoke in a language that no one about her could understand, and which was finally discovered to be Welsh. The patient, both before and after her illness, knew but a single word of the language. No one could explain the matter until finally it was found that she had been born in Wales, and as a child had learned the language, but had afterwards entirely forgotten it.

It is commonly known, too, how in the struggle of the body against death by water the memory, stirred to furious effort also, reproduces all her stores at once, possibly in a frantic endeavor to find some experience which may be of use in this crisis.

It is broadly asserted by many that the memory retains each and every experience which life has presented for its contempla-

tion, but this is hardly true. It makes to a certain extent a choice, and chooses oftentimes with apparent caprice. To demonstrate the truth of this, let one endeavor to recall the first impression retained by his childish mind and it usually proves to be something extremely trivial. A lady, interrogated as to this, declared her first clear memory was a sense of the comfort to her tired little two-year-old body of the clean linen sheets of the bed at the end of a most perilous and adventurous journey, of whose startling incidents her memory had preserved nothing. Again this capricious faculty will seize upon some few high lights in a vivid picture and reject all the unimportant details. As a rule, however, it is the profound stirrings of the emotions which wakes the memory to activity. A woman never forgets her first lover. A man to the end of his life can recall his first triumph, or his most imminent danger, and a trifle will often, after the lapse of half a century, fill the eye with tears, make the cheek to burn, or the heart to beat with the power of the long-passed emotion, preserved living and fresh by the memory.

That the memory uses in sleep the material it has gathered during the day, and during the whole life, no dreamer will deny; but here again it is capricious; some parts of the day's—the life's—experiences are used, others rejected. Added to these natural and explainable possessions of the memory, are a mass of curious, conflicting, tangled thoughts, which are foreign to our whole experience of existence, and which, when confused with our own memories, makes of our nights a wild jumble of useless and foolish pictures. If it be true that it is by some outward impression upon the senses that dreams are evoked, that it is the endeavors of the somnolent mind to explain to itself the meaning of a noise, a light, a blow, which creates that delusion we call dreams, then it is not upon the stores of our own memories alone that the brain draws for material, since the falling rod awoke in the mind of Dr. Scholz's dreamer a picture of the French revolution, which he had never seen, and different in detail and vividness from any picture his reading had furnished.

Heredity is an overworked jade, too often driven in double harness with a hobby, but the link between generation and generation is so strong and so close that none may lightly tell all the strands of which it is woven, nor from whence were spun the threads that tie us to the past. It is very certain, despite the

theories of Weismann, that the acquired characteristics of the parent may be transmitted to the child. The boy whose father walked the quarter-deck is, nine times out of ten, as certain to head for salt water as a sea-gull born in a hen's nest. The victim of ill-fortune and prisoner of despair who breaks the jail of life to escape fate's malice leaves a dark tendency in the blood of his offspring, which again and again proves the terrible power of an inherited weakness. Women who lose their minds or become clouded in thought at childbirth—though they come of a stock of *mens sana*—transmit the blight of insanity to their sons and daughters both ; and not only consumptive weakness and the appetite for drink are acquired in a lifetime and then handed on for generations, but preferences, talents, manners, personal likeness—all may be the wretched burden or happy gift handed down to the son by the father. Who then may say without fear of contradiction that the memories of passions and emotions that stirred those dead hearts to their centre may not be a part of our inheritance ? The setting, the connection, is gone, but the memory of the emotion remains. Such and such nerves have quivered violently for such or such a cause—the memory stores and transmits the impression, and a similar incident sets them tingling again, though two generations lie between.

Certainly animals possess very distinctly these inherited memories. A young horse never before beyond the paddock and stables will fall into a very passion of fear when a serpent crosses his path, or when driven upon a ferry to cross deep swift water. He is entirely unfamiliar with the nature of the danger, but at some period one of his kind has sweated and throbbed in hideous peril, and the memory remains after the lapse of a hundred years. He, no more than ourselves, can recall all the surrounding circumstances of that peril, but the threatening aspect of a similar danger brings memory forward with a rush to use her stored warning. When the migrating bird finds its way without difficulty, untaught and unaccompanied, to the South it has never seen, we call its guiding principle instinct—but what is the definition of the word instinct ? No man can give it. It but removes the difficulty one more step backward. Call this instinct an inherited memory and the matter becomes clear at once. Such memories, it is plain, are more definite with the animals than with us ; but so are many of their faculties, hearing, smell, and sight.

Everyone has felt many times in his life a sense of familiarity with incidents that have had no place in his own experience, and has found it impossible to offer any explanation for the feeling. Coming suddenly around a turn of a hill upon a fair and unknown landscape, his heart may bound with a keen sense of recognition of its unfamiliar outlines. In the midst of a tingling scene of emotion, a sensation of the whole incident being a mere dull repetition will rob it of its joy or pain. A sentence begun by a friend is recognized as trite and old before it is half done, though it refers to matters new to the hearer. A sound, a perfume, a sensation, will awaken feelings having no connection with the occasion.

A visitor for the first time to a tropical country was charmed with the excessive novelty of everything about him; but suddenly one evening, being carried home in his chair by the coolie bearers, a flood of recognition poured over him like the waves of the sea, and for a few minutes the illusion was so strong as to leave him breathless with astonishment. He had the sense of having often done this before. The warm night, the padding of the bare feet in the dusk, the hot smell of leaves, were all an old trite experience. For days he struggled with that tormenting sense, with which we are all familiar, of being unable to recall a something, a name, that is perfectly well known—is "on the tip of the tongue," as one says—but all in vain; and in time the recognition grew fainter and more elusive with each effort to grasp it, until it slipped forever away into darkness. If such experiences as these are not inherited memories, what are they?

With sleep, the will becomes dormant. Waking, it guards and governs; chooses what we shall do and be and think; stands sentinel over the mind and rejects all comers with which it is not familiar. Unless the thought comes from within the known borders of the body's own life, the will will have none of it. But overtaken by fatigue and sinking into slumber with the night, his domain is left fenceless and unpatrolled, for with the will goes his troop of watchmen, judgment, logic, deliberation, ethics; and memory, ungoverned, and uncontrolled, holds a feast of misrule. The barrier between past and present melts away; all his ancestors are merged into the individual; the events of the day are inextricably tangled with those of two centuries since, and this motley play of time is called a dream.

A man going back but to his great grandparents has already fourteen direct progenitors and is heir of such strange or striking episodes of their fourteen lives as were sufficiently deeply impressed upon their memories to be transmittable. This alone is enough, one would think, to provide all the nights with material for the queer kaleidoscopic jumbling of leavings, with which the nimble mind diverts itself while its sluggish comrade snores, turning over the leaves of its old picture book alone in the dark, but there is no reason to believe that there is a limit to these inheritances.

One dreamer relates that the most vivid sensation her night memory holds is of finding herself standing alone, high up in a vast arena. It is open to the sky and the night is falling swiftly and warm. Everyone has gone but herself, but there is a tremulous sensation in her mind, as of very recent excitement, noise, and tumult. She is waiting for someone who is coming through the arched door on the left, and she rises to go. She feels the rough coolness of the stone beneath her hand as she helps herself to rise, and upon her throat and bosom she has a sensation of the light wool of her garment. It has the vivid familiarity of a personal and perfectly natural experience—so strong that, waking, she retains as keen a sense of it as if it was a happening of yesterday. This dreamer, whose night visions are many and of great vividness, remembers many more dreams of this type—momentary flashes of sensation of the trivial things about her, such as all persons have felt in their waking lives, only that the things about her in her dreams are totally unfamiliar to her waking brain. In one of these she is emerging from the back door of a small white house—intensely white in the glare of a fierce sun. The house seems square and flat-topped, built of stone and with no windows visible here in the rear. It opens on a narrow street of similar residences. A man is with her, dressed in a long black robe and wearing a curious black head-dress. He is reproaching her and remonstrating violently concerning her indifference in regard to religious matters. She looks away—annoyed and bored by his vehemence—and the whole picture vanishes. It was as clear, as natural and familiar as her own waking life, while it lasted. . . . The narrow street of white houses seemed the only possible form for a street—she had no consciousness of anything different or more modern. The man's

eager, stern face, with the heavy beard and the high head-dress looked in no way strange or unfamiliar. With that double consciousness with which we are all familiar when awake, she watched the movement of his lips and the wagging of his beard as he talked, full of a sense of distaste, and thought, while listening to his flow of clear words, "How tiresome these religious men are!"

Another dreamer—again a woman—was aware of standing in the dark, sword in hand (she seemed to be a man and the seeming was not strange to her), listening with furious pulses to a confusion of clashing blades and stamping of feet. Under the surface of passionate excitement the deeper sub-consciousness said: "All is lost! The conspiracy is a failure!" She was aware of a cool bravado which recognized the uselessness of attempting escape. The dice had been thrown—they had turned up wrong, that was all. Yet so vigorous and so courageous was the heart of this man that he was still buoyantly unafraid. There was a rush of bodies by him; the door swung back against him, crushing him to the wall, and a few moments later, under guard, he was passing through a long, low corridor of stone. The torches showed the groined arch above him, and, a cell being unlocked, for the first time he felt afraid. Inside was a big bear with a collar about its neck, and two villainous faced mountebanks sat surlily upon the floor. The man was very much afraid at the thought of such companions, for his hands were tied and he had no sword—yet he reasoned jovially with his guards, not wishing to show his real terror. After some protests his sword was returned to him and he stepped inside, again cheerfully confident. The door clanged to behind him and the dream faded. All the conditions of the dream, the change of sex, the strange clothes and faces, the arched corridor, the men with the bear, seemed to the senses of the sleeping woman perfectly natural. They were quite commonplace, and of course. For the most part however, her dreams are the fantastic hodge-podge common to dreamers, such as might result from the unsorted, unclassified memories of a thousand persons flung down in a heap together and grasped without choice. One curious fact she has noted is that though she is a wide and omnivorous reader, she has never had a dream or impression in sleep which might not have been part of the experience of some one of European or American an-

cestry. She is an ardent reader of travel and adventure, but never has she imagined herself in Africa, nor have the landscapes of her dreams been other than European or American.

Mr. Howells, in "True I Talk of Dreams," added confirmation on this point by saying that he had never been able to discover a dreamer who had seen in his dreams a dragon or any such beast of impossible proportions.

It suggests itself—*en passant*—that dragons and other such "fearful wild fowl" are not uncommon in the cataclysmic visions of delirium, but perhaps the potency of fever, of drugs, of alcohol, or of mania may open up deeps of memory, of primordial memory, that are closed to the milder magic of sleep. The subtle poison in the grape may gnaw through the walls of Time and give the memory sight of those terrible days when we wallowed—nameless shapes—in the primæval slime. Who knows whether Alexander the Great, crowning himself with the gold of Bedlam's straws, may not be only forgetful of the years that gape between him and his kingly Macedonian ancestor. Ah, Horatio! does your philosophy plumb all the mysteries of life and of heredity?

Another interesting fact, in this connection, elicited by extensive and persistent inquiry, is that those who come of a class who have led narrow and uneventful lives for generations dream but little, and that dully and without much sensation; while the children of adventurous and travelled ancestors—men and women whose passions have been profoundly stirred—have their nights filled with the movement "of old forgotten far-off things and battles long ago." Again, inquiry has elicited the fact that many persons, while hovering on the borders of sleep, but still vaguely conscious, are accustomed to see pictures of all manner of disconnected things—many of them scenes or faces which have never had part in their waking life—drifting slowly across the darkness of the closed lid like the pictures of a magic lantern across a sheet stretched to receive them, and these, by undiscernable gradations, lead the sleeper away into the land of dreams, the dim treasure house of memory and the past.

If a dream is a memory, then the stories of their momentary duration are easily credible. The falling rod upon the sleeper's neck might recall, as by a lightning flash, some scene in the Red Terror in which his ancestor participated—an ancestor so nearly allied, perhaps, to the victim suffering under the knife as to

know all the agonies vicariously, and leave the tragedy bitten into his memory and his blood forever.

When the words heredity or instinct are contemplated in their broad sense they mean no more than inherited memory. The experiences of many generations teach the animal its proper food and methods of defence. The fittest survive because they have inherited most clearly the memories of the best means of securing nourishment and escaping enemies. The marvellous facility gradually acquired by artisans who for generations practice a similar craft is but the direct transmission of the brain's treasures.

In sleep the brain is peculiarly active in certain directions, not being distracted by the multitude of impressions constantly conveyed to it by the five senses, and experiments with hypnotic sleepers prove that some of its functions become in sleep abnormally acute and vigorous. Why not the function of memory? The possessions which during the waking hours were useless, and therefore rejected by the will, surge up again, vivid and potent, and troop before the perception unsummoned, motley and fantastic; serving no purpose more apparent than do the idle, disconnected recollections of one's waking moments of dreaminess —and yet it may hap, withal, that the tireless brain, forever turning over and over its heirlooms in the night, is seeking here an inspiration or there a memory to be used in that fierce and complex struggle called Life.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

ENVIRONMENT AND MAN IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY N. S. SHALER.

CERTAIN words and phrases which were invented by naturalists to denote matters connected with the history of organic species have been taken over by the students of society, and used to denote actions which they presume to be essentially like those to which the words were first applied. In this way such terms as natural selection, environment, atavism, etc., have become current in fields where their significance is doubtful. In this as in other cases there is always danger that the imported word becomes what Bentham well called "a question-begging epithet," for the reason that it has a connotation which, though true in its original use, is false in its secondary application. Thus it is with *environment*. As used by botanists and zoölogists, it had a much more limited and definite meaning than it has come to possess in the very complicated affairs of human society, where it is used to designate not only the assemblage of physical influences but those of an intellectual and moral nature as well. As the word is of great value, as it denotes a range of actual or supposed influences which are of the utmost importance, it may be well to examine into the limitations which we should place upon it in its transformed state. For this purpose I have selected the district of New England, which, more than any other known to me, affords a satisfactory territory for the discussion of this question.

The advantages of New England as a field for an inquiry into the influences of environment are in general as follows: the country has been long inhabited by the people of our race, long enough at least, for an immediate effect of the surroundings to become evident; its physical conditions are well known; the people have attained a high degree of differentiation as to em-

ployments; the opportunities of comparing the folk with the ancestral stock beyond the sea are more than usually good. In fact, if there be anywhere a chance to determine the value of physical conditions in the development of peoples, we may expect to find it here.

In considering the matter, we should in the first place note that New England is much more like Old England than is any other part of America; this likeness is shown in many ways. To begin with, the surface of the country, unlike that of the continent in general, is extremely diversified; it has indeed the localized character of surface soil and in a measure of climate which we find in Great Britain. When as a young man I came from the tableland of Kentucky to study in New England, I remarked to the elder Agassiz that impression of relatively great variety which this seaboard country made upon me. He said that the area seemed to him essentially like that of the old world in that it had an exceedingly diversified character.

Between the mountains of New Hampshire and Vermont and the lowlands of Southeastern Massachusetts there are as great differences in conditions as are found in Great Britain, in passing from the Highlands of Scotland to the plains of Norfolk. In the area of almost any county of the six New England States we discover a range of soil-conditions extending from the arid pastures of the thinly covered rocky uplands to the swamps of the valleys, or it may be the marine marshes of the seashore. Everywhere there is lacking the consolidated character of the inner part, the centre, of this continent. Thus in New England the colonists found a fair semblance of much with which they were familiar in their native land, so that we cannot expect to discern among the influences of environment any effects which would be immediately due to the change in the matter of soil, climate or shape of the country. There are, it is true, noteworthy variations in all these features, the range of temperature is greater, the seasons vary somewhat in their order and accent, the rainfall is otherwise distributed than in Great Britain, but there is no such variation as could fairly be expected to stamp itself upon the people.

Turning now to the conditions which from their nature are likely to have a shaping influence upon the population of New England, we find at once a number of physical features

which not directly but in a secondary way have had a great effect upon the character of the population. Taking these in their natural order, we may begin with the subterranean stores of mineral wealth of the district. In this subterranean field we find extremely limited resources. From the first settlement to the present day the result of explorations has been to turn the minds of the people away from the occupations of the mine, from that generally delusive and usually disastrous expectation that fortune was to be won by finding precious metals. In later days stone quarries and occasional veins of pyrite and other ores have opened the way to profit, but these are matters of modern times. The early people were by the structure of the country turned away from the underground realm. Even in this day of accurate and untiring search for mineral resources, this part of the continent remains without discovered basis for extensive mining industries. When we note the evils which the search for the precious metals has brought upon other colonies, we may regard the sterility of the under-earth as one of the good fortunes of New England, as one of those negative blessings which often count for much in the life of peoples.

The soil of New England is, on the whole, not unlike that of Wales and Scotland. It yields the same crops, in rather scantier measure; as in those more rugged parts of the mother country, not more than one-half the area is or can be made in any way fit for the plow. Like as are the conditions of the earth in the old land and the new, there were certain circumstances of contact which were peculiar, and which were very effective in determining the history of the people. The whole of New England has been in a remarkable way affected by the action of the ice and water of the last glacial period. Although the same calamitous period affected the British Isles as well, the diversity of actions there was much less than on the western side of the Atlantic. In the old world region the effect of the visitation, so far as the soil is concerned, was, in the main, to leave a tolerably deep covering of what is commonly termed till or boulder clay upon the surface, which, though rather bouldery, is generally brought under tillage without much difficulty. In New England the division of the surface was usually into very stony fields, where it required from fifty to two hundred days of labor to bring about a good tilth, and into sandy areas, where the soil was ready for

the plow as soon as the forest had been cleared away, and decay had removed the roots of the trees. These two classes of soils are of such importance in the economic development of this area that their origin should be understood.

The till or boulder clay element in this and other countries is made up of a confused mixture of clay, sand, pebbles, and boulders, which became commingled with the ice as it moved forward in its slow but energetic movement. This debris descended upon the surface of the earth where the ice melted away, and has remained where it came to rest. While this till is the prevailing surface material of New England, a large part of the area is occupied by a very different deposit, formed at the same time mainly in front of the slowly retreating ice fields. This commonly takes on the character of sandy plains which are often curiously pitted. These plains were formed by the rivers which emerged from beneath the ice, carrying with them great quantities of comminuted rock, clay, sand, and pebbles; the coarser part of this debris was deposited near the front of the glacier in the form of deltas, the finer mud being carried away to the seas. These deltas of the ancient glacial rivers are inconsiderable in area in northern New England, but they continually increase in extent to the southward, until in the region south of Boston and east of Providence they occupy more than three-fourths of the surface. Besides these two groups of accumulations which afford materials for soil, there is a third consisting of the boulders and other lesser fragments which were shoved forward by the advancing ice in the brief periods when the prevailing retreat was interrupted by slight advances, or which were dropped at the front when for a time the glacial deposit remained with its outer face in one place. These moraines are infrequent and have played no important part in human affairs. They are of no agricultural account.

The soils formed on and of the till deposits in New England are in almost all cases of very fair fertility; they are moreover singularly enduring to tillage. There is, however, the singular difficulty connected with them that they are strewn over and filled with boulders to such an extent that a vast amount of labor has to be expended on them before they can be tilled. This condition is due to the fact that in this part of the world the bed rocks are very much jointed, so that the ice in dragging over their

surfaces rent an amazing number of fragments from their places and bore them on in its course. When the original settlers came to this country they found every part of these naturally fertile lands defended against the encroachments of man by a singularly perfect armor. To win an acre to the uses of husbandry demanded an expenditure not only of the serious labor required in clearing away the forest, but the yet greater toil needed in placing the boulders of movable size in stone walls and in burying many others in deep pits. It is true that in the northern parts of Great Britain the earth had borne in its original state a similar though less extensive encumberment of stones, but there in the slow advance of man toward civilization centuries had been devoted to this task of clearing the land; here the burden came at once upon a folk who had all the needs of civilized man with little more command of capital and of resources in the way of labor than their ancestors of two thousand years ago. The result was that the European colonists had to betake themselves at once to the second class soils, the sandy plains which abound in the shoreland district of this area—thus violating the general rule that the better lands of a country are the first to be occupied and tilled.

The sand plains of the New England district, indeed of all countries where they are found, afford but sterile soils. They are in the main made up of arenaceous material which contains but little food for plants. Although with the modern resources of artificial manures they are coming again into cultivation, the experience of the early settlers was to the effect that, while these fields had the merit of being tolerably free from the vexatious boulders, they had no other advantage. Gradually, in the main, after a century or so of bitter experience with the unprofitable deltas of the glacial rivers, the soil tillers began to win with exceeding toil the better earth from its envelope of boulders. Some work of this kind appears to have been done in the first half century after the settlement, but so far as I can learn from the imperfect sources of information at my command, little had been accomplished before the beginning of the eighteenth century. The mark of the first adjustment remains in the sites of the original agricultural villages and farmsteads, which in almost all cases where they were founded in the seventeenth century are upon the open sandy fields.

The effect of these soil conditions in New England was quickly to turn the attention of the enterprising colonists away from any expectation of winning wealth from the earth; the general understructure had denied them mineral resources, the state of the surface made it evident that they would not, like the colonists further south, look to agricultural resources as the basis of commercial success. In fact, though there was from time to time some small outgoings of field products, New England never succeeded in doing much more than supply its own demands, in the way of food such as the fields of the land afford.

Baffled in the effort to found success on the subterranean or the soil resources of the country, the New Englanders quickly turned their attention to the fisheries. In this realm of the seas, the same geological events which had deprived the land of its fertility gave an excellent opportunity for profit. The irregular, usually bouldery, waste formed by the glacial actions extends far beyond the limits of the shore; it creates at many points extensive shallows, such as George's Bank, which affords the best natural feeding grounds for the food fishes, which have been in such large measure the basis of the commercial prosperity of the country. A bouldery field above the plane of the ocean is poor ground for the nurture of anything that man can turn to profit; from that level downward to a depth of one hundred fathoms, a surface of this nature is admirably suited for the development of a marine life; it is especially fitted to support and attract the cod fish, the creature which was the pilot of the New Englanders to their first commercial prosperity. Fortunately, these fishing grounds, the product of glaciation, abound along the seashores of New England, are very extensive, and lie near a great number of harbors, which, though shallow for modern ships, afforded ample room for fishing vessels. The forests, moreover, abounded in excellent timber for building ships. Thus, though the colonists were not to any considerable extent from the seafaring folk of the old country, they shortly were led, we may say driven, by their necessities, to seek gain beyond the shore.

The industry of fishing was naturally the first step toward the larger enterprises of the sea. This industry was from the start successful. The blessed cod, perhaps the best good fish of all the known tenants of the ocean, was found in great numbers; it was readily taken; its flesh was savory and so easily cured that it

will keep for years. There was an almost unlimited market for the product of the fisheries in the more southern plantations of the continent, where a soil more easily won was yielding a great though temporary profit to the colonists. From the cod to the whale fishery was an easy transition, and the two combined made the best possible foundations for the marine commerce which grew up among the people after they had been trained in seafaring in the most natural way through the art of fishing. In this largest part of the sailor's work the development was again in the same way as with the fisheries, but in even greater measure, favored by the very many good harbors that exist along the shore, and which are due also to glacial action. For the ships of the last century the New England coast afforded the greatest number of good havens that exist in any part of the American coast where the other conditions permitted settlement. These natural ports are very accessible, they usually carry deep waters to their shores. They are not much encumbered with ice, the back country abounds in construction woods such as the ship carpenter demands, and also afforded a fair supply of the food stores required for voyages. Thus the environment led the shore line folk of this district straight forth to the sea and stamped a large part of its people with the admirable and enduring mark of that peculiar culture. Although there are no accurate data for determination, it appears likely that, in the two centuries from 1650 to 1850, somewhere near one-fourth of the population of this district were distinctly influenced by the maritime life which had become the basis of its prosperity.

The same conditions of soil which in a way compelled the New Englanders to essay fortune upon the sea led them in another direction of endeavor which has proved in its effects more lasting. The glacial event, as we have already noticed, covered the surface of the earth with a prevailingly deep deposit of very porous material; this of itself gives the streams an uncommon steadfastness of flow. Moreover, the drift is laid on in a very irregular manner so that it forms a multitude of depressions all of which were originally lakes, though the greater number of them have now been converted into bogs or swamps; these basins still further retard the flow of the water to the sea, delivering the rain fall in a gradual and tolerably constant manner. Furthermore, the country is tolerably elevated, so that the aggregate of available power that may be won

from the streams is very great. The value of these sources of energy for mill use was easily appreciated: very soon after the settlement, many of the lesser streams were the seats of corn mills, to which wool carding appliances were soon added. The records show that the authorities were early awake to the value of these sources of wealth : thus among the many regulations we may note an order that the curious division of the Charles River near Boston known as Mother Brook, which leaves the main stream in Dedham and by flowing into the Neponset River makes that city an island, has a right to carry one third of the water of the Charles. This law which was established in the later part of the seventeenth century attests the value of the mill privileges at that early day.

In its valuable water powers which owe their advantages to the glacial history of the country, the New Englanders found a feature which was destined in a remarkable manner to influence their future, even to the time beyond our day. At first these opportunities were sought for domestic needs alone, but as the expansion of the marine adventures came about, the little mills grew to be great factories and their varied products found a market the world over. In a way this industry, particularly that in woollen cloths, helped the needy agriculture. The sheep, a thrifty feeder, could pick up a sufficient living in fields where cattle would fare ill. To prepare the way for them it was not necessary to clear the land as for tillage, the timber could be felled and burned and the animals turned into the partly cleared ground where they would find subsistence among the boulders. In time they would extirpate the brushwood and so give room for grass. A large portion of the vast area of stony fields in this part of the country thus came to be deforested. Much of these old sheep ranges has been recovered by the woods since the cheaper wool of Australia and the Mississippi Valley has made it unprofitable to keep the creatures where they have to be fed through the long winter. The forests of New England afford excellent varieties of wood for the manufacture of tools and furniture; the bog iron ores, accumulations which often form beneath swamps, served for a time for the manufacture of iron. These advantages led to a very great diversity in the manufacturing work which depended on the water powers for the needed energy.

As the value of the water powers was enhanced by the

development of the agricultural interest, the people found that the swamps which had, by a natural process, the growth of peat, to a great extent taken the place of the glacial lakes, were no longer worthless lands but had a peculiar value, in that by slight dams at their outlets they could be converted into reservoirs for storing water to be used at the mills. The result has been the revival of hundreds if not thousands of effaced lakes and the extension of many others which had not entirely lost their lacustrine character. The resulting change in the aspect of southern New England has been great. The fields of fresh water which dot the landscape are probably twice as numerous and extensive as they were a century ago. Incidentally we may note that, while these reservoirs are a decided advantage to the mills, they are distinctly harmful to the health of the people; filled in the winter time and drawn down in the summer and early autumn to their beds of ooze, they have become the breeding places for malaria, the apparent source of those repeated epidemics of ague and fever once almost unknown in this part of the country but now a serious element in its list of diseases. Experience in many countries shows that, while a region may be very swampy, so long as the water in the bog areas remains at the same level throughout the year no malaria results, but if the level of inundation be much changed, as is necessarily the case in the reservoir system, ill effects surely follow.

The combined effects of a varied relation to the sea, and the yet more diversified influences of a manufacturing industry which concerned a wider range of work than had ever been undertaken in any other country of like area, in time gave to the characteristic New Englander some peculiar qualities or habits of mind. He became, as he is now, of all the world, the aptest man to discover in any situation some measure of advantage which might be turned to profitable account. He learned the precious lesson that in every place there is something which if well done will pay for the doing. The impress of this way of looking at the world may to the observant traveller be seen in every part of the area which has been subject to New England influences. Within this part of the country we find the most complete subdivision of industries which exists in any part of the world. In most cases these employments have taken root because of some local advantage in the way of access to peculiar natural stores or to certain

lines of transportation. In other instances they have been founded by some discerning person who, looking over the fields of employment, has seen that his place was fit for some pursuit which had not been essayed in his neighborhood, or was perhaps altogether novel. Thus, to note but a few of these specialized occupations, we find that the Attleboros are given to making jewelry, Leicester to the manufacture of "Card clothing," *i. e.*, the hook covered leather which is used for carding wool; the region about Gardiner to the making of chairs. At least fifty towns could be cited as the seats of such special callings, the peculiar conditions being due to the development of an active-minded people compelled to look beyond the soil or the resources which lay beneath it for the basis of their fortunes, indeed we may say, of their existence. Such eager and efficient application of wit and work to the possibilities of a situation has no parallel in the old world, and is unequalled in this country of expedients: it is a peculiarity of the New England conditions; it can be accounted for by the circumstances in which the people were placed. It is, in a word, the effect of environment.

The capacity to command a situation, which the training of the New England people has given, is to be remarked in their existing agriculture as well as in their other arts; it has led to several modern and novel developments, the most important of which is the culture of cranberries. For a long time this fruit was gathered in its wild state both in the old world and in the new, but it remained for the folk of Cape Cod to invent the complicated method of nurture of the vines which has made this form of tillage one of the important innovations of the century: one which has changed a very poor district into one of the most prosperous seats of crop production, making of worthless land a value which is exceeded only by some of the famous vineyards of Europe, and perhaps certain of the best orange groves of Florida. No other tillage devices of modern days are so original or so important as these, which have converted the peat bogs of the coast into hydraulically engineered fields that give an annual gross return of from two hundred to a thousand dollars per acre. In a like way the use of greenhouses, though common in other parts of the country, early became important as an industry in this section. In some of the rural communities of Massachusetts these forcing establishments are the source of the principal revenue of the people.

The same eminent inventiveness which has brought about the institution of industries has made it possible for the New Englanders, when the need arose, quickly to change their occupation to fit the altered requirements. In the formative period the same people often followed several callings at once : farming, fishing and shoemaking were often combined. Though the greater part of this elasticity has been lost through the more elaborate organizations of labor, it is easy to see the marks of it to this day. The quality is in the folk, it is ready to meet such changes as are by some apprehended through the Southern competition in the manufacture of cotton cloth. Should this industry betake itself to the neighborhood of the fields where the fibre is produced, it will probably change rather than lessen the industrial life of this region. We often find in New England manufacturing districts which have preserved their activities, though the nature of their labor has greatly and sometimes frequently altered.

An index of the peculiar manufacturing activity of New England may be found in the history of mechanical inventions ; from no other people of like numbers have there come so many of those contrivances. If we could determine the nativity of those who have had a share in the important inventive work of a mechanical sort, it is probable that quite one-half of the work in this country has been done by the small part of the population of the country which lies within the part of New England that has partaken of the manufacturing motives. It is plain that here, out of a people who were not by ancestral experience peculiarly concerned with mechanical work, the conditions have served in a singularly efficient way to make a folk who have a remarkable capacity for this peculiar group of tasks. Nurtured in this favorable field, the inventive mechanics of New England have been disseminated over this country, carrying with them their art, which included the power to devise new arts. To them mainly we owe the rapid and wide development of the industrial interests of this nation.

The foregoing considerations suggest, if they do not make it plain, that the influence of environment on man, at least in his civilized estate, though considerable, is not direct, but is brought about in a secondary manner. That it is not direct is well shown by the close likeness between the physical conditions of the people of New England and their now rather

remote kinsmen beyond the sea. No one who has had frequent opportunities for comparing the two peoples, and who looks beyond the superficial features of clothes and manners, will believe that differences of climate or soil have had any immediate influence upon them. The few indices which have been obtained from physical measurements go to show a firm adherence to the primitive type; the diversities are in mental quality, that realm in which the variations of human quality have long taken place. To see how far these variations have been induced by environment of a kind which influences the conduct of life, let us consider what would have been the probable history of the descendants of the people who settled in New England if they had settled in Virginia or Maryland.

There is no reason to believe that the settlers of New England, if they had found a home in an easily tilled land such as lies beside the James River or Chesapeake Bay, would have had a history greatly different from that which awaited the colonists of those more southern countries. Notwithstanding certain differences of faith, these peoples were essentially alike in all those features which serve to direct the course of populations. But the northern colonists, because they fell upon lands which bore the peculiar stamp which has been given them by the singular processes of the glacial epoch, were forced to peculiar and, to them, unnatural ways of progress. They could look to the earth for no more than a bare and hardly earned subsistence. This incidentally spared them the evils of slavery, for the African slave was profitable only in agricultural districts, and then only in the production of important exportable crops of which New England could produce none. Although they were not by inheritance seafarers or manufacturers, the New Englanders were forced to look to the deep for all their first gains and to the water powers for all their more permanent and larger profits. And in these occupations, through the impress giving effect of labor in peculiar fields, they came by their remarkable qualities.

A verification of the supposition that such effects as environment has had on the New England people have come in a secondary way through the direction which it has given to their occupations, is afforded by the state of many of the isolated communities which, lying in the remoter parts of the district, have lived on from generation to generation without feeling in

any distinct way the influence of the ships or the workshops, which has so generally affected their fellows. Such isolated settlements show us folk intellectually, so far as activity is concerned, far below the plane of their fellow-citizens in the districts which have had the characteristic life of the region. They are made up of just such folk as we may find in those parts of the United States where the humdrum vocation of farming has preserved the ancient repose of life.

All we know of the animal man is against the supposition that he is ready to vary in his qualities through the direct influence of his surroundings. Such measure of plasticity as he may once have possessed appears to have mostly disappeared. Thus, negroes transferred from equatorial Africa seem to be in no wise altered after an exposure for several generations to the very great change in climate, food, and other conditions which they have found in Virginia, or even in New Brunswick. If natural selection played its ancient part, environment might perhaps be more efficient in its action on mankind than we find it to be, but this agency has long since ceased to be of distinct value among civilized peoples. The only discernible way in which the surroundings can operate on man above the rudest savage state is through the occupations to which they may lead. In this way they may serve to produce varieties in intellectual qualities by two different modes of action; they may bring together into selected communities people of a particular quality who, then intermarrying, may in time come to have certain characteristics. Thus a seafaring town, for the reason that only men of a vigorous mould and an enterprising spirit are apt to turn to or keep in the sailor's life, is, if the occupation be long continued, very likely to show some traces of a natural selective process, which is not "natural selection" as the term is ordinarily used. Perhaps the best term for this process is class selection, a process which is potent in our highly organized societies in a way which is not well recognized by students of sociology. It seems to me that this class selection, which operates even more in matters of the spirit than in those of the body, has been of considerable importance in the development of New England characteristics and that it is through its action that we owe and are in the future to owe much more of the ability manifested in its population.

It should in this connection be noted that, from the beginning,

this district has been the seat of a singular intermigration of men, both as regards dwelling-place and occupation. There has been no presumption that the son should abide with the parents in calling or residence : the result has been that here probably to a greater extent than in any other equally long settled country the youths have been free to seek the place where their inborn aptitudes would find employment. From this element of freedom has arisen the formation of tolerably distinct groups of population, each claiming and taking its fit share of the offerings of talent, and tending, through intermarriage, to increase the capacity which has been the basis of its success.

The main point of the argument concerning the influence of environment in New England is that the glacial history of the country deprived it of readily tillable soil and compelled the early settlers to resort to the poorest class of fields. The result was that they were driven to the sea and to manufacturing. In these departments of activity the same glacial agents which had harmed the relation to the soil have in large measure favored them, giving good harbors and fishing grounds and excellent water powers. In this way some of the most important directing influences which have affected this interesting people were established; it is not too much to say that the economic conditions of the district were thus determined. If this position be well taken, we may claim that we have here one of the best instances which have yet been adduced to show the effect of the geological structure of a country on the modern development of a civilized people.

It may furthermore be said that what has been done in New England is but a striking example of what is taking place elsewhere in this country. The element of freedom of occupation, which is singularly characteristic of this country, permits the people to group themselves with reference to their environment according to their motives, or, in other words, according to their capacities. The result is, doubtless, to be a classification of our population, based in ability and on the resources for occupation which this land of abounding opportunities affords.

N. S. SHALER

THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE CONDITION OF MAN THEREIN.—VI.

BY THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.

II.—MAN'S CONDITION IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

Conclusion.

It remains to consider some larger assumptions which have been extensively made by writers taking the side adverse to what they usually call the traditional theology.

1. While the experience of life shows on every side that habit hardens by use, that the gristle passes into the bone, that under the laws of our nature we travel steadily towards the unchangeable in cases where bias has been habitually and permanently indulged by repetition of acts, the lessons of this experience are to be cast aside with respect to the laws which are to govern character in the world to come, and the unchangeable will there undergo a process of transformation and reversion, by becoming a pliable and docile material fashioned upon new laws contradictory of the old.

2. While the justice of punishing wickedness is admitted, and it is held, or not denied, that the measure of our punishment will be found in the amount and character of our iniquity, and it is moreover felt to be unreasonable for us to impose limitations of quantity and quality on the effect without any adequate power of measuring the cause, the single point of duration is picked (so to speak) out of the case, and it is laid down, without any question raised on severity and intensity, that the prolongation without limit of suffering in any form, whether forensically inflicted or by natural laws as the fruit of character acquired in this life,

must be under all circumstances incompatible with the justice of God.

3. That the character of the Almighty is rendered liable to changes which cannot be repelled so long as the idea remains that there may by His ordinance be such a thing as never ending punishment, but that it will have been sufficiently vindicated at the bar of human judgment so soon as it has been established and allowed that punishment, whatever else it may be, cannot be never-ending.

As regards the first of these features of the new teaching, which has already been touched in part, does it not amount to a gratuitious substitution of speculation for experience, and is such a substitution to be properly regarded as an act of courage, or as a desperate venture of mental rashness? To my mind it stands in the latter category.

It would be thought strange to teach a reversal of some great law of the natural universe; for instance, a displacement of the law of gravity in favor of a law of repulsion between material substances. Yet it is conceivable that such a change might be brought about as to take small effect upon the main work and purpose of our existence, as our relation to it might be susceptible of adjustment. But the laws of our own constitution and growth, by which our destiny is redeemed from the sport of chance and bound into a whole, supply the standing ground on and from which we are to confront and act upon the universe. How can the propounders of such a scheme rationally expect that future inquirers will accord to their novel, we might say new-fangled, notions, a respect which they themselves have withheld from the most intimate and universal facts of human experience?

As respects the second and third of these assumptions, it would appear that those who make them are in good faith impressed with an apprehension lest the character of the Almighty should suffer, in the estimation of a portion of His creatures, from the currency of tenets which they deem to be irreconcilable with His essential attributes.

There is something that is touching, and perhaps also something that is startling, in this enterprise. It was bold on Milton's part when he undertook

"To justify the ways of God to man,"

and perhaps his success was not so complete as to recommend the

entertainment, without much consideration, of similar designs. And the first condition to be reasonably asked of them is that they should measure at the outset the scope and extent of their undertaking. Also that they should weigh the question whether, in our present state of clouded limitation, we are to hold ourselves bound or invited to clear the present dispensation under which we live of all the moral anomalies, disparities, and apparent contradictions lying around us; and if so, whether it would not seem to be in the natural order that we should begin with the facts and events of the present existence, concerning which we are armed at least with a store of experimental knowledge, rather than launch upon a series of adjustments for the world future and unseen, on ground which we cannot firmly tread, and in an atmosphere which we have no lungs to breathe.

Evil, according to this philosophy, has no right to a place in this world. They therefore set themselves to work to dislodge it, at least in hypothesis, by assuming that, at some uncertain time, there shall be a reign of universal happiness; and, moreover, there is also to be taken for granted the accompaniment of universal goodness. The reply suggests itself: "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?" When the prophets portended a flood of blessing, when the apostles proclaimed a coming triumph of righteousness and peace, the first referred in vision to, and the last brought into possible and visible action, a scheme of means adequately equipped with motive power, whereby the results which they predicted were to be obtained. But this new forecast of the future advisedly, or at least manifestly, passing by the remedial system now in action, steps out into the void that lies beyond it. Not like the cautious Butler, who reckons upon nothing without a foresight of means adequate to the end in view, they make no addition to the "going machinery" of redemption, but totally anticipate results without any indication of the means to produce them. Do they not truly stand as men who make bricks without straw, and anticipate the flowers and fruits of their garden without sowing any seed to produce them? Wickedness and suffering within the bounds of creation are, as they conceive, disparaging to the Creator, and inevitably bring into question either His wisdom, His justice, or His power. They therefore do not indeed provide, but suggest, a sweeping scheme for their removal, thrusting out of the way any established laws of

our nature which would hinder the consummation. Evils shall vanish; suffering shall have an end; the Almighty shall be vindicated. But is this a real or solid vindication? Does it not rather include within itself the materials of a hopeless dilemma, and therefore the doom of inevitable failure? Evil is to be employed or tolerated up to a certain date, and then, for the honor of God, is to cease. But before that date it has *ex hypothesi* been employed or tolerated; and where was the honor of God then? If it was compatible with the honor of God for a time, why may it not continue compatible, so as to make use of it hereafter? If employed, or tolerated, this was either with reason or without. If without reason, we have no security against its continuance without reason. If with reason, how can we know that the reason which operated before may not also operate after? If it is wise, if there be a vindication at present veiled from our view, how can we presume to say that there is a date at which it must cease to be available? If unwise for the longer period, how shall we show that it was wise for the shorter? If wise for the shorter, how can we tell whether it may be also wise for the longer? There are special dangers attending upon labor which is volunteered; and an imperfect vindication may be worse than no vindication at all, especially in the view of those who see there is open to us an alternative in the reservation of our judgment until the day when the secrets of the Divine wisdom shall be laid open, or more open, to our view.

Let us endeavor still further to exhibit the perilous, and totally ineffectual, nature of these doubtless well-meant attempts to take into our hands the exculpation of Divine Providence. As we see, the objectors of the present day to what they term the teaching of the "traditional theology" appear to think that, when they have got rid of the element of endless duration in the matter of future punishments, they have thereby attained to a satisfactory vindication of the Divine character from the charge of inflicting excessive and unnecessary suffering.

As has been said, it is a very serious matter to undertake at all the vindication of the character of the Divine Being, especially for us who do so little to maintain, improve or repair our own; since it seems to imply, at least for the moment, the possession of a kind of superior position; or to allow that idea, or its results at least, to find their way into the mind. But apart from any

scruple or difficulty on this score, it does not appear to me that this vindication, however honorably sought, is, or can be, attained by us with our present limited supply of knowledge and means of inquiry. The utmost the vindicator can do seems to be to abate or cancel a single point in the indictment, which it is the practice of negationists to bring against the character of God. It is objected to the doctrine of endless punishment that there is no proportion between offences committed in our narrowly bounded life and the wide field of an unlimited existence, over the whole of which the expected retribution is to prevail. I do not now speak of the recorded replies to this objection, which may or may not be satisfactory. But let us give the objector all he asks; and then inquire whether, by expelling the element of endlessness from punishment, we so alter the spectacle presented to us by the conditions of human destiny, that we can take upon ourselves to bring them all into harmony (and this is the purpose in view) with the character of an all-wise, all-righteous and all-powerful God. We have to meet the challenge of the negationist in other and separate lists. "Show me the justice," he demands, "of placing the responsibility of existence upon creatures, who have no choice given them in the matter, and then weighing them down with tendencies to mischief inherited from their ancestors: with pressure due to adverse and sometimes apparently domineering environment; with suggestion, attraction, menace, danger in every form; with an evil bias rooted in themselves through a degeneracy of nature asserted by our highest, that is, by revealed, authority, and but too largely established by corroborating experience? Is not," he asks, "your free will, on which you so much rely as an argument, frequently placed under an amount of solicitation or pressure such as, in the judgment of every equitable observer, comes indefinitely near to the aspect of coercion?"

I go further and ask whether the objector may not press us, his respondents, with a wider question, and put the following words into his mouth: "You take shelter behind the free will of the human being, which you allege enables him to deal with each action, and with every situation, in detail. But you cannot deny that there is a broader question, the question of existence itself. This existence is admitted to be attended with danger; and yet there was neither a consent

obtained from us as a condition of our entering on it, nor liberty granted, with a free passage provided, to enable us to lay it down. What was the All-goodness that called into existence free beings, with a fore-knowledge that the misuse of this freedom would bring them into misery? Why were they to be made examples of the law which annexes misery to a failure to do right, without their first being freely made parties to a trial upon that issue? Does not the title to be free upon each of the parts carry with it a corresponding claim to be free upon the great question of existence, which sums up them all?" To his challenges I am able to make no fuller reply than this, that, according to our faith, every man will be judged with full allowances for every adverse incident of his lot, and that God will enable all, who sincerely strive for it, to overcome alike the circumjacent and the indwelling sin, or will in any and every case deal with them according to most exact justice. Then he asks me: "Why were they solicited, and vexed, and stained with evil in any shape? There is no such thing as a universal right inherent in all who have the power to place people in temptation because it is hoped, believed, or even known, that with immense effort they will overcome it."

But, I reply, this evil is for them a means of good, and, by means of the training they receive, they attain to more and higher good than they could have attained without it. But I have not yet fully repelled my assailant. He is again upon me, and he says: "What, then, means your sovereignty of a good power who, in the case of man, is dependent upon our evil principle for the best accomplishment of His design? Add to this what I am entitled to ask: How far does the necessity for this ill-assorted aid extend? Does it go beyond the case of man, and is the whole universe tainted with evil as the condition of becoming good? If man is an exception, why is he only placed under this disadvantage, and at the same time told that he is an object of special if not exceptional or exemplary favor in the Divine counsels? At any rate, there is one order of beings, made known to us by Scripture, and, as many will say, also by experience, with regard to whom the question legitimately arises. These are the fallen angels. Are these, too, under discipline, and intended to reap the harvest of the greater good? If not, why not?" But, you reply affirmatively, then you contemplate the loss from the universe of the power by which this beneficial action of evil is

maintained? And this runs up into the final question. "Evil is a thing abhorrent to the divine nature; furnish me with an adequate reason why it came into the world." I am obliged to reply that no such reason is in my actual possession, that I must look for it to the region of Faith, and to some province of that region which has not yet been opened, but which is still enveloped in clouds and darkness.

So then all that our objector has done is, in his own estimation, to have effected a certain quantitative deduction from the charges advanced by negationists against the character of God. But the matter is one which cannot be disposed of, nor essentially affected, by any merely quantitative process. The vindication of the character of God is a business that ought not to be undertaken by halves. If we are compelled to halt in the operation before placing that character in the light in which it ought to stand to the eye of some high and sinless intelligence, it may after all be better to take refuge in our own humble condition, and accept the problems of existence under the limited and imperfect forms in which alone God has permitted us to approach them.

Faith and reason unite to assure us that the world to come will be a world of readjustment; where the first shall be last, and the last first, and where both good and evil shall receive their just rewards. This answer covers the whole field. But attempts at vindication, unwarranted, precipitate, and mistaking our poor twilight of knowledge for broad day, both fail of their purpose, and recoil upon their projectors.

I suppose that most of us, if thinking at all upon the coming conditions of our companion pilgrims who precede us on their passage into the shadows of death, must think, upon a survey of the field of our experience, that they defy in innumerable cases our feeble powers of estimation, those cases namely in which some real form of goodness seems to have a real, perhaps a strong and permanent, hold, but where it had not taken conscious and deliberate effect in full conformity to the Divine will. Take, for example, the instances in which, apart from any distinct self-devotion to God, life has been principally or systematically spent in the endeavor to diminish human suffering; and this, perhaps, with the exercise of much active renunciation and self-denial. Or again, where it has been similarly given to that improvement of

the temporal conditions of human life, which, in a greater or a less urgent degree, the majority of our fellow-creatures, or at the very least a large portion of them, appeared to need. Or again, where men apply their thought and means not to the indulgence of their appetites but to the improvement and expansion of their own powers for purposes of eventual utility. In all these schemes for bettering God's world, regard to the Lord of that world, and humble dependence on His power and benediction ought to have their proper place ; which, by the supposition, has not, or not in due measure, been given to it. Or let us turn our view to another and extended category of those classes who embrace the Divine word with what they think to be an entire willingness, nay, with a sanguine exultation. I do not now speak of the modes in which this state of mind may be contaminated by a self-confidence in utter antagonism to the true life of the gospel, but to the more simple, less entangled case when the broad propositions of religion are accepted, but accepted too near the surface, without measuring them against the entire thought, life, and purpose of the man, so that they are but partially applied and allow of the retention of this or that habit which either falls short of, or even is on its own ground in obvious conflict with, the laws of the Divine life. These appear to be allowable illustrations of the manner in which we shall find that certain suppositions of Butler leave unimpaired all the stringent, as well as all the soothing, life teachings of the gospel ; but yet supply the mind in its permitted excursions beyond the grave, which are so often suggested by strong motives of nature and affection, with many ideas such as at once feed us with hope and comfort, and widen our horizon of thought upon the providential scheme and upon the blessings and eventual reach of the Incarnation, that grand remedial instrument on which we rest all our hopes.

In comparison and contrast with the three more prominent theories or doctrines on the condition of man in the world to come, let us now turn to that larger teaching on the subject, which, though only in an occasional and fragmentary shape, Butler has been led to suggest after he has parted from the formal but limited discussion to which his first chapter is devoted. His suggestions do not ostensibly touch the lines of prevailing controversies : but they tend somewhat to modify the idea of an immediate and unconditional finality in the condition of the human

soul following upon death, which the Reformation of the sixteenth century, from the particular circumstances of its origin, did so much to foster.

Even in his first chapter, Butler intimates that death may issue in not only a continuation but an enlargement of existence; in a state when, through the widening of conditions, what we now deem to be above nature or beyond it, may be found to be thoroughly natural.* And here I ask leave to spend a moment in confessing the comparative security and satisfaction with which I follow the steps of Butler on the rare occasions when he speculates, as comparing him with other speculators. I feel like one resting on the wings of a great and strong bird, when it takes an excursion in mid-air, and is felt to mount as easily as it will descend.

With this notion of Death, as leading to enlargement, Butler's very marked views respecting habit, growth, and evolution, as pertaining to our nature, are strongly in accord. It was from or with these views that he was led to question the philosophy, if not the theology, which with such shallow wisdom seems to teach us that with death the book is closed, at any rate until the Resurrection and the Judgment, by which it sets no great store, and for which it leaves indeed but little room. Such a man as Butler could not be hasty to assume that, if the interval be one of conscious life and action, it can pass without leaving behind it legible traces of its influence upon character.

Butler, as a sedulous observer of what was going on around him, was struck by the great advances which, probably, having Newton in his mind, he conceived to have been recently effected in natural knowledge. The universe is, he finds, in a manner boundless and immense.† It is an inference from this grand physical disclosure that there must be some scheme of Providence vast in proportion to it. Next he noticed‡ the essential tendencies of virtue or goodness to acquire for itself augmentation of power. These tendencies may be expected to operate freely and with energy, when the grievous hindrances which now beset them shall have been removed. They have the signs, what may be termed the air, of belonging to the peculiar conditions of the present life. It is

* *Anal.*, I., i., 31.
† *Ibid.*, I., iii., 28.
‡ *Ibid.*, I. iii., 30. *et alibi.*

therefore probable that, in the world to come, they may not reappear as now. Should this be so, many souls of men, incapable of normal evolution in the present state, may be found to be capable of it when a favorable change in the balance between auxiliaries and impediments shall have been effected. This may have no more the character of a paradox than when we say that ten pounds, which will not outweigh twenty, will outweigh five. Powers, the action of which was suspended by the adverse preponderance, will emerge into the open, and find scope for action, when that preponderance has been removed or reversed.

The discoveries, partly effected in Butler's time, of the vastness of the material universe at once led his profound and searching spirit to inquire whether, under the guidance of his master principle of analogy, he found cause to draw from the fact of those discoveries in the physical order any collateral inferences in respect to the moral and spiritual world. He did not indeed help to mislead his fellow men by teaching, as is now the fashion in some quarters, that the immense enlargement of the visible kingdom of God proves the insignificance of the world which we inhabit, or discredits the idea that it can be the scene of an exceptional and peculiarily illustrious dispensation, such as is exhibited in the Incarnation of our Lord. His speculation was the very opposite of this precipitate, shallow and barren suggestion: a suggestion of which it is enough to say that, when traced home to its principle, it is detected in the offence of using the weights and measures of the physical universe as the criterion of moral and spiritual magnitude. On Butler's mind these grand disclosures had the effect of widening his conception of the possible scope of the natural and moral government exhibited to us in Nature and Revelation. In effect they suggested to him an enlargement of the purpose and working of the Incarnation itself beyond the scope of the common conception, both popular and theological. For, says Butler, rising to the highest degree of confidence which he ever allows himself to indulge, it is certain that, as the material world appears to be in a manner boundless and immense, there must be some scheme of Providence reaching outside the material world, and vast in proportion to it.* With this weighty observation he winds up a course of thought in which he has pointed out that virtue, so sorely restrained and

* *Anal.*, I., iii., 27.

hampered here, might in another state of things be relieved from its impediments, and be placed under conditions favorable to its full development and corroboration. And further, that, being thus in itself enlarged and enhanced, it might be exhibited to, and might form a power of attraction for, others who had not yet been drawn to it. And this might happen "amongst one or more orders of creatures"; and the benefit might accrue "in any distant scenes or periods," to those among "any orders of vicious creatures" having among them some who were capable of amendment, and of being recovered through a just sense of virtue.*

Thus does Butler appear to have embraced the ideas, first, that the developments of character effected through the Incarnation of Christ might operate upon beings subject to the Creator, but not belonging to the human race; and, secondly, that, also within the limits of the human family itself, persons who had not in this life in any manner perceptible to us actually crossed the line which divides righteousness from its opposite, might make such further advances as would effect that transition, provided their characters were still in such a state as to leave them capable of effectual amendment.

This limitation is undoubtedly of importance. It secures morality, the religious discipline of life, and the whole scheme of the Christian revelation, against that general dilution, and indeed virtual dissolution, of responsibility in conjunction with the present life which must result if mankind, so powerfully predisposed to a relaxed belief, were instructed to assume that the exercises of this life might be multiplied in, perhaps, an interminable series of existences, and had no exceptional character, no final and determining effect. We may take it for granted that Butler noticed, in common with every careful observer, the equivocal condition in which so many appear to quit the world. Let us first take some of the less difficult among these cases. They have not ceased truly and in their inmost selves to desire good, but they have not brought that desire, sincere yet overweak, to good effect. They perform freely many acts in the service of God; they accept without murmuring every dispensation administered to them from without by His will; they even exhibit much of unselfish devotion to the interests of their fellow men; and yet they have not conformed to the supreme law which in God's own world

*Anal., I., iii., 27.

places the root and centre of all our vital purposes not only in subjection, but in an active conformity, to His sovereign will: for, where positive love and service are due, mere non-resistance forms no legitimate substitute for them. And yet the heart will not desist from asking: Are not such fruits of partial good, such tendencies towards effectual and supreme good, as mark this multitude of souls, worth preserving, and is it reasonable to suppose they can only be cast away as of none account? It would be still less reasonable to suppose they could be recognized as adequate and normal fruits of the Incarnation of Christ, or represent a spiritual condition which can be permitted to continue unless in train to what is better and in vital connection with the central life and light of the universe. It may then perhaps appear that Butler has found or approached the true meeting point of these contrary but not contradictory suggestions, in the noteworthy section which is probably to be regarded as the crown and coping-stone of Butler's comprehensive and diversified reflections on our condition in the future state.

But these suppositions are indeed no more than an extension of the rational and philosophical belief which the greater part of the Christian Church has always held respecting the laws which govern the condition of the believing dead. The Church has walked in the path opened for it by St. Paul through his prayer on behalf of Onesiphorus. It has condemned our accepting what is termed the sleep of the soul; a speculation amounting to a suspension of human existence, and alike at variance with Scripture, which describes the active enjoyments and even sufferings of the dead, and with reason, which exhibits to us our nature as constituted with a view to discipline and advance through the prolongation of existence and through the action it entails. The Christian dead, then, are in a progressive state, and the appointed office of the interval between death and resurrection is reasonably believed to be the corroboration of every good and holy habit, and the effacement of all remains of human infirmity and vice. The extension suggested by Butler amounts to this: that, while the view of the Church in general only extends to those who have before death given evidence of repentance and faith such as the human eye can reasonably appreciate, still, as he suggests, where this evidence falls short, the root of the matter may be there notwithstanding, and the Almighty may

reserve to His own jurisdiction the development necessary to cover both the ground which a more palpable sanctification had in other cases visibly secured anterior to death, and that remainder of progress generally reserved for accomplishment hereafter, even by souls of a clearly manifested faithfulness to their Lord.

Under such a view as Butler's, then, of the teaching of our religion as to the dead, it would appear that there may be introduced, at the hour of final adjustment, to receive the divine word, a body whose position, relatively to that of the other believers, may be compared with that of the laborers in the vineyard hired at the ninth and the eleventh hours. True, indeed, that, according to the parable, we are not entitled to say that they had known of and had refused or neglected any earlier offer. But then it may be also true of these, so to speak, belated spirits, that they, either as a class or in particular cases, owed their backward condition rather to the want of opportunity than to a greater perverseness of the will or a more obstinate slackness to hear and to obey. Be this as it may, there are two things on which we may rest with considerable, if not indeed with undoubting, confidence. The first is that there will be no murmuring against the Master's bounty, no grudge as towards those newly admitted to a share of the reward. The second that, in all cases where the smaller degree of progress achieved has been due to the man, and not to the environment of the man, he will take no benefit by his delays; the sum of whatever enjoyments he may by them have unlawfully secured in this life will not in the least degree contribute to his final happiness or augment its sum total; but, on the contrary, will have left behind tracks of the course that has been trodden, and will have impressed tendencies, or left stains upon the soul which have had to be reversed or effaced by a process of discipline, happy indeed in its result, but of which we have no right to assert, as indeed we have no such right in other cases of departed spirits, that the redeeming and consummating process will be accomplished without an admixture of salutary pain.

I have slightly sketched one class of cases, by way of illustrating Butler's supposition, where much good had been generated by the discipline of life, but where it still remained defective in its relation to the central good, and may have sorely lost thereby. There are many other classes, to our eyes yet more dubious, on

which there would be no advantage in descanting. The fundamental idea lying at the root of his conception is this: that the appreciation of character and of moral action is a high matter, in which our means of judgment are scanty and feeble, that we are therefore not competent to pronounce, in the intermediate region between manifest excellence and glaring sin, upon the state of souls; that, as they may be worse so they also may often be better than the evidence available for our use would warrant our declaring or assuming; that, while the determining impulse may have been received during life, the direction of the resulting movement may not as yet have been exhibited in our sight, and that this awful reckoning which will set the last first, and the first last, is not permitted to us, but is reserved for eyes more penetrating as well as more just.

It may be thought, and perhaps justly thought, by persons of more experience and perspicacious reflection than myself, that, while professing to follow the footsteps of Butler into the Unseen, I have not succeeded in conforming to his Christian and philosophic circumspection. Should this be so, I can only regret my being unequal to discharging the duty of an intelligent disciple; and I cherish the hope that my errors are not either wanton or contumacious. The Master, at least, is here open to no charge.

His speculations on behalf of departed spirits which have not while in the flesh given evidence cognizable by us of their reunion with God, are not loosely projected into space. They are for those only who are "capable of amendment, and being recovered to a just sense of virtue." If we have no adequate means of judging who these may be, our incapacity may suggest the further question: Why should we have such means? The premature possession of them might bring about a relaxation of the bonds of moral obligation. Such is the account I should presume to give of the pregnant thoughts expressed by Butler in the remarkable section we have now before us. He avoids, it will be seen, the dangerous figment of those who please their imaginations by gratuitously supposing, to the grave disparagement of the Scriptures and the great redemption, that a new state or states of probation for us lie beyond the dread barrier of the grave. The question he raises is not that of a new probation, but only whether the present probation may take more complete effect under circumstances more felicitous than those of the ter-

restrial life. He does not add any thing to the Incarnation, but he asks a guarded question as to the manifestation of results which in their essence have been already wrought though not developed; and he gives us hope of hereafter rescuing a wider domain from the sway of evil or of its consequences, without weakening in the present critical state the laws of righteous award.

As a general apology for the papers which will be herewith brought to a close, I advance a proposition which, at least in its general terms, will not be gravely contested. Those who are conscious of their inability to solve a problem or close a controversy may, nevertheless, render a real, though limited, service if they can eject from it matter gratuitously imported; draw attention to conceptions by which it has been both widened and perplexed; relieve it from the pressure of unwarranted assumptions; secure upon a field of doubtful speculations a temper of reserve; and make contributions towards narrowing the issues upon which men have found or thought themselves to be divided.

In pursuit of this general aim, the following measures have here been adopted.

1. To call into question the title of what is termed natural immortality to the place which it now largely holds in the religious mind of our generation; and to exhibit it as a contested and undecided matter of philosophical speculation, as to which we do not possess material sufficient to warrant the assertion of any duty either to affirm or to deny.

2. To point out that early Christianity was not saddled with the responsibilities attaching to this opinion, and therein possessed a freedom which has been impaired by its unauthorized encroachments and tacit usurpation of the field as a tenet to be accepted as if part of the Christian faith.

3. To show that the Christian religion, properly so-called, is less directly implicated in these contentions than has been commonly supposed; and thankfully to put under view the wisdom and moderation of the early Christian Church in the construction of its Creeds.

4. To describe the three formally developed modes now chiefly prevalent in the presentation of the subject, and leave it to be considered whether there is not good reason sometimes firmly to eschew and condemn, and sometimes at least to stop short of affirming, various propositions which one or other of them has advanced.

5. To point attention to the diversities of phrase and idea, with which the lot of those rejected in the world to come is set forth by our Lord. My mind is swayed towards the belief that the combined effect of the several declarations is to indicate a Divine purpose of reserve as to all which lies beyond the broad and solemn utterance hereinbefore cited from St. Paul; and that the firm assertion and enforcement of the truth conveyed in that utterance might possibly be found more effective for the practical repression of sin than its development into more copious and detailed, but less certainly authorized, expositions.

6. To bring into view the guarded enlargement of the common field of view, which Butler has conjecturally supplied, and in which he abates nothing from the efficacy of the Incarnation of the Saviour, but adds to the sum of its beneficent results.

All this the present writer has set out as subject to correction, worthy at most only of being deliberately pondered, in the hope that the wheat may be duly winnowed from the chaff. A similar sense of the evils and dangers of self-confidence governs me in the attempt to sketch the frame of mind into which, not as a teacher of religion, but as a private Christian, he seeks to cast his own contemplation of the subject.

The future life, says Butler, is the foundation of all our hopes and all our fears, such hopes and fears as are worthy of any consideration. We are invited to assume an immense inheritance, of which the portion withheld from present view is of such extended range, as to throw the present bounded scene not indeed into insignificance, but into minuteness. In what St. Paul described as the fulness of time, a gospel was proclaimed, tidings of joy and gladness, with a background, it is true, of penal retribution for the obstinately disobedient, but still with joy and gladness for their principle, their determining character; inasmuch as, had it been otherwise, the great gift so long kept for the maturing process in the womb of time would have not been an *euangelion*, but a *dusangelion* to man. The leading office of the gospel, in its bearing on the world to come, was to make known not misery but salvation. Its direct concern was with the moral and spiritual part of man; the part in which he had received a deadly wound; the part which supplies the true enduring basis of what he *is*, the basis of his character. To heal that wound, to supply that character with a fund of enduring vitality,

it did not furnish him with particular information as to the conditions of the life to come; but, leaving his ignorance to be dispelled at the proper season when it comes, revealed the one great secret which comprised in itself every other that concerned him, the mode and means of his reunion with God.

But in the shadow of this glorious teaching lay the inevitable question: What shall be the lot of those who reject it? This question was small and remote for the hundred and twenty elect souls* in the upper room set upon pursuance of the truth and the right. But it gradually grew large and larger still for the Church as it spread from land to land, and obtained the world's confessed or professed allegiance. The provision for meeting this question was ready to hand. It lay, in a certain sense, outside the gospel, and was anterior to it, like the other laws of our human nature, and of the government of the world by its author. But this law, like all other antecedent and perpetual laws, was acknowledged by the gospel the law of "indignation and wrath, tribulation, and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil,"† yet acknowledged with a sorrow which is shown by the comparatively fluctuating or shadowy manner in which this sad reverse of the picture is handled—the inseparable but obscure under side, so to speak, of the great foundation-stone of peace and happiness. How much do we know of the lot of the perversely wicked? They disappear into pain and sorrow; the veil drops upon them in that condition. Every indication of a further change is withheld, so that if it be designed it has not been made known, and is nowhere incorporated with the divine teaching. Whatever else pertains to this sad subject is withheld from our too curious and unprofitable gaze. The specific and limited statements supplied to us are, after all, only expressions in particular form of immovable and universal laws—on the one hand, of the irrevocable union between suffering and sin; on the other hand, of the perfection of the Most High—both of them believed in full, but only in part disclosed, and having elsewhere, it may be, their plenary manifestation, in that day of the restitution of all things for which a groaning and travailing Creation yearns.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

* Acts i, 15.
† Rom. ii, 8, 9.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE LOYAL WEST.

I HAVE some acquaintance with the country west of the Mississippi River, which is evidently the section designated as the West by Mr. Henry Litchfield West in his article in the April number of the REVIEW, entitled "Two Republics or One?"

I was born and educated in the State of New York. I lived three years on the east bank of the Mississippi River and thirty-five years in Colorado. I have been nearly twenty years in public life and have had, for thirty years, quite an extensive acquaintance throughout the country west of the Mississippi River, with public men both in the National and State governments, as well as with the people. The difference spoken of by Mr. West as to economic principles does exist, and there is quite a general feeling that the East is ungenerous to the West, and such differences may, and doubtless will, divide the people somewhat on sectional lines in party organizations; yet there is no sentiment in the West that will justify the inference that now, or hereafter, the people of that section will favor a divided republic. The suggestion of such a proposition would be regarded as treasonable, and would ruin any party or man who should even hint at such a possibility.

The West is strong and self-reliant. Its natural resources are of a character to justify the very general expectation that some day it will dominate the Republic, both on account of its population and its wealth. Every year the centre of population goes westward, and in a few years it will be west of the Mississippi River.

The West has produced within the last forty-eight years not less than two thousand million dollars of gold, and about one thousand three hundred and fifty million dollars of silver. It looks now as if the production of gold and silver will be greater within the next forty-eight years than in the past forty-eight years.

The West is not only rich in the precious metals, but in lead, copper, and iron. With immense fields of bituminous and anthracite coal, and the finest timber on the continent, it must in time secure its full share of American manufactures.

Agriculture must increase correspondingly, and, with the increase of population and wealth, the West will no longer complain of the East, nor will the East treat the West, as it has heretofore, as a dependency; and instead of the East and the West growing farther apart I believe they will be closer in their relations than they are now or ever have been. The West is loyal to the interests of the whole country. Without manufactures the

Western Republicans in Congress have maintained with great zeal the theory of protection to American industries. Their interest in coast defenses has not been less than that of those who live on the seaboard. The demand for a navy commensurate in strength with our national greatness and national danger has found its strongest advocates among the representatives of the States that could not be disturbed by a hostile force by land or sea.

The American spirit is strong in the West. An insult to our flag would be resented by the people of the West as it would in no other part of the country. They would not inquire what it would cost nor how it would affect trade and commerce. There will never be two Republics made out of this one. The West will never desire it, and if the East ever does the West will prevent it.

A common flag, a common ancestry, a common interest, justice to all in legislation and administration, will keep the States in a Union never to be broken by foreign or domestic foe.

H. M. TELLER.

OTHER PRESIDENTS THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

IN his article in the May issue of the REVIEW on "Men Who Might Have Been Presidents," Mr. Joseph M. Rogers shows that some very slight accidents, circumstances, in fact, that could not be supposed at the time of their occurrence to be important—turned the Presidential prize in more than one election the way it went. How many times those who came so near being President and yet failed, through overlooking these apparently trifling circumstances, regretted their short foresight, one cannot know. But, no doubt, the involuntary reminiscence occasioned by these strayings from fortune was frequent to these men. Webster's failure to get the Presidential office, which Mr. Rogers recalls to us, probably shortened his life.

Putting sentiment and moralizing aside, however, I am certain there are other instances than those Mr. Rogers cites where this close proximity to the Chief Magistracy can be shown. There was one, at least, of which I got the particulars from my father when I was a mere school boy. At the time of the Harrisburg Convention of December, 1839, which nominated Harrison and Tyler for its candidates for the election of 1840, there was a strongly talked of candidate from New York for Vice-President—Mr. Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, of Poughkeepsie. He was not only a rising and brilliant lawyer, but he had held public offices of large importance, the most conspicuous being that of United States Senator.

His career, in fact, seemed so flattering from his own point of view that he hoped it possible, when the claims of more notable men clashed sufficiently to prevent their nomination, to be actually nominated himself for President. So, to check the effort made to give him the second place on the ticket, he put a carefully written letter of declination in the hands of Dr. William Thomas, of Poughkeepsie, a delegate to Harrisburg, which, it is believed prevented his easy nomination to what became Tyler's place.

It is well known that at this convention the second place on the ticket was not greatly coveted, and the delegates were a good deal at sea as to a candidate. Mr. Rogers thinks that Tyler got the Vice-Presidential proffer on account of his tears over Clay's defeat for nomination to the first place. But the current tradition has always been that Tyler was put on to secure the vote

of Virginia, which at that time and afterward held the same sort of pivotal place in a Presidential contest as Indiana has held in later days.

A second instance of Presidential meanness, which may claim a place in Mr. Rogers' list, recalls another U. S. Senator from New York—Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson. It also recalls the old importance of Virginia in Presidential elections. Mr. Dickinson, it has always been said, could have had the nomination for President at Baltimore in 1852 if he had accepted the proffer of Virginia's delegates to support him for the place which went almost by accident to Franklin Pierce. Being committed to the interests of Lewis Cass, he would not surrender them. If he had done this thing, analogous examples of which later history can furnish, he, and not Mr. Pierce, would have won the election over General Scott, who only carried four States.

But Mr. Dickinson preferred loyalty to his trust, and the steadiness of his adhesion to it was all the more notable since he felt at the time that he was throwing away the Presidency to serve a friend; and, for no other purpose, at the end, than to be unimpeachably faithful to him.

JOEL BENTON.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE "OPIUM WAR"

A VERY common feature of any discussion in the United States of the trade or commercial policy of England in respect to other nations, is the preference of a charge against her, of having, more than a half a century ago, instituted a war "in order to force poor China to take the opium that England was trying to compel her to import, no matter what the great evils resulting." For this charge, which has been popularly regarded as irrefutable, there is no good or sufficient warrant, further than that complete evidence to the contrary has only within a recent period become popularly accessible through the publication of English state papers; although the would-be American authorities on this subject might, in at least a degree, have become cognizant of the exact truth (as will be presently shown), had they taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the published results of an investigation of this subject by one of their own and greatest statesmen. A summary of the indisputable facts in the case are as follows:

Previous to the inception of the so-called "opium war" between England and China (*i.e.*, in 1840), opium was cultivated in no less than ten of the provinces of China, and its importation was permitted and regularly taxed, the same as any other imports. Opium, the product of India, was imported into China by the East India Company under such circumstances, and without inhibition; but to an estimated extent of more than two per cent. of what would be necessary to meet the demand of the whole Chinese population. The charge that England first introduced opium into China has, therefore, not the slightest foundation in facts.

Some time previous to 1840 the Chinese government prohibited not merely its importation but its use for any purpose, and any violation of these enactments was made a capital offence. As the appetite for opium on the part of the Chinese was not thereby extinguished, the business of smuggling and illicit dealing became very great, and is now known to have been largely participated in by the very Chinese officials whose business it was to enforce the law. The Chinese government, furthermore, was not successful in enforcing their law against opium. What was then also the policy of the British government towards China is demonstrated by the

fact that Lord Palmerston, then premier, sent a despatch to one British resident agent in China, to the effect that, if any British subject chose to contravene the laws of China in respect to trade in opium, "he must do it at his own risk." On the other hand, the Chinese Government, from the very outset of the opium trouble, refused to enter into any negotiations with the representatives of the British Government, not in the interests of the opium trade, not in the interest of trade at all, but in order to put the relations of the two governments on a footing that would be tolerable and induce the Chinese to no longer assume that all foreigners were barbarians, and that barbarians must be kept under control. When Lord Napier was sent as Minister to China in 1834, its government declined to have anything to do with him, and went out of its way to belittle him by using offensive characters for his name, and in other ways insult him. When Lord Napier, fairly driven out of China, was replaced by Sir Charles Elliot, the Chinese authorities at Canton, for the purpose of deliberate insult to foreigners in general, proposed to make the area in front of the so-called "factories," where British merchants and the citizens of other countries were virtually compelled to reside, a place for the public execution of criminals.

As might have been expected, war followed such a condition of things. It was virtually commenced by the Chinese, who sent a fleet of fire-ships to burn the English shipping in the harbor of Canton. It resulted in obtaining from the Chinese government a promise, that was not, however, kept, that the persons and property of the merchants of all nations trading with China should be protected in the future from insult and injury, and that their trade and commerce should be maintained upon a footing common to all foreign civilized countries. And if England had not undertaken the task of teaching the Chinese this initiatory lesson, the government of the United States would sooner or later have had to have done it, if they were to maintain peaceful commercial relations and trade with China.

The so-called "opium war" of 1840, thus brought about, attracted much attention in the United States, as the interests of its merchants prospectively involved was at that time very considerable, and among those of its citizens who especially considered the subject was ex-President John Quincy Adams, who gave to the American public, in December, 1841, the results of his investigations and study, in the form of a lecture before the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was subsequently reprinted in the *Chinese Repository*, an American missionary paper published in Canton. After tracing historically what had occurred up to the year 1841, Mr. Adams said: "Do I hear you inquire what is all this to the opium question or the taking of Canton? These, I answer, are but the movement of mind on this globe of earth, of which the war between Great Britain and China is now the leading star. The justice of the cause between the two parties—which has the righteous cause? I answer, Britain has the righteous cause. The opium question is not the cause of the war, but the arrogant and insupportable pretensions of China that she will hold commercial intercourse with the rest of mankind, not upon terms of equal reciprocity, but upon the insulting and degrading forms of the relation between lord and vassal."

DAVID A. WELLS.

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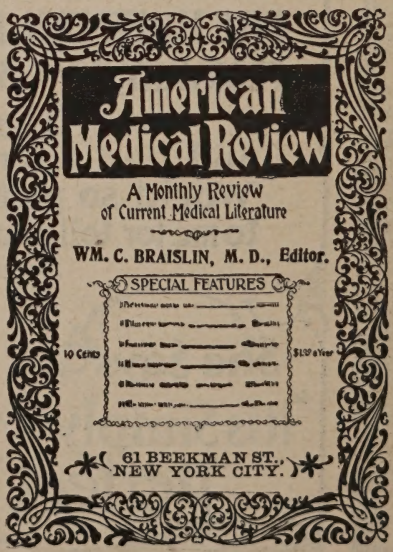
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The means employed to prevent danger from immigration, and to secure for the American people for the future the benefits which they have derived from immigration in the past, are ably and thoughtfully considered by Dr. Joseph H. Senner, U. S. Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, in an article on "Immigration from Italy."

W. J. H. Traynor, the President of the American Protective Association, graphically outlines the "Policy and Power of the A. P. A.," declaring that it is the strongest and purest political force that the Western world ever knew.

The protection of the community against crime is forcibly dwelt upon by the Hon. I. C. Parker, Judge of the U. S. District Court for the Western District of Arkansas, in "How to Arrest the Increase of Homicides in America." Judge Parker was born in Belmont County, Ohio, and brought up to manhood on a farm. Devoting himself to the study of law, he was admitted to practice by the Supreme Court of Ohio in 1859. Emigrating to Missouri he located at St. Joseph, in which city he resided for fourteen years. In 1868 he was elected Circuit Judge of the Ninth Judicial Circuit for a term of six years, but resigned in order to represent his district in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses. In 1875 he was appointed by President Grant, upon request of the Senators from Arkansas, Judge of the U. S. District Court for the Western District of that State, a position which he has held for twenty-one years.

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The Hon. Hannis Taylor, United States Minister to Spain, furnishes an extensive review of "England's Colonial Empire," describing the various forms of government applied by Great Britain to her dependencies, and her efforts to secure to each an administration suitable to its special stage of development.

A succinct exposition of the "Progress of Theosophy in the United States," is given by Mr. E. T. Hargrove, the new President of the Theosophical Society in America. Mr. Hargrove is the son of the well-known London solicitor, James Sidney Hargrove. He was educated at Harrow and, settling down in London to the study of law, became a member of the Middle Temple. Associating himself with the Theosophical movement, he removed to America in 1894, and is now permanently identified with the work in this country.

Professor Rodolfo Lanciani contributes a delightful essay on "The Sky-Scrapers of Rome," the topic being one this celebrated archæologist is specially adapted to handle.

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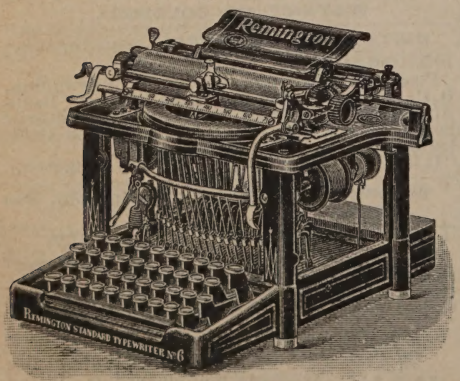

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For having freckles, blackheads, tanned, red, spotted, mothy, ugly or muddy skin, pimples, tetter, eczema, rashes, etc., when

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if you will talk it up and help us introduce it among your acquaintances. Send us your full post-office address today.

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STERLING SILVER BELT PIN, 10c.

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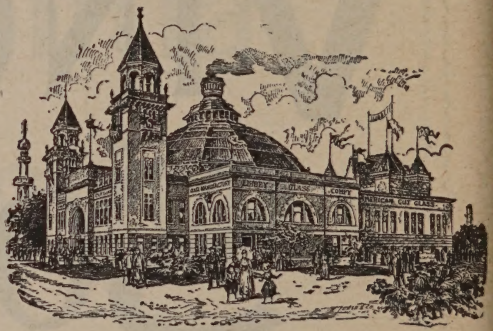

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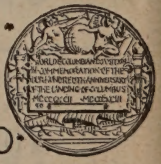

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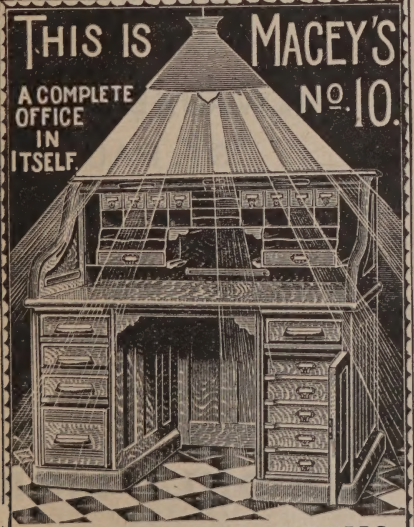

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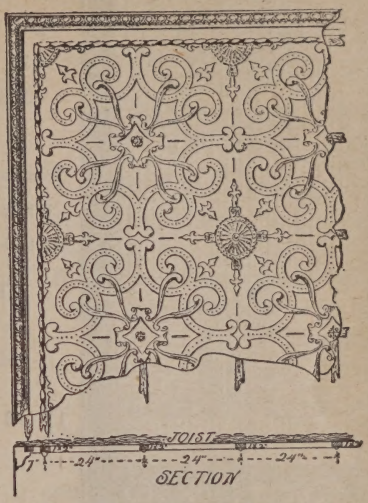

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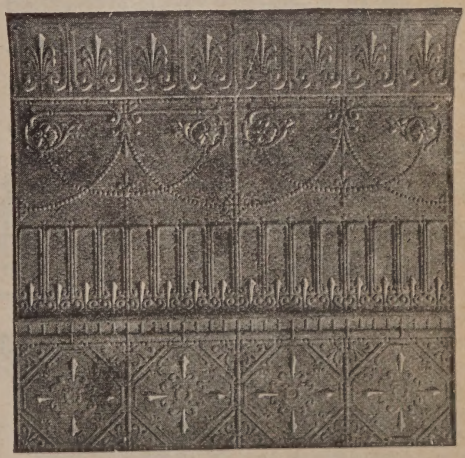

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LESSEN YOUR FIRE RISK

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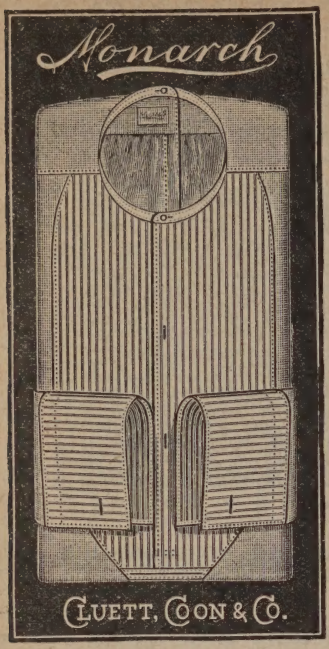

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IT REPRESENTS SOMETHING ENTIRELY NEW IN SHIRT FASHIONS. . . .

The body of a fine, close pattern design, and BOSOM and CUFFS showing a strongly contrasted STRIPE EFFECT,—ALL IN ONE UNIFORM COLORING.

IT IS THE MOST STRIKING, CHASTE, AND DESIRABLE NOVELTY OF THE SEASON.

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The only sure Cure for Corns. Stops all pain. Ensures comfort to the feet. Makes walking easy. 15cts. at Druggists.

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Solid vestibuled trains Daily, heated by steam, illuminated by Pintsch light,

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They are lighter, softer, and warmer than the old kind, and, when once adjusted, they can't slip down or blow off. All you have to do is to lay your "KENWOOD" on your steamer chair, sit down on it, put in your feet, snap the fasteners and draw it around your shoulders and throat, and there you are. Its utility is not by any means limited to the deck of a steamer. Think of the comfort you could get out of one cool evenings in the mountains or at the seashore, and for driving it constitutes a lap-robe and garment combined. Invaluable to invalids. Let us send you a little book which treats more fully of the comfort and convenience of the "KENWOOD."

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Which 'tis, is't?
Whether 'tis meet for me
to ride in state—
To revel in the luxury of a
Wagner Car,
And take the "Knickerbocker" on my summer
trip,
And then bespeak the
grandeur of the Big Four
Route—Or walk.
'Tis better far, "by the great
Saint Louis,"
To skip the Tunnel
And rush at headlong pace
to far New York,
And there avoid the
Moat.
To eat—to sleep—and
then, perchance,
To wake at Buffalo. Then
there's the "Falls."
No nightmare's horrid
spooks to
break my
rest—
The menu of the
Diner is the
best.
The Mohawk Valley picturesque—
The Hudson with its thousand beauty spots—
'Tis a consummation devoutly to be wish'd.

Palatial Wagner Sleeping Cars in all Directions.

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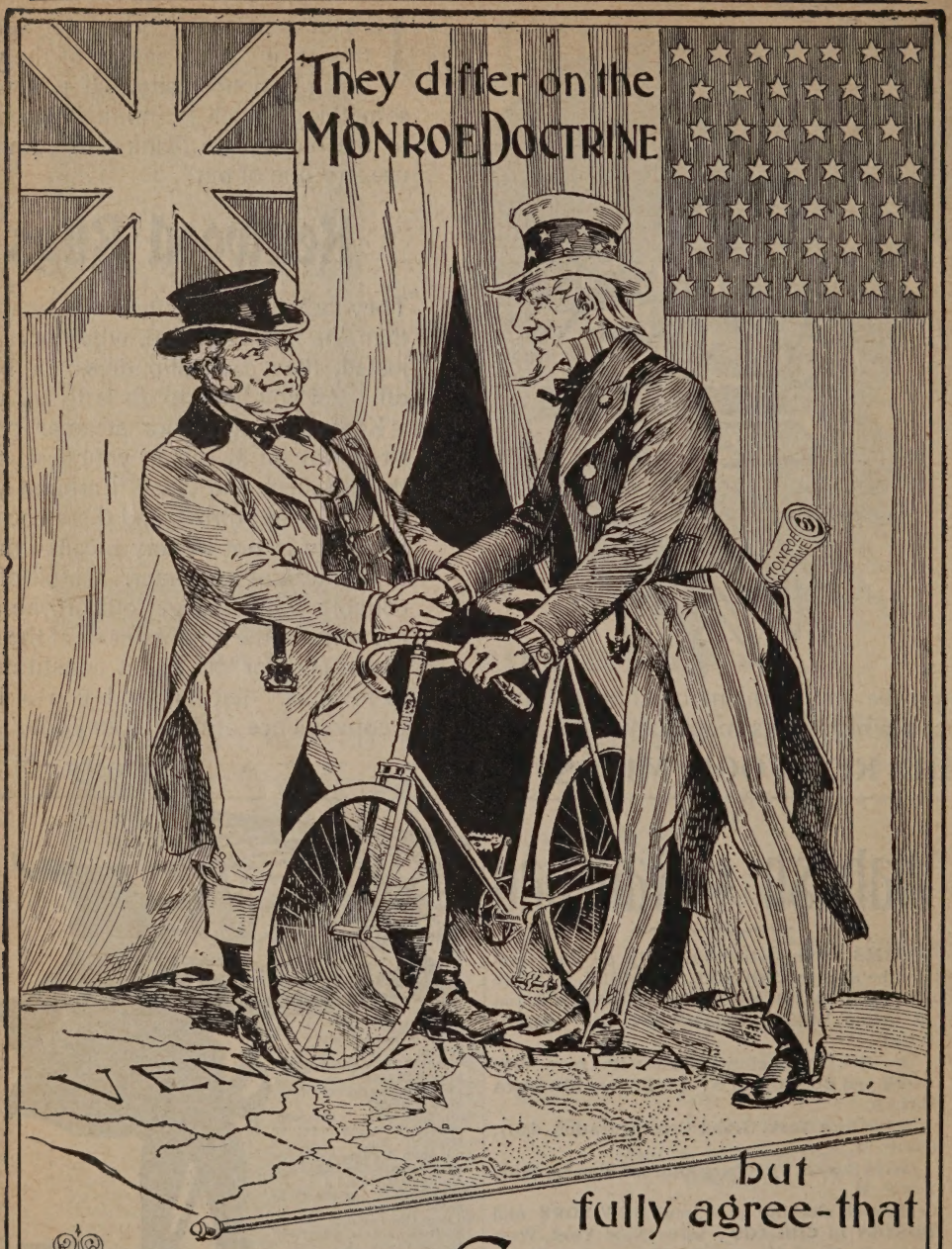

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"Whoso has sixpence

is sovereign, to the length of sixpence, over all men."

And he who rides a Columbia is sovereign (to the limit of Columbia possibilities) over all other bicyclists. And the possibilities of a Columbia are almost unlimited. It lords it over all. Everything that enters into Columbia construction has to run the gauntlet of our complete Department of Tests, and with the aid of the most skillful mechanics and artificers in metals, the product is the strongest, lightest and most beautiful bicycle ever built. It is applied wisdom to buy

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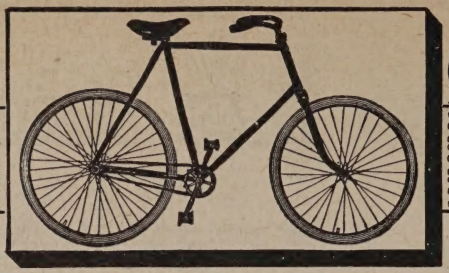

Four Acres of Factories and

Fifteen Years Experience in making high-grade cycle materials, give us the

Facilities and the **Expert Knowledge** necessary to turn out the wonderful

WOLFF AMERICAN

High Art Cycles.

AND MAKE THEM THE

FINEST WHEELS ON EARTH

We are the originators and patentees of four specialties of vital importance, which are combined only in the WOLFF AMERICAN and are described in our free catalogue.

We send, free, the handsomest catalogue of the year showing **9 New Models**

Singles, Tandems and Duplex Wheels.

For 12 2-cent stamps we send the following High Art Productions, free from any advertising matter:

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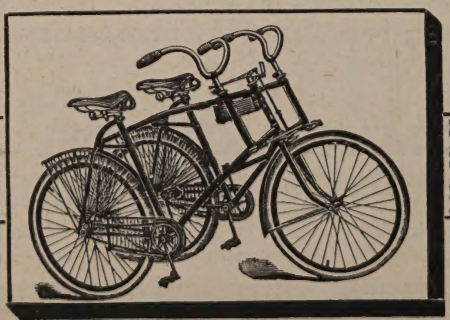
The Duplex Holds Two, side-by-side, and affords all the pleasures of cycling, without its dangers. See Catalogue::::::::



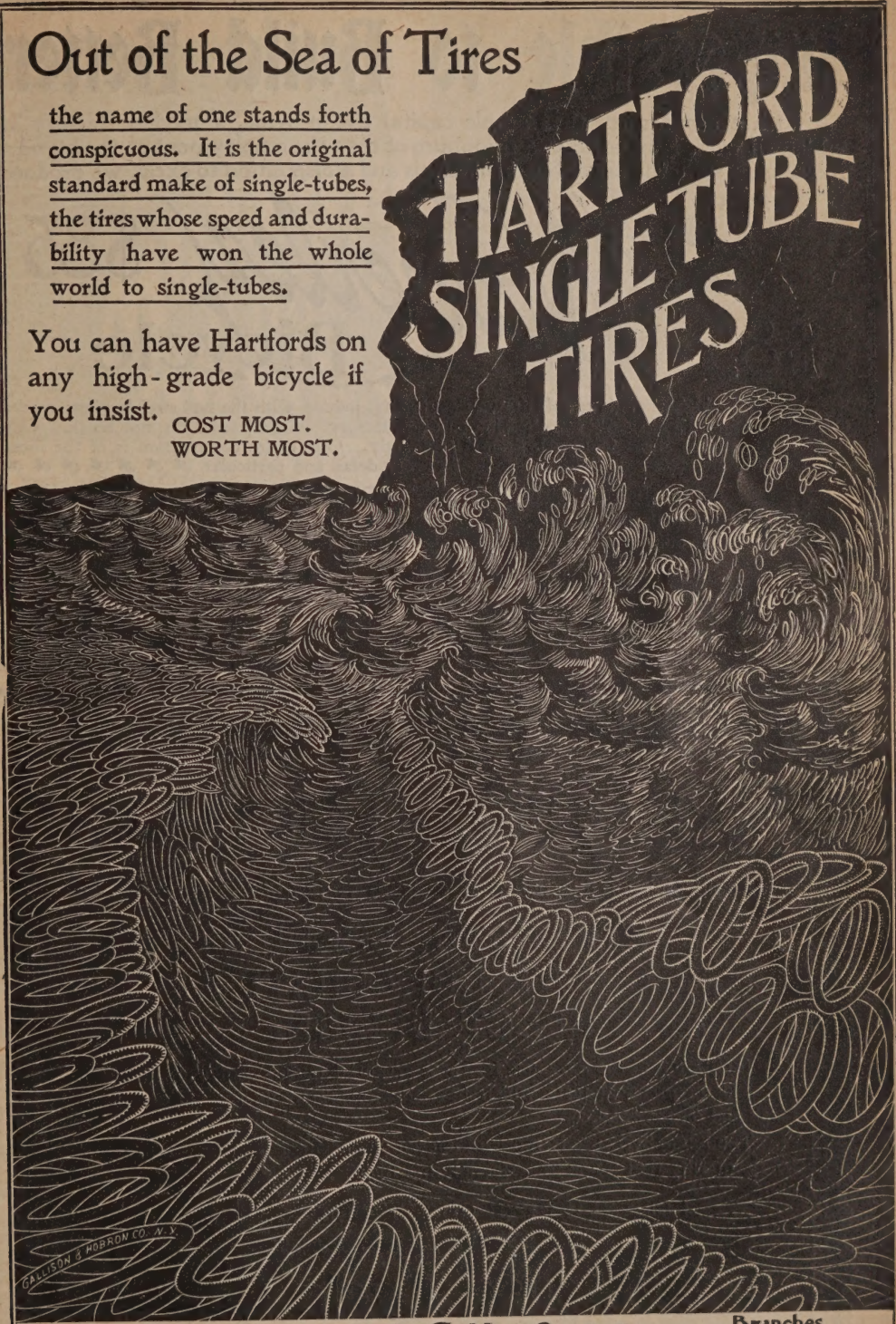
Out of the Sea of Tires

the name of one stands forth conspicuous. It is the original standard make of single-tubes, the tires whose speed and durability have won the whole world to single-tubes.

You can have Hartfords on any high-grade bicycle if you insist.

COST MOST.
WORTH MOST.

HARTFORD SINGLE TUBE TIRES



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The $85 Waverley $85 Bicycle

We use the highest grade of cold drawn steel tubing, jointed with the best steel forgings, made, carefully machined and rigidly inspected in our own factory. Our frames do not break. Our bearings are of the finest tool steel, ground accurately. Our entire construction is of the most approved and thoroughly up-to-date character in every detail and particular

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ARE SUCCESSFUL BECAUSE THEY PRESENT THE RARE COMBINATION OF

STRENGTH, SPEED,
GREAT DURABILITY,
AND PERFECT DESIGN.

The reputation of the Syracuse for these essential qualities of a good Bicycle is based on practical tests which have demonstrated its superiority on the track and on the road.

The name Syracuse is more intimately associated than any other with every quality that tends to perfection in a Bicycle.

KEEP YOUR EYE ON THE CRIMSON RIMS.

VIM TIRES ARE FAST.

Syracuse Cycle Co.,

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King of
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The 1896 Monarch models approach so near the limit-line of bicycle perfectness that further betterment seems impossible.

$80 and $100—4 styles.

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All Nature Awakens To A New Life — One Begins To Think Of A New Wheel.

Sterling Bicycles
"BUILT LIKE A WATCH"

Fulfill All Expectations
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Perfect Material
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Finest Finish
Absolutely Guaranteed

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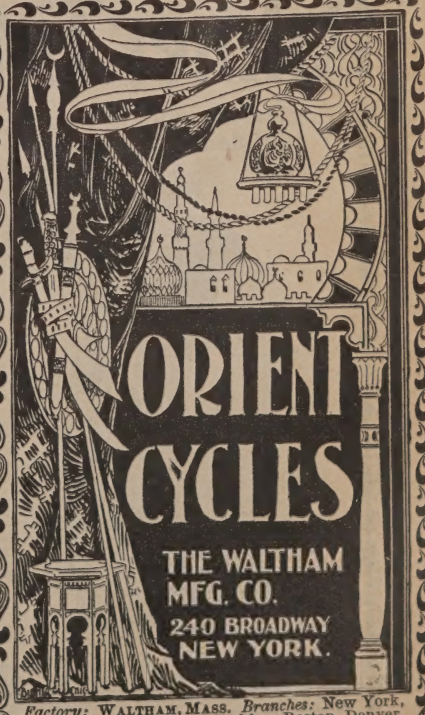

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CYCLES

THE WALTHAM
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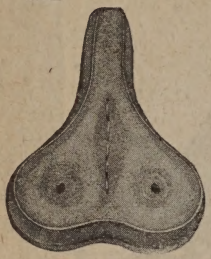
Factory: WALTHAM, MASS. *Branches:* New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Boston, Denver, Detroit, Providence, Cincinnati, Omaha, Springfield, Waltham, Lynn, Mass., Newark, N.J., Buffalo, Kansas City. Catalogue mailed for two 2c. stamps.

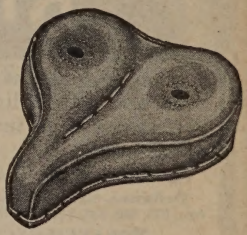
It's foolish



GENTLEMEN'S SADDLE.

to pay a hundred dollars for a bicycle and endure an uncomfortable, perhaps dangerous saddle. The Sager Pneumatic Bicycle Saddle is the perfection of comfort and physical adaptability, as the following description shows, and it's quality—well, the name "Sager" brands it "Best."

THE SAGER PNEUMATIC BICYCLE SADDLE gives a firm seat, as hard or as soft as each rider desires, without sag or any change of shape, and the side motion of similar saddles is entirely dispelled. It prevents sweating, chafing and all discomfort, and is especially desirable for ladies, for it holds the rider like a chair, the entire weight being supported by the bones of the pelvis, which alone touch the saddle.



LADIES' MODEL.

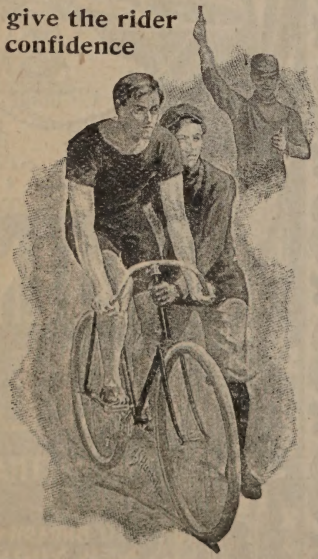
Price, $7.00 returnable in seven days if unsatisfactory.

THE SAGER MFG. COMPANY, - Rochester, N. Y.

Manufacturers of the celebrated Sager Saddles, Beauty Child's Seat, and other Bicycle Specialties.

Palmer Tires

give the rider confidence



THEY are the only tires you are sure of getting home on if punctured. Air will not escape for hours. *Palmer Tires* are the easiest riding, quickest repaired and fastest tires. They mark the high-grade wheel. They are expensive. Send for catalogue. PALMER PNEUMATIC TIRE CO., CHICAGO.

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The Best and Most Economical Method of Transportation.

Over 500 Lines Already in Successful Operation, from 100 Yards to 12 Miles in Length, and from 50 to 1,500 Tons Daily Capacity.

Patent Steel Cableways and Quarry Hoists

For Quarries, Open-Cut Mines, Stripping and Conveying Materials in Individual Loads up to 10 Tons.

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All riders of

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become so thoroughly impressed with the superior finish, construction, and easy running qualities of these famous wheels that they could not be induced to change their mounts. Catalog describing new models and their many exclusive improvements mailed free.

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should study its needs: wholesome food, proper clothing, good air, exercise and (not the least necessary) an occasional tonic. For debility will creep in.

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Malt-Nutrine

TRADE MARK.

is a **food drink.** One sup of it will give you more grain strength—nourishment—than a dozen loaves of bread. It gives consumptives and sufferers from wasting diseases greater strength and healthy flesh, and gives nursing mothers just the nourishment they want.

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Send for handsomely illustrated colored booklets and other reading matter.

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and similar diseases? Why dose the stomach with nauseous drugs to cure the respiratory organs? You may *palliate* the pain this way, with preparations of opium, or temporarily stimulate yourself with *tonics*, but for a permanent cure, *try nature's way.*

Booth's "Hyomei" Pocket Inhaler Outfit,

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"CURES BY INHALATION."

Hyomei is a purely vegetable antiseptic, and destroys the germs which cause disease in the respiratory organs. The air, charged with **Hyomei**, is inhaled at the mouth, and, after permeating the minutest air-cells, is exhaled through the nose. It is aromatic, delightful to inhale, and gives immediate relief.

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after eating a hearty meal, and the result is a chronic case of Indigestion, Sour Stomach, Heartburn, Dyspepsia or a bilious attack.

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Promote Digestion, Regulate the Stomach, Liver and Bowels, Purify the Blood, and are a **Positive Cure** for **Constipation, Sick Headache, Biliousness,** and all other Diseases arising from a disordered condition of the Liver and Stomach. They act gently, yet promptly, and perfect digestion follows their use.

Ripans Tabules take the place of an **Entire Medicine Chest,** and should be kept for use in every family.

Price, **50 Cents** a box. At Druggists or by mail.

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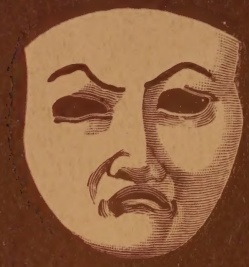
COPCO is the King of all soaps for the bath and fine laundry work. A white, floating soap. Costs but 5 cts. a cake. At all dealers. Try it. Made only by

The N. K. Fairbank Company, Chicago, New York, St. Louis.



Shams

everyone of them—the substitutes foisted upon the credulous as being just as good as

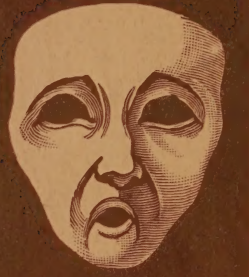
GOLD DUST

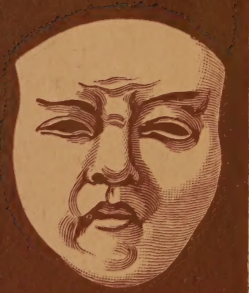
WASHING POWDER

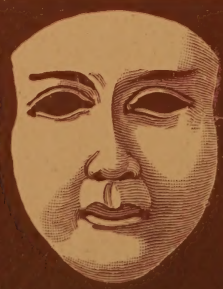
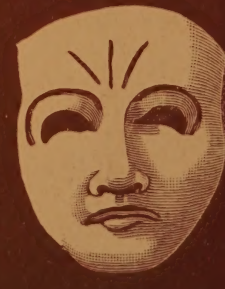
Nothing equals this great preparation for all kinds of cleaning. Sold everywhere. Made only by

THE N.K.FAIRBANK COMPANY,

Chicago, St. Louis, New York, Boston, Philadelphia.





Languid?

Exhilaration, enjoyment and effervescence of spirits are the laughter of the constitution. The liver, which sets the whole mechanism of man at work, at times becomes torpid; it is then that Pabst Malt Extract, The "Best" Tonic, produces that healthful activity which reacts upon the whole system and gives a lifting, strengthening sensation, by seeking the place which needs it most. With its invigorating influence, and the blessed gift of slumber and mental balance, The "Best" Tonic will give courage for any undertaking, and obstacles will seem but a joyous test of energy. Take

Pabst Malt Extract
The "Best" Tonic.

MILWAUKEE BEER IS FAMOUS
PABST HAS MADE IT SO

THE TYPEWRITER EXCHANGE,

You Would Use a Typewriter

If you could buy it right.

We can sell you any of the standard makes at a saving of from 40 to 60%. Fully guaranteed. Shipped with privilege of examination. Write us for catalogue.

FOUR STORES { 1½ Barclay St., New York; 156 Adams St., Chicago; 38 Court Sq., Boston; 818 Wyandotte St., Kansas City.

1/2 SAVED ON ANY TYPEWRITER

Machines of all makes, new or second-hand, in perfect condition. SOLD, RENTED OR EXCHANGED. Sent with privilege of examining.

BICYCLES Big bargains in first-class Wheels of all styles. Matchless opportunity to buy. Don't fail to write us. Catalogues sent free.

National Typewriter Exchange 214 LA SALLE CHICAGO .....

TYPEWRITER HEADQUARTERS,

102 Fulton st., New York, sell all makes under half price. Don't buy before writing them for unprejudiced advice and prices. Exchanges. Immense stock for selection. Shipped for trial. Guaranteed first class. Dealers supplied. 52-page illus. cat. free.

BOATS

In Steel, Composite, Bronze and Wood. Marine Engines and Boilers. Vapor Steam and Electric Launches; Row Boats, Canoes, Sailing Yachts. Prices and Work Guaranteed. Send 10c. for Catalogue.

Racine Boat Mfg. Co., Box "G," Racine, Wis., U.S.A.

THE DRUM IN POSITION

DEAFNESS

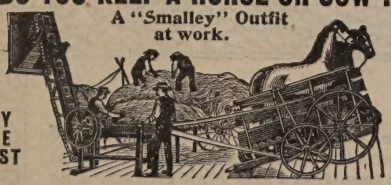
and Head Noises relieved by using **Wilson's Common Sense Ear Drums.** New scientific invention; different from all other devices. The only safe, simple, comfortable and invisible Ear Drum in the world. Helps where medical skill fails. No wire or string attachment. Write for pamphlet.

WILSON EAR DRUM CO.,

Offices: { 112 Trust Bldg., Louisville, Ky. 1122 Broadway, New York.

DO YOU KEEP A HORSE OR COW?

A "Smalley" Outfit at work.



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Smalley Feed Savers will **make** you money. Our Catalogue and price list shows you how—yours for the asking.

SMALLEY MFG. CO., Manitowoc, Wis.

Ensilage Cutters, Corn Shredders, hand or power; Farm Feed Mills, Root Cutters, Horse Powers for Operating.

Smalley Bicycles

FOR ELITE RIDERS

THE SWELLEST WHEEL OF THE YEAR

Nine Models—Aluminum Silver, Maroon and Black Enamel Finish. Extremely Handsome. Large Tubing—Narrow Tread—Detachable Sprocket. Weight, 17-25 lbs

"MOTHER OF PEARL QUEEN" IS A BEAUTY

Write for our handsome Catalogue

Plymouth Cycle Mfg. Co., Plymouth, Ind.

ARNICA TOOTH SOAP

Delicious-Cleansing-Harmless

OTHERS IMITATE!—NONE EQUAL!

25c. All druggists or by mail. C. H. STRONG & CO., Chicago.

Blair's Pills

Great English Remedy for

GOUT and RHEUMATISM.

SAFE, SURE, EFFECTIVE.

Druggists, or 224 William St., New York.

ASTRONOMICAL TELESCOPES. OF SUPERIOR DEFINING POWER MADE BY W. & D. MOGEY, BAYONNE, N.J. SEND FOR CATALOGUE

The A B C of Money

By ANDREW CARNEGIE.

12mo, Paper, 10 Cents.

The North American Review,

3 East Fourteenth Street, NEW YORK.

INSPIRATION, delight and health—are all in our

Imperial Sec CHAMPAGNE

Light, pleasant and clean in taste. As dry and delicious as any imported champagne.

Ask your dealer.

GERMANIA WINE CELLARS, Rheims and Hammondsport, N. Y.

The No. 4 YOST

Writing Machine.

The distinctive features of the Yost Machine, permanent alignment, direct inking, beautiful work, strength, simplicity and durability, are shown in perfection in the No. 4 Model which has been proved by two years' use to be the best on the market.

Catalogue Free.

Yost Writing Machine Co.

61 Chambers St., New York City. 50 Holborn Viaduct, London, Eng.

Our Latest Booklet

Contains eight testimonial letters. These sum up the experience of thousands who use the

Caligraph

"It Outlasts Them All"

Typewriter

A copy will be sent on request. It should be read by every one interested in Typewriters.

AMERICAN WRITING MACHINE CO.
237 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

FREE TO ALL! ON SIX MONTHS' TRIAL.

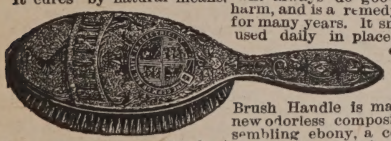
DR. SCOTT'S ELECTRIC HAIR BRUSH.

It is Warranted to Cure

Nervous Headache in 5 minutes! Bilious Headache in 5 minutes! Neuralgia in 5 minutes! Dandruff and Diseases of the Scalp! Prevent Falling Hair and Baldness! Promptly Arrest Premature Grayness! Make the Hair grow Long and Glossy! Will positively produce a rapid growth of hair on bald heads where the glands and follicles are not totally destroyed. The continued use of Pills, etc., works irreparable injury. Ask any Physician.

An Honest Remedy Prescribed and Used by our Best Physicians.

It cures by natural means, will always do good, never harm, and is a remedy lasting for many years. It should be used daily in place of the ordinary Hair Brush.



The Brush Handle is made of a new odorless composition resembling ebony, a combination of substances producing a permanent electro-magnetic current which acts immediately upon the hair glands and follicles. This power can always be tested by a silvered compass which accompanies each Brush.

Free to All on 6 Months' Trial.

PRICES: $1.00, $1.50, $2.00, $2.50, $3.00.

Quality the same in all; price differs only according to size and power.

Remit us the price by check, draft, post-office order or currency in registered letter at our risk, and we will mail it at once on six months' trial. If you are not then satisfied with it, write us, and we will return your money. We have advertised very extensively in this publication, and when we fail to keep our promise, the publisher will exclude our advertisement. Inclose 10 cents extra and we guarantee safe delivery into your hands; or request your nearest Druggist or Dry Goods Store to obtain one for you, and be sure Dr. Scott's name is on the box. As soon as you receive the Brush, if not well satisfied with your bargain, write us and we will return the money. What can be fairer? "The Doctor's Story," a valuable book, FREE. Agents wanted.

GEO. A. SCOTT, Room 21, 846 Broadway, New York.

REMARKABLE TESTIMONY

IN THE COURTS OF LOUISIANA OF EMINENT PHYSICIANS AS TO THE CURATIVE EFFECTS OF A WONDERFUL MISSISSIPPI MINERAL SPRING.

(From the HARTFORD, CONN., TIMES.)

In an action of law recently instituted by the Stafford Mineral Springs and Hotel Company, limited, of New Orleans, whose Springs are near Vossburg, Miss., against E. J. Hart & Co., wholesale druggists of New Orleans, regarding the character and medicinal value of the Stafford Mineral Spring Water. By order of the Court deposition of a number of leading physicians of New York, Brooklyn, New Orleans and elsewhere, was taken, supplemented by the testimony of numerous physicians in open court at the trial of the case.

Among the physicians testifying as to the curative effects of the water in **Bright's Disease, Diabetes, Cystitis,** and other **Kidney, Bladder** and **Stomach troubles,** were: Dr. Edward Bradley, of New York, formerly demonstrator of Anatomy, New York Medical College; Dr. Frank E. Miller, of New York; Dr. Job Corbin, medical director, United States Navy, Brooklyn; Dr. J. B. Elliot, professor of the theory and practice of medicine, Tulane University, New Orleans; Professor Metz, State Chemist of Louisiana; Dr. Wm. E. Brickell, of New Orleans, and a host of other physicians.

There is no record of any testimony so strong and positive in its nature having ever been given under oath by any physicians in the history of medicine.

It is impossible to ignore the fact that this testimony is that of honorable, dignified and eminent members of the medical profession. To ignore it is to deny the truth, a dangerous thing to do.

This water is for sale by ACKER, MERRALL & CONDIT and PARK & TILFORD, New York, and all druggists.

Send for free pamphlets; Dept. A 3. They will astound and convince the most skeptical.

Stafford Mineral Springs & Hotel Co., Ltd.

NEW ORLEANS. New York Depot, 256 Broadway.

PROVIDENT
Life and Trust Co.
OF PHILADELPHIA.

Insurance in Force, $108,000,000

Assets, - - - 29,000,000

In perfect security, moderate cost of insurance and in liberality to policyholders the Provident is unexcelled.

APPROVED FORMS OF INSURANCE ISSUED.

SEND FOR CIRCULARS.

WE PAY POST-AGE. All who have guessed about life insurance may be wrong. If you wish to know the truth, send for "How and Why," issued by the PENN MUTUAL LIFE, 921-35 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

U.S. BUNTING FLAGS
BEST QUALITY.
45 STARS.
FOR SCHOOL-HOUSES,
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE BUILDINGS.
SINGLE FLAGS AT WHOLESALE PRICES. 5x8 feet, $1.50; 7x4 feet, $2.40; 9x6 feet, $3.70; 12x6 feet, $5.00; 12x8 feet, $5.85. Sent prepaid on receipt of price. Price List of other sizes FREE.
THE M.C.LILLEY & CO. COLUMBUS OHIO.
THE LARGEST MILITARY AND REGALIA HOUSE IN THE COUNTRY.
CATALOGUE FREE.
SAY WHAT KIND OF GOODS YOU WANT.

SAVE YOUR GLASSES

By using our patent **Improved Eye-Glass Reel**, a neat little device by which cord attached to glasses is coiled up instantly and eye-glasses held firmly. You can't lose or mislay them. Sent prepaid, black linen cord, **25 cts**; silk, **35 cts.** Special inducements to agents. Sells on sight. Send for circular and testimonials. **Satisfaction guaranteed, or money refunded.**

KETCHAM & McDOUGALL (Established 1832).
198 Broadway, New York.

$20,000
$10,000 Life, $10,000 Accident,

EXAMPLE.

Age 35. Annual Premium, $291.00.

THE TRAVELERS
INSURANCE COMPANY'S

Increasing
WHOLE LIFE POLICY

Good at the beginning and good at the end.

RESULTS GUARANTEED.

All Policies issued at age 35 for	**$10,000,**
will on their 20th Anniversary be guaranteed a paid-up value of - - -	**$8,740**
Cash Surrender Value of - - -	**3,975**
On the 30th Anniversary a paid-up value of - - - - - - - -	**11,711**
Cash Surrender Value of - - -	**6,592**
On the 40th Anniversary a paid-up value of - - - - - - - -	**13,143**
Cash Surrender Value of - - -	**8,930**
On the 45th Anniversary a paid-up value of - - - - - - - -	**15,303**
Cash Surrender Value of - - -	**12,452**
On the 50th Anniversary a paid-up value of - - - - - - - -	**20,000**
Cash Surrender Value of - - -	**17,000**

No premiums required after age 85, and the values stated are absolute.

Premiums adjusted to ten, twenty, thirty, or forty payments as desired.

The policy is non-forfeitable and incontestable after the fifth anniversary, except for fraud. Paid-up and surrender values attached to each and every year after the third, for which the premium has been paid.

The policy will be accepted by the company as a collateral after the fifth year for 75 per cent. of the reserve, either as a temporary or permanent loan.

On the 30th anniversary the policy can be made self-supporting for the full amount, and return annually thereafter $94 00 in cash. Deferred until the 40th anniversary, in lieu of additions, the annual cash return above the premium charged will be $520.

The policy is at any time after the 20th anniversary convertible into a life annuity, or an annuity certain for a fixed term. It gives a larger insurance at the beginning, and a larger guaranteed increase at the end, than any life policy ever issued for the same premium.

Until the 20th anniversary is reached, in case of death by *External, Violent, and Accidental Means*, the full sum of $20,000 will be paid. Between the 20th and 30th anniversaries $24,000. Between the 30th and 40th $25,321. Between the 40th and 45th $26,763. The Accident insurance ceases at age 80, and the premium is reduced $20.00 per annum.

JAMES G. BATTERSON, President.

BRASS and IRON BEDSTEADS.

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL.

Large Assortment.
Superior Quality.
Low Price.

FINE BEDDING of every description.

Call and examine. Illustrated Catalogue sent free on receipt of 2 cent stamp. Mention this paper. . . . . .

WHITCOMB METALLIC BEDSTEAD CO., Union Square, North, 31 East 17th Street, NEW YORK.

Boston Warerooms : Cor. Hanover and Washington Sts.

New England Loan and Trust Company,

34 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

CAPITAL AND PROFITS, - - - - - - - - - $950,000.

D. O. ESHBAUGH, *Pres.* W. W. WITMER, *Vice-Pres.* W. F. BARTLETT, *Sec'y and Treas.*

DIRECTORS:

HENRY D. LYMAN,	F. K. HIPPLE,	H. J. PIERCE.
JOHN WYMAN,	D. O. ESHBAUGH,	R. B. FERRIS,
HENRY WHELEN,	G. W. MARQUARDT,	E. D. SAMSON,
W. W. WITMER,		W. F. BARTLETT.

Since this Company began business in February, 1876, it has invested for itself and others **$25,170,500** in first mortgages. Of this amount **$14,329,500** has been repaid and returned to investors.

During the past six years the Company has loaned nearly **$8,000,000** on improved farms, for the most part in Iowa, Missouri and the black land section of Texas. The Company has taken, under foreclosure, ten of these farms and no more, and now owns them, at a cost of **$12,925.** They are all worth what they cost, and some of them more.

The Company offers its own six per cent. Debenture Bonds, collaterally secured by carefully selected first mortgages deposited with The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company as Trustee. The Bonds are issued in denominations of $200 and upward.

No securities have made a better record during the trying times of the last three years than the Debentures of this Company. We shall take pleasure in sending to any one who may ask for it a little book giving full history of the Company, an outline of its methods, and a list of a large number of Insurance and Trust Companies, Savings Banks, Universities, Colleges, Trustees, Guardians and Private individuals who have invested with the Company for years. No Investor has ever lost a dollar of principal or interest in the Company's securities.

ANNUAL STATEMENT.

JANUARY 1, 1896.

BAY STATE BENEFICIARY ASSOCIATION.

31 STATE STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

Policies written during the year	6,038
Policies in force	18,831
Gain in policies in force	1,819
Insurance written during the year	$10,525,200.00
Insurance in force	$47,127,625.00
Gain in insurance in force	$1,016,450.00
Total income for the year	$781,901.75
Cash Assets	$204,302.93
Amount paid in Losses	$742,737.27
Total amount paid in Losses since organization	$4,447,535.12

F. E. LITCHFIELD, Secretary. GEO. E. CURTIS, Treasurer.

WIRE ROPE TRAMWAYS

(OF THE BLEICHERT IMPROVED PATENT SYSTEM).

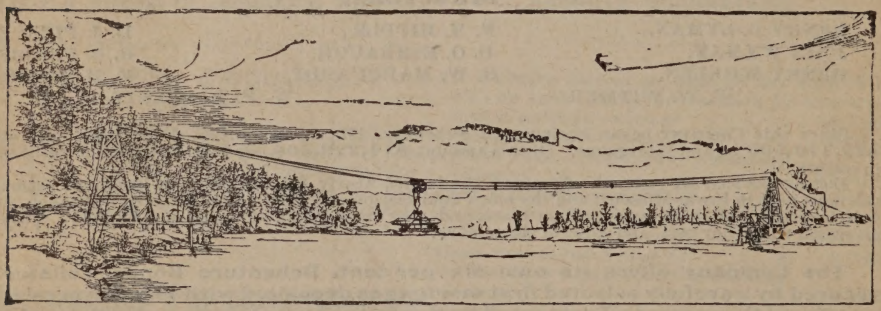
The Best and Most Economical Method of Transportation.

Over 500 Lines Already in Successful Operation, from 100 Yards to 12 Miles in Length and from 50 to 1,500 Tons Daily Capacity.

PATENT STEEL CABLE-WAYS AND QUARRY HOISTS

—FOR—

Quarries, Open-Cut Mines, Stripping and Conveying Materials in Individual Loads up to 10 Tons.



SURVEYS MADE AND PLANS FURNISHED

At Moderate Rates

BY OUR OWN STAFF OF COMPETENT ENGINEERS.

THE TRENTON IRON COMPANY,

Works and Office at TRENTON, NEW JERSEY.

NEW YORK OFFICE:

COOPER, HEWITT & CO.,

17 BURLING SLIP.

Extracts from a Physician's Appeal to Physicians.

"An experience of two years or more
"has demonstrated the curative power
"of the Electropoise far beyond any
"therapeutic agent or appliance
"known or available to the medical
"profession. * * * "The agent of cure
"is oxygen, and the power of the Elec-
"tropoise is the power of oxygen. * * *
"It is my assured conviction that
"thousands have died in the recent
"past who might have been saved;
"that thousands are now suffering
"who might be cured. Knowing and
"believing this, I appeal to the medi-
"cal profession to make use of this
"means which the benignant provi-
"dence of God has put within their
"reach." * * *

C. COLEGROVE, M.D.,
(Graduate of the Medical Department of the University of Buffalo.)

THE Electropoise
TRADE MARK

is a simple and easily applied oxygen home remedy without medicine that has proved so eminently successful in conquering acute and chronic disease that none interested in their health should fail to investigate it. Descriptive booklet by mail without charge.

ELECTROLIBRATION COMPANY,
1122 Broadway, New York.

BEEFSTEAK TOMATO KETCHUP

A delicious blending of pure spices with the natural flavor of the ripe tomato.

A liberal sample sent for five 2-cent stamps

JOS. CAMPBELL PRESERVE CO., Box 2720, Camden, N.J.

VICTORIA HOTEL, CHICAGO.

AMERICAN PLAN. $3.00 to $5.00 per day.

Dorflinger's American Cut Glass.

Cigar Jar

All Glass—Air Tight.

To hold 50 Cigars.

PLAIN - - -	$2.25
LIKE ILLUSTRATION	4.50
RICHLY CUT - -	10.50

Also made in sizes for Cigarettes, Tobacco and Bon-Bons.

C. Dorflinger & Sons,
915 BROADWAY,
Near 21st St. NEW YORK

Tapestry Paintings. **2,000** tapestry paintings to choose from. **38** artists employed, including gold-medalists of the Paris Salon. **Send $12.50** for a **$75.00** painting just for an introduction.

Decorations. Write for color schemes; designs; estimates. Artists sent to all parts of the world, to do every sort of decorating and painting. We are educating the country in color-harmony. Relief; stained glass; wall-paper; carpets; furniture; draperies, etc. Pupils taught. **Send $5.00** for a **$25.00** color scheme to decorate your house.

Wall-Papers. Spring styles. Designed by gold-medal artists. From 10c. per roll up. Samples 10 cents. **Send 25c.** for compendium of **140** studies.

Tapestry Materials. We manufacture tapestry materials. Superior to foreign goods, and half the price. Book of samples 10 cents. **Send $1.50** and I will send you **2** yards of No. 6—50-inch goods, worth **$3.00.**

School. Six 3-hour tapestry-painting lessons, in studio, $5.00. By mail, $1.00 per lesson. Tapestry paintings rented; full-size drawings, paints, brushes, etc., supplied. Nowhere, Paris not excepted, are such advantages offered pupils. **Send $1.00** for complete instructions in tapestry paintings and compendium of **140** studies.

Manual of Art Decoration. **40** full-page designs of interior and tapestry studies. **200** royal quarto pages. SEND TWO DOLLARS.

J. F. DOUTHITT,

American Tapestry & Decorative Company,
286 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

. . CALCULI DISSOLVED BY . .

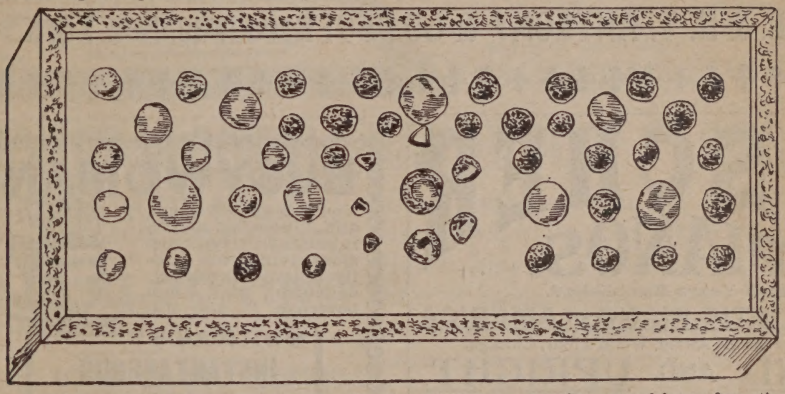
BUFFALO LITHIA WATER

Value of this Water in Gout, Rheumatism, Bright's Disease of Kidneys, and all Diseases of Uric Acid Diathesis.

DR. E. C. LAIRD, *Member of the North Carolina State Medical Society, Haw River, North Carolina:*

"A patient with strongly marked **Uric Acid Diathesis** suffered frequent attacks of **Nephritic Colic**, and at the same time from a severe **Gouty** affection. Except as to the usual treatment for the relief of present paroxysms, I put him exclusively upon **BUFFALO LITHIA WATER** Spring No. 2, which has been attended with happy and remarkable effect, both as to the **Calculus** and **Gouty** affection. Under its action he has, at various times, discharged large quantities of calculi and sand. Following an attack of Nephritic Colic he at one time discharged 68 Calculi in 12 hours. The deposition of fine sand not infrequently exceeded a **teaspoonful.**

"The following cut represents but a small portion of this calculus matter actual size:



"Under microscopic examination it was evident that the calculi were originally parts of larger formations which had been disintegrated by the water.

"I will add that for 15 years I have treated no case of Renal Cal, Stone in Bladder, Gout, Rheumatism, Bright's Disease or any Disease having its origin in Uric Acid Diathesis, without the use of **Buffalo Lithia Water**, and uniformly with good, and not unfrequently very remarkable results."

This Water is for sale by druggists generally, or in cases of one dozen half-gallon bottles $5.00 f. o. b. at the Springs.

Descriptive pamphlets sent free to any address. Springs open for guests from June 15 to October 1.

Proprietor, BUFFALO LITHIA SPRINGS, VIRGINIA, ON THE ATLANTIC & DANVILLE RAILROAD.

The Advertisers' Handy Guide for 1896.

The Lyman D. Morse Advertising Agency of New York City, whose reputation among advertisers and publishers is world wide, have just issued the twelfth annual edition of their "Advertisers' Handy Guide" (Size 4 x 6½, over one inch in thickness and contains 777 pages, Price $2.00). It contains in condensed form all the information considered essential by an advertiser.

This feature (compactness) together with a reputation for accuracy in its ratings have made this book a standard work and it is to be found on the desks of all the leading advertisers of the United States and Europe. In it will be found a list of the leading papers and periodicals of the United States and Canada, arranged in Alphabetical order by States and towns, stating the politics, day of issue, circulation, etc.; while the population obtained from the latest authoritative sources is appended to the name of each city, village, county and state.

In addition to the *general* list of daily and weekly papers will be found *special* lists of class publications grouped under the following heads: Magazines and Medical Journals, Agricultural and Religious papers and those published in foreign languages.

This admirable compilation is very valuable to advertisers and reflects great credit on the Lyman D. Morse Advertising Agency.

BICYCLE
HAND . .
TRIPOD.

CAMERAS

in our new 1896 Catalogue. Sent free on receipt of address. Crookes Tubes, Roentgen Outfits, X Ray Supplies.

ANTHONY'S PHOTOGRAPHIC BULLETIN, Per Year, $2.00. LARGEST CIRCULATION.

E. & H. T. ANTHONY & CO., 591 Broadway, New York.

FISCHER PIANOS.

56 Years Established.

The ARTISTIC PIANO of AMERICA

Highest Possible Award, World's Fair, Chicago.

GRAND AND UPRIGHT.

Nearly 100,000 Manufactured.

Prices Moderate [quality considered].

110 FIFTH AVE., COR. 16th ST., N. Y.

WRITE FOR CATALOGUE.

BUSY WOMAN:

You can save 3 thousand, 2 hundred and 85 minutes each year—besides giving your family a pure, healthful, delicious meal-time beverage, if you use

WHITMAN'S INSTANTANEOUS CHOCOLATE

Takes but a moment to prepare it. No boiling required. Try it, and its convenience, its taste, its quality, will please you. One pound and one-half pound tins. All dealers.

STEPHEN F. WHITMAN & SON, PHILADA.

FIRST IN MODEL— FIRST IN QUALITY

First in Workmanship
All combined in the
Flexibone Moulded Corset.

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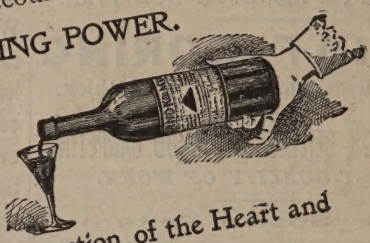

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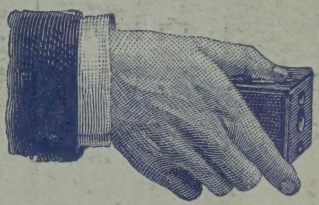

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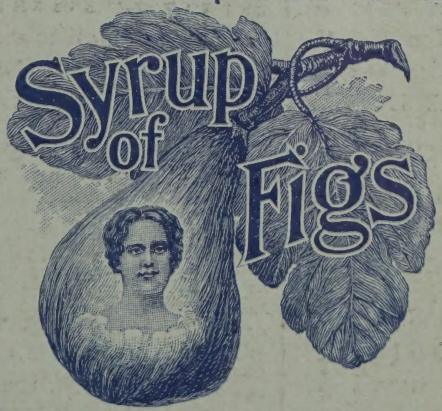

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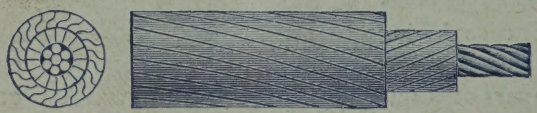

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